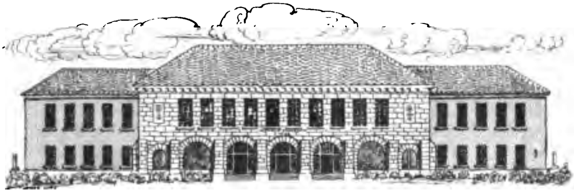
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THE ELEGIES OF

ALBIUS TIBULLUS

THE CORPUS TIBULLIANUM EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES ON BOOKS I, II, AND IV, 2–14

BY

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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SMITH. TIBULLUS.
W. P. 1

TO

BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE

Siede Tibullo a l' ombra
Ove docil da' colli un rio declina;
E di dolcezza ingombra
I sacri elisii l' armonia latina.

— CARDUCCI.

PREFACE

This edition contains the first detailed commentary in English upon the entire text of Tibullus, Sulpicia, and the anonymous elegies of the fourth book. Whether the edition has any further justification of its existence must be left to the judgment of the reader.

The text coincides in the main with that of Hiller's recension (1885, reprinted 1899). Changes are recorded in the Appendix, and details of textual transmission, whenever they seem to be of sufficient importance, are discussed in the Notes. The *Panegyricus Messallae* and the elegies of Lygdamus are not dealt with in the Notes, and, owing to the uncertainty of their pedigree, the two *Priapea* sometimes found in editions of Tibullus are not included in the text. It is obvious, however, that intelligent and profitable study of our poet must be accompanied by frequent recourse to the entire *Corpus Tibullianum* as it now stands. No portion therefore of the traditional text has been omitted. The "Testimonia Veterum," by which the text is followed, contain whatever else antiquity has to say of Tibullus's life and work.

In its present form the Introduction is the result of a thorough revision in the interests of brevity and simplicity. Not a little has been completely excised, discussion of theories, and especially of untenable theories, has been reduced as a rule to a passing reference, and a considerable body of material in the chapter on the poet's art has been trans-

ferred to the Notes. The section concerned with the influence of Tibullus upon the literatures of Modern Europe is a mere sketch derived in large part from my own reading. Prolonged and intelligent investigation is necessary before the picture can be completed. I trust however that I have outlined it with a fair degree of accuracy.

It will be observed perhaps that my critique of Tibullus runs counter to some discussions of his art and some estimates of his genius which just at present would appear to be generally accepted. It was considered however with the utmost care, and as yet I see no reason for revising it in any essential particular. In this connection should be mentioned two articles (R. Bürger, *Beiträge zur Elegantia Tibulls*, and M. Pohlenz, *Die Hellenistische Poesie und die Philosophie*) in the recent volume of studies to Professor Leo (Χάριτες *Friedrich Leo zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht*, Berlin, 1911). I should have been glad to consider these, but when they came to my hands the Introduction was already in final proof and no further changes could be made. Bürger's discussion is a complete justification of the illuminating statement of Plessis (*La Poésie Latine*, p. 354, see my Introduction, p. 68) that Tibullus belonged, in taste if not in fact, to the Attic School. Pohlenz's discussion of Philetas (pp. 108–112) cannot be ignored by those who assert that erotic elegy of the subjective type was unknown to the Alexandrian poets.

In the preparation of the Notes I have not hesitated to avail myself of whatever appeared to be of value, and it is possible that through inadvertence I may have failed in some cases to give credit to whom credit was due. I hope however that special obligations have always received special acknowledgment. The scope and character

of the Notes will be sufficiently clear to any one who has read the Introduction. A recital of my aims and endeavours, an account of my preparation for this work, would be merely stating in another form what I conceive to be the plain duty of any commentator who deserves the name. I shall be content if scholars whose opinion I value shall accord me the credit of an honest effort to perform that duty to the best of my ability.

In its original form the Appendix contained a full *apparatus criticus*, two or three notes on technical matters, and a complete list of authorities consulted. Upon second thoughts it seemed advisable to withhold all this material from a book already in danger of becoming overgrown. Moreover, the loss is largely, if not entirely, compensated by the fact that the principal authorities or the sources from which they may be derived are now mentioned in the Notes or in the footnotes of the Introduction. So, too, the essential details of textual tradition have already been discussed, and the minutiae of the complete record are easily accessible in the excellent critical editions of Hiller and Postgate.

I was forced to prepare the Index even for my own use. I may assume therefore that it will be useful to others. I had thought of entering here the imitations and reminiscences of Tibullus gleaned from the later Roman poets by various editors and special investigators. The majority of these however are too vague to be conclusive. I have recorded therefore only those which are mentioned in the Notes.

This book has been enriched by the helpful suggestions, and I myself have been upheld by the genuine interest, of more than one friend whose name is not recorded here.

The criticism of Professor E. P. Morris, supervising editor of this series, has been at my service. Nor do I fail to appreciate the generous coöperation of the publishers, and especially of Mr. Everett E. Thompson. He has given freely of his invaluable training and wide experience. My old friend and colleague Professor Wilfred P. Mustard has subjected the entire book to a rigid cross-examination, and in its present form it owes much to his relentless accuracy, his candid criticism, and his refined taste.

My obligations to Professor Gildersleeve — his examination and criticism of my Introduction is merely one of them — cannot be estimated. By no means the least of these obligations was incurred when I determined at the beginning of my long task that, so far as lay within my power, this book should deserve the honour of dedication to the friend whose living presence has enriched and inspired all my academic life.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

BALTIMORE.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE ELEGY

THE Roman elegy founded by Cornelius Gallus and perfected by Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid was the culmination of an aesthetic evolution the earliest stage of which in our surviving record carries us as far back as the days when the kingdom of Gyges and Kroisos still loomed large on the eastern horizon of Hellenic civilization.[1] Nor can it be claimed that even then the elegy was in any respect rudimentary. On the contrary the great typical moods of the department are all visible and the elegiac distich[2] shows by its very perfection of technique that it had already been subjected to artistic manipulation for a considerable length of time.

It is impossible here to discuss the question of origins[3] at any length. The matter was obscure even to the ancient critics, and the solutions offered by modern scholarship are none of them entirely satisfactory. It is important however to observe that the traditional association of the elegy with the flute naturally points to an ultimate origin in the sphere of those orgiastic cults with which the flute itself was identified.[4] The real significance of this statement becomes evident as soon as we recall to mind that in a

[1] The only satisfactory account of the elegy as a whole is given by Crusius, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 5 (1905), pp. 2260–2307. The student is referred to it for further details and for the most important literature of the subject.

[2] On the independent use of the pentameter see Usener, *Altgriechischer Versbau*, p. 99; Immisch, *Philologenversammlung zu Görlitz*, 1889, p. 380; Kirby Flower Smith, *A. J. P.* 22, pp. 165–194; P. Rasi, *De Eleg. Lat.*, p. 36; Reitzenstein, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 6, p. 76, etc. On the origin of the distich see also Zacher, *Philologus*, 57, pp. 18 f., etc.

[3] Crusius, *l.c.*, pp. 2260 f. and ref.

[4] Dümmler, *Philol.*, 53, p. 201; Immisch, *l.c.*; Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, pp. 139 f., etc.

primitive condition of society the expression of emotion soon reaches the ecstatic or orgiastic stage, and that from that point, whether the original motive was sorrow, patriotic fervour, religious excitement, or love, the symptoms, whether in action or thought, are very much the same. From this point of view therefore it would seem most likely that, as Crusius says, the leading motives of the elegy in its preliterary period were the lament for the dead and the patriotic call to arms, a specific type of the hortatory mood (προτρεπτική). We find both moods united in the oldest surviving specimen of poetry animated by the lyrico-elegiac spirit, the dirge in *Iliad* 24, 725 f. The connection therefore of the flute with the elegy itself would appear to suggest that this form of poetry, though refined and raised to artistic excellence at an early period by the Ionians, sprang originally from the orgiastic mood. It is true that the elegy was also recited at symposia[1] and to the accompaniment of the flute. This however involves no contradiction. On such occasions joy and sorrow met quite as naturally as they did in the orgiastic cults to which reference has already been made.

On Greek soil the history of the elegy as a developed literary form may be conveniently divided into two periods, the Old and the New. The Old elegy (7th to 4th cent. B.C.) comprises the old Ionian school, the Dorian school of the Peloponnese, Solon, Theognis, and their contemporaries, and fourth, the Attic school. The New elegy begins with the Age of Alexander the Great and, at least for our present purpose, extends to Parthenios, the friend and teacher of Cornelius Gallus, the founder of the Roman elegy.

The Ionian group (7th to 6th cent. B.C.), the earliest and greatest period of the Old elegy, is represented, *e.g.*, by Archilochos of Paros, Kallinos of Ephesos, Mimnermos of Kolophon.

It is interesting to observe how fully the tendencies of the elegy yet to be are either foreshadowed or completely developed

[1] The sympotic origin of the elegy is especially emphasized by Reitzenstein in his *Epigramm und Skolion*.

even in the scanty fragments of these early poets. The four leading moods — threnodic, hortatory, erotic, didactic (θρηνητική, προτρεπτική, ἐρωτική, διδακτική) — are all represented. Now too, as throughout the entire history of the department, the poet's attitude is preferably subjective, but the objective attitude of the epic or dramatic poet as we see it in the narrative elegy had already begun. Even the realistic vein of Asios (see Athenaios, 3, 125, D) appeared again in the Alexandrian poets and certain of their Roman imitators. The same is true of style and technique. These are generally determined by the Ionian epic. Hence the certain amount of elevation and dignity ever afterwards characteristic of the type. So in their manipulation of the distich these old Ionian masters exhibit the same tendency to develop an idea by parallelism and antithesis which we find in the later poets, especially Tibullus himself.

The overshadowing genius of this period is Archilochos of Paros, but taking the subsequent history of the department as a whole, the most interesting and by far the most important representative of this school of elegy, perhaps even of the entire elegy, is Mimnermos of Kolophon.

Mimnermos, like Kallinos, used the distich as a vehicle of patriotic feeling. He also betrays a fondness for local legends. But his most important contribution to elegiac art is the sentimental-erotic mood characterizing the poems to his beloved Nanno. Equally important is the fact that he does not express emotion after the manner of the Aeolic lyric. He either analyzes it, presents it rhetorically, as in the old gnomic poetry, or illustrates it by a parallel taken from myth. These methods of development, especially this peculiar and characteristic use of myth, make the *Nanno*, as every student of Propertius knows, a prototype of the Hellenistic elegy (cp. Hor. *Epist.* 2, 2, 101; Propert. 1, 9, 11).

A singer and a player of the flute as well as a poet, Mimnermos was also especially notable for his use of epic forms. We might

expect it of one so thoroughly steeped in the diction and style of the Homeric poems. To the same cause has been traced that tendency to idealize the past which is a specific aspect not only of Mimnermos himself in his sentimental-erotic mood but after him of the entire elegy.

To the period of Solon belongs the growth of the inscription in distichs. The acknowledged classic is Simonides and the type was continued by Aischylos and Phrynichos.

The period of Attic supremacy was marked by the rise of prose and of the drama. For the time being the elegy was relegated to the background as a mere parergon of writers whose real fame was derived from their work in other fields. Nevertheless the Attic school — the best representatives of it were Ion, Evenos, and Kritias — marks an advance. The influence of lyric and tragedy and of the new rhetorical technique of the sophists is to be felt in certain details.

The transition from the Old elegy to the New is represented by Antimachos of Kolophon, and it is significant for the character of the type soon to come that the intellectual and artistic pedigree of its great precursor takes us back to his fellow townsman Mimnermos. Upon the death of his beloved Lyde, Antimachos consoled himself for his loss by composing elegies in her honour, in which he retold from legend stories of those who like himself had loved and lost. The *Lyde* was thus a special development of the old threnodic mood. So too this use of myth, to which as the author of a famous epic (the *Thebais*) he would naturally be inclined, takes us back to Mimnermos. But this use of myth which appears to have been only occasional even in Mimnermos becomes in Antimachos for the first time a settled principle of elegiac composition afterwards used to advantage by the Hellenistic poets. His careful elaboration of details and his more extensive use of metaphorical diction, for both of which he was famous, also characterize him as a genuine forerunner of the New elegy.

A notable feature of Alexandrian literature was the prominence and popularity of the elegy. Every function of the department was cultivated and developed by authors whose names were deservedly famous in later times. In considering the elegy we must include also the elegiac epigram. Historically there is no hard and fast line between the two.[1] The elegiac epitaph of Simonides, for example, which is said to have been developed first by Anakreon has been derived from the old threnodic mood of the elegy. But the characteristic Alexandrian epigram — erotic, sentimental, ironical, and what-not — of which many examples are preserved in the Greek Anthology, is even more closely related to the elegy. In fact it is nothing more nor less than an elegy in miniature and, as such, often the artistic development of themes already outlined, not only by the Attic poets and Theognis but even by the old Ionian school. This type of Alexandrian epigram is often imitated and subjected to rhetorical expansion by the Roman elegiac poets, especially Propertius, but above all Ovid.[2]

The New elegy was a faithful reflection of the new culture. The establishment of an imperial system with continental possessions was responsible for pronounced changes in Greek life and thought. The new cosmopolitan ideal was strong both for good and for ill. The outlook of the average man was perhaps wider and more varied, but the conditions under which the great masterpieces of the past were produced had disappeared forever. Like all other private citizens, the poet was no longer concerned with the policies of the state. He might attach himself to some court, and many did so, but in any case his themes and his inspiration were now more distinctly those of a cosmopolitan living in an age of great learning and great intellectual and aesthetic refinement. Certainly, too, the period was profoundly affected by the fact that, with the growing importance of women which had followed the

[1] The clear statement and exposition of this important fact are due to Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion*.

[2] Hence, Jacoby's theory; see p. 23, n. 1.

fall of the old city state, gradual feminization of life, literature, and art, with which we ourselves are not unfamiliar, had already begun.

In fact the Hellenistic period might perhaps be called the Age of Romanticism in Greek life. At all events it is in some ways the prototype and parallel of our own Romantic movement which, beginning with the nineteenth century, has profoundly modified the intellectual and social atmosphere of to-day. Conventional themes and methods of literary art give place to those which have been overlooked, forgotten, or ignored in previous times. There is a notable tendency to deal with ordinary men rather than with distinguished persons, gods, and heroes, as in other days. The shift of popular interest, by way of Euripides, from *Die Leiden des alten Prometheus* to *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, with the resulting change of tone, was as characteristic of the Alexandrian Age as it was of Goethe's time.

There was also a change in the point of view toward the literary and artistic inheritance of the race. Then as now we are in an age of scholarship and of great libraries. Philology, philosophy, natural science, the spirit of scientific investigation in general, come to the front and affect literary productivity in both matter and manner. As one might expect, the prevailing mood is the sentimental and erotic, occasionally even the neurotic. But then as now the idealist and the realist are side by side. Artistic naturalism which, as in Herondas and in the comedy, deals with ordinary and even with low life as it was, is opposed by the mood of gallantry and of sentimental eroticism which deals with high life as it never has been. On the other hand the protest against over-refinement finds expression in a reversion to the popular, antique, and primitive, in the use of local legends and folklore, in the deliberate archaism which prompted an author like Kallimachos to revive in his *Bath of Pallas* what appears to have been an old Dorian function of the elegy long since forgotten. But the most characteristic literary evidence of this protest is furnished by

the *Idylls* of Theokritos who expressly states that he was the friend and pupil of Philetas of Kos, distinguished as a teacher, Homeric scholar, philologist, and philosopher, but more distinguished, we may guess, as the founder and, with the possible exception of Kallimachos, as the greatest representative of the Hellenistic elegy.

In his elegiac poem Δημήτηρ, Philetas related the Rape of Persephone. A good idea of his probable style and method may doubtless be gained from the charming stories of Hylas and of Polyphemos and Galatea told by Theokritos. Indeed, as Crusius well observes, these poems are themselves far more suggestive of the narrative elegy than of the epyllion. The books of poems dedicated to Bittis connect Philetas directly with the *Lyde* of Antimachos and more remotely with the *Nanno* of Mimnermos. Unfortunately the fragments are too slight to warrant any very definite conclusions. Perhaps it is safe to say, however, that Philetas had the idyllic touch and the tendency to *genre* reminding one of Theokritos. His language and style were probably simple and natural. It is likely also that the poems to Bittis were essentially lyric and subjective (cp. Hermesianax in Athenaios, 13, 598 F).[1]

Hermesianax (three books of elegies to Leontion) and Phanokles (Ἔρωτες ἢ Καλοί), younger contemporaries of Philetas, represent an archaistic type the inspiration of which appears to have been the Hesiodic *Catalogi*. In Hermesianax we find the ironical humour, in Phanokles the pursuit of poetic αἴτια, which were both characteristic of the age. As in Antimachos and others the personal note is expressed in mythic material.

The next step, for which Kallinos and Mimnermos had already paved the way, was to make the myth itself the subject, and to reduce the personal note to a minimum. The step was taken by

[1] If so, Jacoby's theory (see p. 23, n. 1) needs much revision. One could wish that we knew more of this collection. But at all events his thesis is neither supported nor protected by his assumption that the *Bittis* was an epikedeion or that it was a series of poems of the Catalogue type. See esp. M. Pohlenz in Χάριτες *Friedrich Leo zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht*, Berlin, 1911, pp. 108–112.

Alexander the Aetolian, the first great representative in this period of the elegy as a vehicle for love stories (in his Ἀπόλλων) and — after the type of Kritias — for literary gossip (in his Μοῦσαι). The growth of narrative elegy was encouraged not a little by the fact that both the poets and their readers were more interested in the legends and tales of the people than in the well-worn heroic myths. For such tales the traditional atmosphere of the elegy was better suited than that of the epic. According to the rules of the new school the story should be told briefly. Only the most effective incidents — for example the catastrophe — were worked out in detail, and as a matter of course the Romantic mood was emphasized. A good example on the Roman side is the exquisite Tarpeia elegy of Propertius (4, 4). The one long fragment of Alexander's Ἀπόλλων is a genuine novella of the Milesian type. The style is simple and straightforward.

The many points of contact between the Roman elegy and the New comedy, the mime, and Herondas suggest that one of the Hellenistic contributions to our department was a type of elegy animated by a certain amount of the satiric and realistic spirit. This however is by no means certain. Moreover the Alexandrian poets generally prefer the epigram for the expression of this mood. For example the instructions of the lena to her charge, a stock theme in the Roman elegy — and as such the ancestor of countless Renaissance productions like the *Rettorica delle Puttane* of Pallavicino — are probably rhetorical expansions of such epigrams belonging to the Hellenistic period.[1] Even yet there was no real distinction between the elegy and the epigram in distichs.

We now come to Kallimachos of Kyrene (310–240? B.C.), the most voluminous writer perhaps of all antiquity, the great representative of Alexandrian poetry, and according to later critics the master of the elegy. His commanding position is partly due to

[1] Crusius, *l.c.* 5, p. 2283 and ref.; A. L. Wheeler, 'Erotic Teaching in Roman Elegy and the Greek Sources,' *Class Philol.* 5, pp. 447 f. Here too, especially, the direct influence of the νέα is to be suspected.

the clearness with which he stated his artistic programme, much of which is embodied in his own famous saying, *μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν, i.e.* no long epics, no poems on a large scale and following the beaten paths, but small pieces characterized by attention to detail and artistic perfection — miniatures, as one might say. The practical demonstration of his views was the Ἑκάλη, a short epyllion, and the famous Αἴτια, four books of elegies which may have suggested, at least in some ways, the *Fasti* of Ovid and certain poems in the last book of Propertius.[1]

The Κατὰ Λεπτόν of his friend Aratos reminds one of the miscellany by the same name attributed to the youthful Vergil, and in any case to be closely associated with the literary circle of Messalla.

The example of the Αἴτια was followed by Eratosthenes in his Ἠριγόνη (Attic aetiological legends).

The Θαυμάσια of Philostephanos and such works as the Ὀφιακά of Nikander mark the natural outcome of the Alexandrian Age.

Of the elegies of Euphorion of Chalkis we know nothing except that according to Diomedes (cp. Probus on Verg. *E.* 10, 50), they were imitated by Gallus. The fact however that with the exception of one unimportant pentameter the five books of Gallus's elegies to his Lycoris have completely disappeared makes discussion of this subject peculiarly unprofitable.[2]

More important, or at all events more definite, is the relation between Gallus and Parthenios of Nikaia, the last great elegiac poet of the Alexandrian school. Brought to Rome as a prisoner in 73 B.C., but soon after set free, he later became the friend and teacher of Cornelius Gallus. Parthenios was especially famous for his Ἐπικήδεια. He also wrote Παίγνια and epigrammata, which he dedicated to Krinagoras. In other elegies he told, to quote his own phrase, *ἱστορίαι ξέναι καὶ ἄτριπτοι* after the manner of Kallimachos and possibly of Euphorion. This was the type recom-

[1] For the long fragment of Kallimachos (the story of Akontios and Kydippe, to which, as it now appears, Ovid is not as much indebted as was thought) see Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VII, p. 25.

[2] A case in point is F. Skutsch in his *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* and *Gallus und Vergil.*

mended to his distinguished pupil, as we learn from his Περὶ Ἐρωτικῶν Παθημάτων, 'On the Misfortunes of Lovers,' a little handbook addressed to Gallus and containing the bare plots of a number of such stories to be used by him in the composition of future elegies.[1] Doubtless Gallus employed this work in the manner suggested. Possibly too his elegies, to judge from the prevailing mood of poetry at the time, were characterized by an idyllic strain which would connect him directly or indirectly with the bucolic poets of Greece, but this is incapable of definite proof.

Historically the elegy first enters Rome with the Hellenistic epigram in distichs as cultivated by Catulus, Valerius Aedituus, and their school at the end of the second century B.C.[2] Much more important however was the impulse which came in the next generation through Catullus, Calvus, and the other *νεώτεροι*, under the leadership of Valerius Cato. The surviving work of Catullus shows his ability to write genuine elegies, and the lost poems of Calvus to his Quintilia (threnodic),[3] and the collection entitled Leucadia (erotic?) by Varro Atacinus, suggest that Catullus was not the only representative of this department. The characteristic work of the school however was really along other lines, and the Roman critics were doubtless entirely justified in their view that the real founder of their elegy as a great department of poetry was Cornelius Gallus.

From what has been said above it will be seen that, taking the elegy as a whole, the commanding figure in the department is Mimnermos. His erotic-sentimental mood commended to the Alexandrian Age by Antimachos becomes, when modified by the idyllic propensities of Philetas, the prevailing mood of the department in later times. Every type however was cultivated in

[1] See esp. Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 f. Gallus's method of using this material was probably similar to that which we see in Propertius.

[2] See Büttner, *Porcius Licinus und der Litterarische Kreis des Q. Lutatius Catulus*.

[3] Crusius, p. 2292. Jacoby's statement that these were not elegiac is unproved and unlikely; see, *e.g.*, frag. 17 M., a pentameter. The position of Quintilia or her identity has no bearing on this question.

the Alexandrian Age, and though all of them, even the purely narrative type and the elegiac epigram, are both in matter and form a natural growth from the elegy of earlier days, we may nevertheless agree with the Romans that the flower of the elegy on its native soil was during the Hellenistic period.[1]

[1] The burning question here is the pedigree of the specific Roman type. The first extant examples of the subjective erotic elegy occur among the Romans. Was this an invention of their own, or had they been anticipated by the Alexandrian poets? For the literature of the subject up to 1905 see Gollnisch, *Quaestiones Elegiacae*, Diss., Breslau, 1905 (rev. by Jacoby, *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 1905, p. 1208). The discussion first assumes importance with Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, 1895, pp. 126 f.; see, also, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 722, and his *De Horatio et Archilocho*, Gött., 1900. Among further contributions special prominence should be given to R. Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion*, and his article on the Epigram in *P-W.* 6, pp. 71–111; Jacoby, 'Zur Entstehung der Römischen Elegie,' *Rhein. Mus.* 60, 38–105; A. L. Wheeler, *Class. Philol.* 5, 440–450; 6, 56–77; 5, 28–40. Mention should also be made of M. Rothstein, *Einleit. zu Propers*, and *Philol.* 1900, p. 441; Hoelzer, *De Poesi Amatoria a Comicis Atticis exculta ab Elegiacis imitatione expressa*, Diss, Marburg, 1899; Bürger, *De Ovidii Carm. Amat.* etc., Braunschweig, 1901; Mallet, *Quaest. Propert.* 1882; M. Heinemann, 'Epistulae Amat. quomodo cohaereant cum Elegiis Alexandrinis,' *Diss. Argentorat.* 14, 3, Strassburg, 1910 (see Jacoby, *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 1911, pp. 169–173). The solution offered by Wheeler, *l.c*, deserves particular consideration, and his review and criticism of the discussion is timely and convincing.

A definite and final answer to the question is precluded by the practically complete loss of the Alexandrian elegy. Two possibilities remain. One is the references in later writers (Propertius and Ovid, Quintilian, Diomedes, etc.). Experience has shown that these are of no value *per se*. Antique criticism is more concerned with form and style than with content or *genre*. All that remains is to collect the numerous passages in various types of Greek literature which parallel or prefigure the characters, motives, and situations of Roman elegy (hence the large number of such parallels collected during the past 15 years). Parallelism, however, is neither a proof nor a test of immediate origin. If in a given case, as Wheeler well says, 'the fact of influence has been demonstrated and the earliest, *i.e.* the ultimate, Greek source has been pointed out, the most difficult question still remains: By what channel did the Greek influence reach Roman elegy?'

Leo's view (I borrow Wheeler's brief outline) is that 'the many agreements between Roman elegy and Roman comedy indicate that Greek New comedy is the ultimate source of the comic motives in Roman elegy, for the Augustan elegists did not read Plautus and Terence. But the Augustan elegists did not use the *νέα* directly, as the older scholars (*e.g.* Huschke, etc.) thought; rather the influence came indirectly through the medium of the Alexandrian poets, especially the elegists, whom Propertius and Ovid acknowledge as their models. The Alexandrians had already taken over the motives of comedy, each poet modifying them from personal experience and from life. The material of comedy appears in

The characteristic vices of the Hellenistic elegy are suggested by what has already been said of the period itself. They were overmuch complication in structure, an excess of antiquarianism,

Lucian and Alciphron, who used comedy directly, and in Aristaenetus and Philostratus, who did not know comedy directly but drew on Lucian and Alciphron or on Alexandrian elegy. In single cases the Roman elegists may have been influenced directly by the νέα, for they knew the plays, but the indirect relation is the only natural one and is indicated by the diffusion of these motives in Greek and Roman erotic literature and by the close connection between Greek and Roman elegy as shown by the erotic epigram.'

It will be seen that Leo did not entirely exclude the νέα as a direct influence. It was left for his followers (notably Hoelzer) to narrow his view and to make the Alexandrian elegy 'the clearing house for all Greek influence on Roman elegy.' This of course is most unlikely. Much better was Gollnisch, who extended Leo's theory so far as to show that the Romans were influenced directly by the epigram, comedy, and mythological elegy, as well as by the assumed Alexandrian prototype. Reitzenstein's most valuable contributions to this discussion have been the emphasis he has given to rhetoric, especially rhetorical τόποι as constructive agencies, and to the fact that so far as the Greeks were concerned there was no hard and fast line between the elegy and the elegiac epigram. Jacoby's theory is in brief that the starting point and chief source of the Roman elegy is the Alexandrian erotic epigram, but that we should also consider, though in less degree, the comedy, the mythological elegy, and the bucolic. Emphasis on these points is timely, and the results are of great value. Isolated cases (see Jacoby, *l.c.* p. 81) of probably direct derivation from these sources have already been pointed out. We cannot derive the Roman subjective erotic elegy as a whole from a single source. Indeed irrespective of the testimony of the elegies themselves the theory of a single source is rendered unlikely by the eclecticism so notably characteristic of the Augustan poëts. Finally, as noted by Jacoby and as more clearly and precisely stated by Wheeler, within the department itself the comparative prominence of one or another of these sources above the rest appears to vary with the period as well as with the individual. The importance of comedy as a direct source seems to increase with time: bucolic (whether direct or indirect it is impossible to say) is most prominent in Tibullus, the mythological tradition in Propertius, comedy and formal rhetoric in Ovid.

The weakness of Jacoby, it seems to me, is the fact that he tries to prove too much. He assumes that the Alexandrian erotic epigram is the *starting point* and *chief* source of the Roman elegy. This may be true, but it is yet to be proved, and I cannot see how it will ever be proved by the method which he himself has used in his last article, 'Tibulls erste Elegie, ein Beitrag zum Verständniss der Tibullischen Kunst,' *Rhein. Mus.* 64, 601 f. and 65, 22 f.

Having made this assumption, Jacoby must either prove it from the Roman elegy itself, which no one can do, or else protect it by annihilating the assumed Alexandrian type of subjective erotic elegy (cp. his own naïve statement in *Rhein. Mus.* 60, 57, n. 1). Pohlenz's discussion of Philetas (see p. 19, n. 1, above) cannot be ignored by those who agree with Jacoby.

a tendency to obscure allusion, a fondness for recondite words and syntax, and other peculiarities often found in authors whose learning overshadows their critical and creative faculty.

It will be observed that these vices are all formal and stylistic. It may be added that the essential virtues of the type were in the same sphere. The most striking aspect of this school of elegy was its formal excellence. The genius of the great Alexandrian poets was the genius of artistic form.

quamvis ingenio non valet arte valet

is Ovid's shrewd comment upon Kallimachos, the representative poet of the age. If therefore Kallimachos was looked upon as the great exemplar and patron saint of the Roman elegy, the criticism of him by Ovid can only imply that it was by reason of his formal excellence. This conclusion in turn suggests that the debt of the Roman elegy to its Alexandrian prototype, about which there has been so much discussion, was largely a matter of form. Indeed merely on general principles the conclusion seems inevitable that the interest of any Roman poet in his Greek model should be first and foremost in the technical sphere, to learn not what he had written, but how he had written; in short to discover and master the secret of his art.

We have no reason to suppose that the Roman elegiac poets were an exception to this rule, although the losses to the Alexandrian elegy have been so extensive that it is no longer possible to follow out all the details. The Roman poets furnish examples of most of the standard types developed by their predecessors. So, too, many of their situations and motives, the commonplaces of the department in general, are quite at home in the Alexandrian Age, even though it is not always possible actually to prove that they were inherited from that period by way of the elegy. The same may be said of the literary references, of the favourite myths and stories used for illustration, and of similar phenomena, especially in Ovid and Propertius.

We often get at the situation indirectly through the immediate

or secondary influence of the Hellenistic poets upon other literary departments. From this point of view the Roman elegy demands and repays constant comparison with the comedy and with that belated echo of it, the rhetorical letter writers, Alkiphron and Aristainetos. Another important source is the Greek Anthology, and still another, the Hellenistic works of art discovered in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and elsewhere, many of which lay emphasis upon the sentimental, erotic, idyllic, or *genre*. We may also add Lukian, Philostratos, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Nonnos, the Roman epigrammatists, even the rhetorical and philosophical discussions. In one way or another they all echo the once large and particularly interesting literature of the Hellenistic period.

How much on the other hand the Roman elegy owes to the Romans themselves it is no longer possible to say. It is fair to assume however that the debt is considerable. The elegy was a late comer, and at that time Roman literary genius had long been out of leading strings. In this matter little can be learned from the atmosphere of the elegy itself. Developed and perfected in the thirty-odd years preceding the Christian Era, the Roman elegy of Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid was the product of an age which in intellectual refinement and cultivation, even in the political situation and its ultimate consequences, was in many ways a replica of the period in which the elegy of Philetas and his successors had been produced.

Indeed the ordinary Graeco-Roman life of the Augustan Age was much the same as that of the Alexandrian Age. So far at least as the elegy is concerned, the different classes of society and their relations to each other, the occupations and ambitions of the jeunesse dorée, the entire mise-en-scène of polite verse dealing with contemporary existence harmonize with the one almost as well as with the other. Antique life was very conservative, especially in the conduct of a love affair *à la mode*. The lover and his friends, his mistress and her friends, his rival (always either a soldier of fortune, or a rich parvenu, or both), the 'husband,' the lena, all

are stock characters whether in comedy, elegy, epigram, or actual life. They can be depended upon to appear in regular order, and after some experience the resulting situations, moods, and observations can usually be predicted in advance.

The bacillus amatorius generally penetrates the poet by way of his eyes, and the period of incubation is ridiculously short. Among the first symptoms one of the most notable is an utter inability to sleep. It is useless to struggle. The arrows of Dan Cupid are unerring and burn to the bone. His victim is an ox at the plow, and the worst is yet to come; he is a soldier detailed for special service, always leading the forlorn hope. To overcome the girl's disdain is only one of his troubles. Frequently there is a selfish and tactless 'husband' in the way. Then follow all the varieties, moods, and motives of an intrigue.

The emotional temperature is far above the danger point. Clothes torn, hair forcibly removed, faces scratched, black and blue spots — these are all marks of affection. As the observant Parmeno remarks —

> in amore haec omnia insunt vitia: iniuriae,
> suspiciones, inimicitiae, indutiae,
> bellum, pax rursum, etc.

'A bitter-sweet passion at best,' says Burton, after consulting all the books in and about Oxford — 'dolentia delectabilis, hilare tormentum — fair, foul, and full of variation.

Jove's book for recording lovers' oaths is running water. And 'la donna è mobile' — her promises are sport for the winds and seas. The poet is always poor. His mistress however is not only a pearl, but a pearl of price. He promises her immortality in his verses; she is more concerned about her immediate future in this life. He learns as did the Abbé Voisenon that —

> Sans dépenser
> C'est en vain qu'on espère
> De s'avancer
> Au pays de Cythère.

He is therefore the natural enemy of wealth, greed, and present-day luxury. His ideal is the Golden Age, when men were so happy and so poor. He takes no part in politics, is not ambitious to get on in affairs; war is as unpopular with him as seafaring and similar short cuts to death. He observes omens, frequently consults witch-wives and Thessalian moon specialists, and generally makes them responsible for the sins of his mistress. She herself has a decided leaning for ritualism. She is devoted to Isis and sows dissension by her periodical attacks of going into retreat.

She is earnestly advised not to mar her great natural beauty by artificial means. In the course of the affair she never fails to have an illness. The poet nurses her and afterwards writes a poem about it. He too falls ill. Maybe he is going to die. If so, will she see to it that the following directions with regard to his funeral are carried out?

Like Anakreon he must love, and is made to sing of love alone. To expect him to write epic is quite out of the question. Indeed the gods themselves sometimes serve notice on him to that effect.

But while the prevailing mood of the elegy is amatory and the lighter aspects of contemporary life are much in evidence, the poet may, and occasionally does, resort to the other traditional themes and moods of his department.

The Roman elegy is generally erotic and sentimental; it favours the idyllic, and has a fondness for *genre*. At the same time it is rarely intense, and it shows a tendency to cultivated irony and persiflage. This characteristic mood of Hellenistic poetry is especially notable in Ovid, but it is also characteristic of Roman poetry in his time.

Matter and manner are in harmony with each other. The Roman elegy demands and attains the highest standard of formal excellence. From this point of view—and it was this point of view that inspired the words—Quintilian's boast of 'elegia quoque Graecos provocamus' was, we may be sure, fully justified.[1]

[1] In view of much recent criticism of the elegy as well as of other literary departments this characteristic attitude of antique criticism cannot be too often emphasized. See p. 72, n. 1.

As it was designed to be read, not sung, the Roman elegy was more highly rhetorical and details of form were more carefully considered than would otherwise have been necessary. The distich in particular, as we find it in the poems of Tibullus and his successors, represents the greatest triumph of Roman genius in the domain of verse technique, and may challenge comparison with the best work of the Greek masters. Every detail of rhetoric and style is wrought out with the utmost delicacy and care. The theme, as we shall see, is developed in a typical fashion, and as compared with the epigram the distich is constructed with greater attention, and the language is more fastidious. Herein we have a definite, clear distinction between the Roman elegy and the Roman epigram in distichs.

But while the language of the elegy as opposed to that of the epigram is always poetical, nevertheless it carefully avoids as a rule the more elevated mood of epic and tragedy. This law is in harmony with the *ars celare artem*, the apparent absence of anything like artifice, the effect of unstudied ease and naturalness, for which the elegy is especially distinguished. The ideal is daintiness and grace rather than sublimity or the soaring moods and aspirations of high poetry. The author repeatedly informs us that his verse is of the lighter sort, mere 'nugae' or 'opuscula,' and though he sometimes forgets and tells the truth, he generally assures us that he has no ambitions, that his poems are only meant to win his lady-love, and that if they fail in this object they may all go hang. Strange to say, modern scholars have often taken him at his word.[1]

These general laws, these standard rules and representative tendencies of the Roman elegy as a whole, are most fully and clearly illustrated by Albius Tibullus. To him in fact belongs the distinction of having given artistic perfection to the department on Roman ground.

[1] 2, 4, 13–20 n.

II. LIFE OF TIBULLUS

Our materials for the life of Tibullus are insufficient for restoring even a bare outline of his career and personality.[1] They consist of a few slight references in his own works, certain passages in the poems of his younger contemporary Ovid, two pieces addressed to him by his friend Horace, and an anonymous vita which has come down to us in some mss. of the author.

This vita, which is followed by an epigram ascribed to Tibullus's contemporary Domitius Marsus, is brief, vague, and unsatisfactory. It has some value however; for, although corrupted and abridged to an indefinite extent, it probably goes back ultimately to a life of Tibullus once found in the *De Poetis*, a section now lost of the *De Viris Inlustribus* of Suetonius.

The epigram of Domitius Marsus, the leading poet of his type in the Augustan Age, was doubtless quoted by Suetonius himself in the text of the lost 'vita Tibulli.' It was evidently occasioned by the fact that the death of our poet was coincident with that of Vergil. We know from trustworthy sources that the author of the *Aeneid* died at Brindisi on the 22d of September, 19 B.C. We must therefore suppose that the death of Tibullus occurred either on that very day, which in itself is not impossible, or at a very brief interval. Otherwise the epigram has no point, and Suetonius would never have quoted it in this connection.

This is the nearest approach to a definite date in the life of our poet. The date of his birth is unknown and can only be stated approximately. The vita says that he died young ('obiit adulescens'), but immediately adds, 'ut indicat epigramma supra scriptum.' Perhaps these words are the addition of a later hand. If

[1] For the most complete and detailed account of Tibullus with references to all the important literature up to date, see Schanz, *Geschichte der Röm. Litteratur*, II, 1, 3rd edit., Munich, Beck, 1911, p. 219. The most sympathetic and inspiring account of Tibullus as a poet and man is given by Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*. See also, Plessis, *La Poésie Latine*, Paris, 1910, p. 336 f., and Duff's *Literary History of Rome*, p. 546.

not, the statement of the vita is valueless; for Marsus himself says 'iuvenis' not 'adulescens,' and every one knows that 'iuvenis' is as indefinite as 'encore jeune' or the lady's 'twenty-nine.'

We may be sure however that Tibullus died before his time. It is suggested by certain aspects of his second and last book and by the fact that Horace (born 65 B.C.) speaks to him as to a younger man. It is also implied by Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 10, 51 —

> Vergilium vidi tantum; nec amara Tibullo
> tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae,

but more definitely by the verses immediately succeeding, in which he names the four great elegiac poets of Rome ending with himself —

> successor fuit hic tibi, Galle; Propertius illi;
> quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.

The order here, as Ovid expressly states, is chronological, and hence we have Gallus (born in 69), Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid (born in 43). It is usual therefore to place the birth of Tibullus at not far from 54 B.C.[1] In that case he would be 35 at the time of his death, quite old enough perhaps to find his age a handicap to success in a love affair (Hor. *Od.* 1, 33, 3), but whether still young enough to justify the definition of 'adulescens' will depend to some extent upon the age of the definer.

The nomen gentile of Tibullus was Albius, and Horace, who furnishes our only surviving examples of address to him in person (*Od.* 1, 33, 1; *Epist.* 1, 4, 1), always so designates him.[2] 'Albius Tibullus' occurs only in the old commentators on Horace (Acro, *Od.* 1, 33, 1; *Epist.* 1, 4, 1; Porph. *Od.* 1, 33, 1), in Diomedes

[1] K. P. Harrington, *Proceed. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 33, pp. cxxxvii ff. For Cartault's discussion see his edition of Tibullus, p. 5.

[2] Baehrens, *Tibullische Blätter*, Jena, 1876, p. 7 (followed, *e.g.*, by Postgate, *Selections from Tib. and Others*, 1903, p. 179), tried to prove that our poet is not the Albius of Horace. It is hardly worth while now to discuss and refute this theory; see, however, *e.g.*, Cartault, 'Horace et Tibulle,' *Revue de Philol.* 30, 210–217; Ullman, *A.J.P.* 33, 149; Postgate, *id.* 377.

(484, 17, K) a grammarian of the fourth century, the vita, and the mss. Otherwise the poet's own rule of the simple cognomen 'Tibullus' (1, 3, 55; 1, 9, 83; 4, 13, 13) is followed invariably. His praenomen has not survived.

The cognomen of Tibullus seems to be unique in the surviving record of Roman nomenclature, and it cannot be shown that any one of the handful of more or less obscure Albii now known to us was even a distant connection of the poet. The vita however says that he was a Roman knight, the class from which the literary genius of Rome was at all periods so largely recruited, and he himself informs us (1, 1, 19 ff. and 41 ff.) that his forbears were rich landed proprietors, but that a large part of the property had been lost. It is possible that as in the case of Vergil, Propertius, and other contemporaries, the reverses to which he alludes were occasioned by the famous confiscation of lands which Octavianus was forced to make for the benefit of his veterans after Philippi in 42 B.C. There were however other confiscations of the same sort in 36 and in 31, and as the poet himself suggests neither a cause nor a date for the family misfortunes it seems useless to pursue the subject further.

But whatever the earlier losses may have been, we learn from the poet himself that his income though modest (cp. note on *paupertas*, 1, 1, 5, and the following lines) was quite enough to supply all his wants, 1, 1, 77–8—

> ego composito securus acervo
> despiciam dites despiciamque famem.

On the other hand Horace (*Epist.* 1, 4, 7) says of him

> di tibi divitias dederunt,

and those who maintain that the Albius to whom Horace refers is not our Albius see in this statement a striking proof of their theory. The definition of wealth however is largely a relative, not to say a subjective, matter. It should be observed too that

further down (line 11) when Horace restates his previous assertion as —

et mundus victus non deficiente crumena,

he not only repeats with considerable accuracy the poet's own estimate, but even appears actually to have had the words in mind.

It is probable that Tibullus was born on the ancestral estate. Here (1, 10, 15–16) he passed his boyhood, and although like most other Romans of his position and circumstances he doubtless had a house in town and spent some portion of his time there, the evidence of his surviving works as a whole (esp. 1, 1; 1, 5, 20–34; 2, 1; even 2, 4, 53 ff.) clearly suggests so far as it goes that during his entire career he was never absent for any extended period from his old home. Now at the time Horace wrote his epistle to Tibullus (possibly, 21–20 B.C. — the date is uncertain) our poet is described as sojourning 'in regione Pedana.' Doubtless the old family place is referred to, and we are therefore safe in assuming that Tibullus was born there under the shadow of the Sabine Hills not far from Pedum, an ancient Latin town (Livy, 8, 13) which once stood on the Via Labicana between Tibur and Praeneste. Porphyrio (note on Hor. *l.c.*) says that in his time it had entirely disappeared: 'Pedum oppidum haud longe ab urbe fuit. Nunc non est, verum adhuc regio ipsa Pedana dicitur.'

According to Baehrens's brilliant but disputed emendation of the corrupt opening sentence of the vita (see p. 173) Tibullus was from Gabii. This famous old town which however, even in Cicero's time, had become the Sleepy Hollow of Latium,[1] stood on the left of the Via Praenestina near the modern Lago di Castiglione, about nine miles from Rome and only seven or eight from Pedum. Hence the country seat to which Horace refers could have been hardly more than a pleasant morning walk from either place. However that may be, it is worthy of note that Tibullus is

[1] Cicero, *Planc.* 23; Horace, *Epist.* 1, 11, 7; Juv. 10, 100 (with Mayor's note).

one of the few great poets of Rome born in Latium itself and of the old Latin stock.

The poet's family consisted of his mother and his sister (1, 3, 3 ff.), and we learn from Ovid, *Amores*, 3, 9, 49 ff., the famous elegy upon his death,[1] that they both survived him. As he never mentions his father, we conclude that he must have died before his son was old enough to retain any distinct impression of him (1, 1, 2 n.).

Like other boys of his position, he was doubtless sent to Rome to acquire the usual rhetorical-legal education of the time. He may even have taken some part, as did Horace, in university life at Athens. All this however is mere surmise. For us, and apparently for him, the most important fact in his entire career is his connection with his lifelong patron and friend, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (64 B.C.–8 A.D.).

This distinguished member of an ancient and most distinguished family was as famous for his literary as for his administrative ability. After the murder of Julius, Messalla sided with Brutus and Cassius, and though barely twenty-two at the time, was made commander of the right wing at Philippi. Upon the death of Brutus and Cassius, and the utter rout of their army, the soldiers who had escaped rallied to Messalla and chose him as their general. With rare but characteristic good sense he persuaded them to surrender. He then joined Antony, but was soon alienated by the conduct of Cleopatra, and finally went over to Octavianus. He was at once admitted to the fullest confidence by that wonderful judge of men, and thenceforth supported him with unswerving loyalty to the end of his days, first in Sicily in 36, then against the Salassi in 34, then at Actium, where he commanded the centre of the fleet, having been chosen consul in place of Antony.

Soon after the victory at Actium (Appian, *B.C.* 4, 38) he was dispatched to Aquitania to quell a serious insurrection among the

[1] Trans. by Stepney, Johnson's *English Poets*, 17, 226. Another and better version is that of Nichol (in Cranstoun's Trans. of Tibullus). The poem was not intended to be biographical and should not be used for that purpose.

native tribes. The expedition was a brilliant success, and on Sept. 25, 27 B.C., he received the honour of a triumph ex Gallia. Apparently his birthday fell at or near the same date. At all events Tibullus's present to his patron on that occasion was a congratulatory poem (now 1, 7), in which he describes the expedition, and tells us that he himself took part in it. 'Non sine me est tibi partus honos' (1, 7, 9), 'I, too, contributed to the honour which thou hast won,' he says very simply. Yet the vita tells us that he was decorated for distinguished service — 'militaribus donis donatus est.'

Messalla was also sent out by Octavianus to settle the disturbed affairs of the Orient. The poet was invited to take part in this campaign as a member of Messalla's staff (1, 3), but fell sick at Corcyra, and apparently did not proceed with the journey. It is generally supposed that this is the expedition to which he refers in 1, 1, but in which he had at that time refused to take part. This however is quite incapable of proof. Nor can we say whether the mission to the East occurred before or after the Aquitanian campaign. It is to be hoped that we may yet discover inscriptional evidence for this important question. If so, we might establish the chronological sequence of 1, 1; 1, 3; and 1, 7 and possibly of 1, 10. Until then no further light can be shed upon the military career of our poet. 1, 10 for example is addressed to no one, and refers to no one. All we know is that he was on the eve of a campaign. Is it the campaign ending with Actium, or was he thinking of the expedition to Aquitania? Both have been suggested (see note on 1, 10, 25).

Messalla was equally distinguished as a man of affairs. Sometime before his triumph he was commissioned by Augustus to repair a portion of the Via Latina. He performed the work so thoroughly that more than a century later (1, 7, 57, and notes) it was a proverb of durability. A rare apotheosis for a road commissioner. In 26 Augustus created the new and important office of praefectus urbi. The first incumbent chosen was Messalla, but Hieronymus

tells us that — 'sexto die magistratu se abdicavit, incivilem potestatem esse contestans.' This view reflects his life-long attitude of determined but loyal protest against the encroachments of imperialism. Nor is it inconsistent with the fact that 24 years later (Sueton. *Aug.* 58) it was he who proposed the title of Pater Patriae for the Emperor. The ancient friend of Brutus and Cassius saw the inevitable trend of the system, but since Antony's time he had probably cherished no illusions, and he must perforce have admired the personality and achievements of Augustus. In 11 B.C. the Emperor created another important office, that of curator aquarum. Again the first incumbent chosen was Messalla (Front. *Aq.* 99). He died at 72 of a lingering disease, which to judge from the description of it (Pliny, *N. H.* 7, 90; Hier. *Chron.* 2027) must have been very like the modern paresis.

Messalla was also distinguished as an author. He was considered the foremost orator of his generation (Cic. *Ad Brut.* 1, 15, 1; Quint. 10, 1, 113), and he wrote some memoirs of his own time occasionally quoted by later authors. A passage in the *Catalepton* (11, 13 ff.) has been taken as a proof that he also wrote bucolics (cp. Pliny, *Epist.* 5, 3, 5). If so, the fact is of peculiar interest as suggesting one reason why Tibullus was encouraged to select a type of elegy so evidently affiliated with this department.

But Messalla wisely chose to be a patron rather than a creator of literature. As early as the beginning of the imperial régime his house on the Palatine had become the centre of a literary circle which in importance was second only to that of Augustus and Maecenas, and which appears to have continued even into the next generation as an established tradition of the family. This fact has an important bearing on our discussion of the *Corpus Tibullianum* as it now stands.

The relations between Messalla and Augustus were evidently so cordial that it is only reasonable to suppose the literary friends of the one to have been largely the same as those of the other; but on this point no definite evidence is now available. Of

those who, like Tibullus, have been set down as belonging more particularly to Messalla's group, the most distinguished were Valgius Rufus (4, 1, 181) and Aemilius Macer (2, 6, Int.), both famous poets, but now known to us only at second hand, or through a few slight fragments. Lygdamus, Sulpicia, and the anonymous author of the *Panegyricus Messallae* (4, 1) are known to us only from the *Corpus Tibullianum* itself. Probably the youthful Vergil should also be included, and certainly Ovid, although his acquaintance with Messalla did not begin until after the death of our poet (see esp. Ullman, *A.J.P.* 33, 162).

The position of Messalla in this circle was one for which he was well fitted from every point of view. A Roman gentleman of the highest and best type, and fastidious in all things, he was sane and sensible, and possessed the unconventional ease of assured position and of more than sixteen generations of gentle blood. He was also a keen though kindly critic whose standards of taste had been moulded by a stern discipline in the domain of language and style. Quintilian for example (10, 5, 2) tells us that, like Cicero, Crassus, and the elder generation of pleaders, Messalla, simply to train himself in the resources of his own tongue, had made written translations of speech after speech of the Greek orators. He also wrote a number of technical treatises on various questions of grammar and style — 'quosdam totos libellos,' as Quintilian says (1, 7, 35), 'non verbis modo singulis sed etiam litteris dedit' — and we are told by the Elder Seneca (*Cont.* 2, 4, 8) that he was 'exactissimi ingenii in omnes studiorum partes, Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus.'

Such was the critic and friend to whom Tibullus undoubtedly read all his poetry, and the character and quality of it as it now stands suggest that the function and influence of that critic were far more important than is acknowledged by the poet, or seems to have been generally recognized by his modern readers. It is not implied of course that he was in any way

careless or unappreciative of his patron. On the contrary it would be difficult to name another great writer so entirely devoted to the interests of a single family. If from the sum total of his surviving works we subtract his more or less literary love affairs and the single poem addressed to Macer (2, 6), the remainder, so far as it can be connected with any one at all, is concerned either with Messalla or with his household.

This absorption is the more striking if we remind ourselves that the period in question — in round numbers, from 30 to 20 B.C. — was the acme of the Augustan Age, and a decade which for its contributions to the abiding literature of the world can only be compared with the days of Perikles or Elizabeth. The state was equally rich in men of rare distinction in other walks of life, and it may be assumed that Tibullus was personally acquainted with the majority of his famous contemporaries. But we should never suspect it from his own works. He mentions no one, not even Horace, and with Horace, we may be sure, he was on terms of considerable intimacy.

Recent criticism has been inclined to emphasize the view that the poet's silence was prompted by political opposition to the imperial government. The view derives some apparent support from the fact that as a descendant of the small gentry of Latium Tibullus would naturally be a republican, and, as Marx has pointed out, that his attitude toward Cassius of Parma as a literary model (Hor. *Epist.* 1, 4, 3) may indicate political sympathy with that last survivor (Vell. 2, 87, 3) of the assassins of Julius. The explanation however is not so plausible as it appears at first sight. If the poet's silence was in any sense due to politics, why is he equally silent regarding all his predecessors, both Greek and Roman? Why is it that his longest and most ambitious elegy (2, 5) is in honour of the new régime? Moreover he had already proved his loyalty by actual service in the field, here as elsewhere repeating the attitude, certainly of Messalla, and probably of Messalla's circle. The real literary centre of the opposition was not Messalla, but

Pollio. Finally, why should we expect to find references to contemporaries or references to great authors past or present in that idyllic erotic type of elegy of which Tibullus is the only surviving example?

But irrespective of the reasons already given the circumstances of Tibullus himself, and still more the essential character of the circle in which he moved, are quite enough to explain his attitude toward the contemporary world. Horace and Maecenas, Tibullus and Messalla, each pair was an ideal example of the relation between poet and patron. But Horace, both by nature, training, and necessity, was a man of wide acquaintance and manifold interests. Tibullus was not. Like Horace he was intensely loyal to a few old and tried friends; but owing to his wealth, his temperament, and his surroundings he was not driven to enlarge his sphere by necessity nor led to it by inclination. In this respect the attitude of each reflects to a certain extent the point of view of the circle to which he belonged. The circle of Messalla was unconventional, refined, delightful. But it was unofficial; it was not directly concerned with national matters. Poetry was cultivated purely for its own sake, and Messalla himself was revered and loved for his personal qualities and as the head of a great patrician house, not as the representative of national policies, not as the very impersonation so to speak of the great present and the greater future of Rome. It was not therefore that Tibullus and his friends loved Caesar Augustus less, but that they loved Messalla Corvinus so very much more.

Rivalry there may have been to a certain extent. Valgius, highly praised by his contemporaries, might be called the Vergil of the Messalla circle. The ten elegies of Tibullus's first book, manifestly bucolic in their tradition and tendency, have been compared with the ten eclogues of Vergil; the elegy dealing with Priapus (1, 4), with Horace's satire (1, 8) on the same subject. The situation however is sufficiently explained by the common phenomenon of a contemporary interest in certain themes and

forms, and rivalry, even if we were obliged to grant its existence, was not necessarily actuated by political preferences.

Our testimony for the character and personality of Tibullus is for the most part indirect. The vita says that he was 'cultu corporis observabilis.' An unimportant detail perhaps in itself and possibly due to a misunderstanding of such passages as 2, 3, 77 ff., but we can hardly doubt its literal truth. A man so notoriously fastidious in his literary style is likely to have been equally fastidious in everything else — from the set of a toga to the choice of a friend. Nor does fastidiousness conduce to rapid and extensive literary production, and Tibullus's plea for fame, at all events as it now stands, is hardly more bulky than the slim little booklet offered by his predecessor Catullus.

The testimony of his works — and it is confirmed by Horace — is all to the effect that Tibullus was a man of unusual tenderness, refinement, and breeding. Even when subjected to such a severe test as the treatment of those conventional themes of the elegy with which he habitually deals, he rarely fails to ring true. From this point of view no Roman poet could have been a more congenial companion to the gentle and high-souled Vergil in his journey to the Elysian Fields. Without the same genius there was nevertheless the same fastidiousness, sense of proportion, and classic reserve, even the same tendency to live in the past and to dwell upon the glory and the beauty of other days.

Praise of 'the mean that 'grees with country music best' is of course characteristic of the elegy, above all of the idyllic type affected by Tibullus. Nevertheless Horace's description of his friend as

tacitum silvas inter reptare salubris
curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque est,

can only apply to a poet whose love for the simple life and surroundings of his boyhood days is quite as genuine and unaffected as his own words would have us believe.

Not less characteristic of the elegy as a whole is that dislike of war [1] to which our poet so often gives utterance. Here however he represented the opinion of practically every sane and reasonable Roman who like himself had witnessed the carnival of violence and bloodshed from the death of Julius to the accession of Augustus. Some have wondered at such sentiments from a man who was actually decorated for distinguished service in the field, but the familiar and forceful arraignment of war attributed to the late General Sherman is proof enough —if proof were necessary—that a horror of carnage is by no means incompatible with the record of a ruthless and determined fighter, where ruthless and determined fighting is the only path to peace.

The poet fought, and fought well; but his motives appear to have been his duty to his country and his personal loyalty to Messalla. Temperamentally he was opposed to warfare. A man of contemplation rather than of action, he could be quite happy in his own society, and conversely had no wide and absorbing interest in the people and events of the great world about him. Neither necessity nor inclination prompted him to enter politics, affairs, or any other of the beaten paths to wealth and fame.

It would be a mistake however to conclude, as so many seem to have done, that he had no ambitions at all. We may fairly suspect that Tibullus belonged to a type more or less characteristic of a period of high cultivation. He would be the last to tell us that the one absorbing ambition of his life was the name and fame of a great elegiac poet. Nor should we need to be informed by him that such was the case. Artistic masterpieces are not written by persons indifferent to fame. Indeed the fact is betrayed, not only by his own works, but to a certain extent perhaps by his attitude towards his contemporaries. The circle of Messalla was distinctly favourable to elegy, our

[1] See Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon*, Teubner, 1907, p. 15 f.

poet's chosen field; the circle of Maecenas was apparently less so. It may be worth noting too that in the one group he could be, and was, the greatest man, but that in the other he was surpassed by at least two — the freedman's son from Venusia, and the farmer's boy from beyond the Po. Tibullus was generous and well balanced; but after all he was also human, and doubtless possessed his share of the artistic temperament. He can hardly have sympathized fully with the perfervid admiration that greeted the appearance of the first book of Propertius, and after his rival had been taken up by Maecenas he might be pardoned for finding the official circle less congenial.

The opinion that Tibullus cared nothing for literary fame in the ordinary sense seems to be based largely upon a passage in the second book (2, 4, 13–20, where see note), in which being nearly distracted by his mistress, he exclaims in despair —

> ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero:
> ite procul, Musae, si nihil ista valent.

It is a question whether any contemporary reader was ever deceived by this statement. The attitude, as we have already seen (p. 29), represents a time-honoured convention of the elegy, and how much of a mere convention it really is may be seen from the fact that it rests upon the quite incredible assumption that poetry is actually able to win a woman belonging to the sphere within which he and his elegiac confrères were supposed to confine their affections. Tibullus was certainly enough a man of the world to know that in that sphere his verses were a negligible quantity as compared with his good looks, his neat appearance, but, above all, his comfortable income. At all events if he was not aware of the fact, it was not for lack of experience. To judge from his elegies as they stand, his chief occupation during the last ten or fifteen years of his life was —

> Nasonis Kunst zu treiben
> Und Noten beizuschreiben.

As a source however for biographical data of this sort the works of any poet are rendered peculiarly untrustworthy by the fact that he is not necessarily a historian.

'Od's life! must one swear to the truth of a song,'

as Prior once said to his Chloe, and this protest applies with especial force to the particular department of amatory poetry in which Tibullus won his reputation. The Roman elegiac poet is bound to be most horribly in love. This is *de rigueur*. Usually the object of his affections is either a freedwoman or a woman whose social or legal status places her in that class. This rule is an old convention of erotic poetry and is in harmony with the actual conditions of antique life.

When the elegies inspired by the joys and sorrows of his love have reached a sufficient number the poet mingles with them for the sake of variety such elegies on other subjects as he may care to preserve, conceals the identity of his mistress under a pseudonym, and publishes his book. Ostensibly founded upon his own affair, the elegies to his mistress are in form biographical. The poet however is of course free to interweave fact with fiction, actual events with mere literary motives; and only those who are in the secret can be sure which is which. The rest of the world must be content to guess. As guessers however we must remember that the simple faith of the old commentators who, like Prior's Chloe, took every reference at its face value, is not more unreasonable than the sweeping incredulity of some of our modern critics.

As we shall see, Tibullus is peculiarly difficult to deal with from this point of view. The first book was probably published soon after Messalla's triumph in the fall of 27 B.C. The ten elegies it contains were written at different times in the previous four or five years. The order of their composition cannot be determined. The order of their arrangement, however, doubtless goes back to the author himself, and, as in the case of other antique collections, was dictated by a desire for variety.

Five of these elegies (1, 2, 3, 5, and 6) are addressed to a girl whom he calls Delia. Apuleius, writing about two centuries later (*Apol.* 10), tells us that her real name was Plania. The statement was probably derived from Suetonius, and doubtless goes back ultimately to the literary gossip of the later Augustan Age. There is no good reason however for doubting it. Along with the Cynthia (Hostia) of Propertius, the Lesbia (Clodia) of Catullus, and others, it forms the foundation of Bentley's well-known but not necessarily infallible rule that the real name and the pseudonym should be metrical equivalents. A scholar quoted by Passow suggested that Plania : Delia : : planus : δῆλος. It will be observed however that Delia, like Cynthia, is an epithet of Diana. It seems more likely therefore that the choice of Delia by Tibullus, like the choice of Cynthia by Propertius, indicates his belief that the charms of his mistress suggest those of the beautiful sister of the god of song.

The gens Plania would naturally be obscure. At all events it is not otherwise known, and 1, 6, 67–68 (where see note) can only mean that Delia, though perhaps not a freedwoman, belonged *de iure* to that class. Still more significant however is the actively complaisant attitude of her mother with which the poet is so deeply touched (1, 6, 57 ff.).

It is safe to assume that this affair, like others of its kind, passed by the usual stages from ignition to refrigeration, but it would be useless to seek for the details. The order of the Delia elegies is not chronological. The poet himself deliberately warns us against this assumption by interrupting the series with an elegy on a totally different subject. In so doing he also calls attention to the fact that, unlike Propertius for example, he never arranges elegies in contrasted pairs nor does he group a number of them around a single theme. On the contrary every elegy is complete in itself and entirely independent of its fellows. It is clear that the Delia elegies were never intended to tell a connected story, and they cannot be induced to do so. The poet offers them merely as so

many detached scenes in his love affair *à la mode idyllique*. We have every reason therefore for considering these elegies in the order prescribed by the poet himself.

In the first elegy it will be seen that the affair with Delia is well on the way and that as yet the lover's sky is without a cloud. To be sure Delia, who lives somewhere in the city — presumably in the Subura — is closely watched by some person not named. This however is the usual situation of the elegiac heroine. No antique love affair could have lasted long without the help of the lady's house door. The excitement of evading keen-eyed duennas, jealous 'husbands,' and similar spoil-sports, the occasional relief of a rough and tumble squabble with the object of one's verses (l. 74), or, in moments of uncontrollable exhilaration, of wrecking the said house door altogether (l. 73), are details rarely absent from the conventional programme of true love as set forth either in elegy, epigram, comedy, or lyric.

To follow the drift of the second elegy we may imagine a Roman supper room as the mise-en-scène. Several of the poet's young friends are at the table drinking. The poet, who is highly excited, calls for a stiff drink, proposes to drown his sorrows in the traditional elegiac fashion, and then proceeds to unfold a pitiful tale to his friends.

It appears that Delia's 'coniunx' — often, as here, a euphemism for the man who at the time happens to be furnishing the mistress of the elegiac lover with a house door — has gone off to the wars in search of plunder and incidentally of fame. He has left orders however that Delia be closely guarded during his absence, and the poet is distressed to find that they are effectual. Thanks to the vigilance of the custodes, the house door is incorruptible and refuses to open — in either direction. As the exclusus amator — another character familiar to elegy — he naturally pauses to curse the obstinate and unfeeling door, and in this way introduces his individual variation of one of the most characteristic themes of antique erotic poetry. This is the παρακλαυσίθυρον, or woeful

serenade of the lover to the closed door of his obdurate mistress (see 1, 2, 7 ff. and note).[1]

All would be well however if Delia herself would only coöperate. She should be brave, and in the following lines the poet tries to hearten her with a number of familiar arguments, *e.g.* Venus helps the hardy, true lovers are sacrosanct and have nothing to fear. He has even consulted a saga—another familiar type—and she has given him a charm 'for to goe invisibell.' While developing this theme it occurs to him that his exceptional run of bad luck may be due to some act of sacrilege. If so, he will gladly undergo any penance.

All this is very amusing to a modern reader, and as a matter of fact one of the poet's hearers at this point is unkind enough to laugh aloud; whereupon the aggrieved sufferer turns upon him in wrath and closes with a parable ad hoc of 'The Young Scoffer an Old Lover, or Pride goeth before a Fall,' the philosophy of which is that love is a folly no man can escape, least of all a proud man, for the gods hate pride. Love, like the measles, is an affliction of youth. Let us therefore expose ourselves to it betimes, lest we live to illustrate the proverb of 'no fool like an old fool.'

In the third elegy, mainly concerned with his sickness at Corcyra and the topics suggested by it, the position, perquisites, and liabilities of the 'coniunx' have devolved upon the poet himself. Upon the eve of his departure with Messalla for the East Delia had consulted the sortes and other conventional methods of learning the future. She had also prayed to Isis, gone into retreat, and made vows for the safe return of her acknowledged lover. He hopes to get well and to come back safe and sound, and closes with a passage in which he imagines the scene.

It is late evening. The spinners, nodding over their work, are grouped about the old duenna who is keeping them awake with fairy tales. Then comes the master of the house suddenly and

[1] See also Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* p. 140; Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu Herondas*, p. 124.

unannounced, and his Delia, just as she is, with her hair down and in her bare feet, flies to meet him. A passage none the less beautiful because it reminds one of Lucretia and Collatinus rather than of poor Delia and her present coniunx, the poet.

So far the happiness of the lovers has been undisturbed by any fault of their own. The insertion of the intercalary fourth at this place, like the favourite *points suspensifs* in a French novel, might be taken to imply that time has elapsed and that things have happened. At any rate the fifth elegy indicates that such is the case.

In consequence of the tempting offers of a dives amator aided and abetted by his agent, the lena, the lovers had a violent quarrel and parted. Delia took up with her dives amator, and when at the opening of this elegy the poet desires to return to her, he finds himself a mere outsider. Moreover Delia herself—untrue to one, untrue to all—has already begun an intrigue with still another lover. A pitiful situation, and by no means improved in the sixth and last poem of the series.

Here Delia has a coniunx, and is intriguing with a lover—apparently a later phase of the situation in the preceding elegy, but not necessarily so. Tibullus feels aggrieved that Cupid should treat him so unkindly. Delia is false. Of course she denies it, but he cannot trust her word. He himself taught her to deceive, and now his own instructions return to plague him. Then he turns to the coniunx for help. 'Cherish me,' he says, 'if you wish to keep the girl in order. I know her tricks, and I know every trick of a lover. Have I not practised them all on you in my time? What business have you with an attractive wife, if you cannot watch her? Leave her to me. I will see to it that she is guarded from the rest of the world,' etc. A situation worthy of Swift or of de Maupassant!

Finally, turning to Delia, the poet warns her that Bellona threatens to punish her for her infidelity (to him!). He hopes that the punishment will be light. 'Not however on your account,' he adds, 'but for your good old mother. May you live long, dear

old woman! I shall always love you, and for your sake, your daughter. Whatever she does, she is still your blood. Teach her to be true. I too promise to put up with the severest conditions.' Then by way of a final parable to Delia the poet pictures the old age of her who has been faithful to none.

Such is the brief outline of this famous love affair as related by the poet himself. It will be seen that the poet's artistic reserve and his deliberate programme of confining himself to the traditional motives of his department make it doubly difficult to decide whether any given detail was drawn from his own experience or from the literary record of his predecessors.

He tells us for example — and though he says it in an utterly conventional manner we may well believe him — that Delia was beautiful (1, 1, 55). But unlike Propertius he does not revel in her beauty, he does not enumerate her separate charms as a miser counts his gold. He grants that she is endowed with 'teneris lacertis' (1, 5, 43). The adjective suggests the softness and roundness of youth, and other pleasant but somewhat indefinite associations belonging to the arms of almost any agreeable girl by whom one is loved. In the same passage he observes that she has golden hair — a suspicious detail in a land of brunettes, especially in Delia's class, in which the peroxide blonde was very common. She also reminds him of Thetis riding on the dolphin to her bridegroom Peleus, in other words, of a Hellenistic fresco the like of which was to be seen, at that time, in the dwelling of almost any well-to-do householder in Italy.

Perhaps her hair was naturally golden, after all, and if we press the comparison with Thetis, we may conclude that Delia had the blue eyes characteristic of all sea goddesses in good standing, and that the bare extremities alluded to in 1, 3, 92, recalled to her lover the 'silver-foot' mother of Achilles.

He also says that her hair was long (1, 3, 91) — a not uncommon distinction in one of her age and sex, but in her case inevitably suggesting the old German proverb which declares that—

Die vrouwen haben langez hâr
Unt kurz gemuete, daz ist wâr.

For though Delia is 'sweet,' and may have loved the poet as well as she could love any one, her head is not strong, she has no real stability, she is easily led. She does not belong to the aggressive type of Cynthia. Without strong passions of any sort she belongs to that widespread and generally popular class of women whom one might describe as the passive recipients of attention. In short the portrait of her is both conventional and typical, but how much of the conventionality was inherent in the model, and how much was due to the painter, it is impossible to say.

But while there is no chronological sequence of events in these elegies, it is significant of the poet's art that, from the absolute trust of the first to the complete disillusion of the last elegy, the *emotional* sequence, the *psychological* development, and its effect upon the persons concerned, are at once complete and convincing.

In the first three elegies Tibullus is tender as well as passionate. Naturally refined and fastidious, he slurs over the ugly phases of his affair so skilfully that we almost forget the real situation. He pictures himself thinking of Delia, not only as a mistress but also as a friend and helpmeet — in other words as a wife. If this was the way that he really treated her, she was doubtless pleased, but scarcely wise enough to appreciate it. Indeed to judge from the probable training and surroundings of her early life, she would be likely to end by finding the atmosphere somewhat too rarefied for her real tastes. That women are occasionally of a coarser and far more primitive fibre than they had appeared to be is sometimes betrayed by the marriages they make. So Delia, in addition to the mere excitement of an intrigue to vary the monotony of what, it must be confessed, would be a very dull life to us, may have found no little relief in the brutal frankness, the material tastes, the limited range of ideas, and the unlimited purse of the rich lover by whom her separation from the poet was finally brought to pass.

At any rate the Delia of the fifth elegy has sadly deteriorated since we saw her last. Nor does the poet himself appear in an enviable light. She has degenerated to a mere courtesan; he is the slave of a now ignoble passion, and is quite willing to be received upon her own terms. He still follows his characteristic method of reproof indirectly by means of parables, but for once the old tenderness rings false, and the appearance for the first time of such a brutal phrase as

ianua sed plena est percutienda manu

is not only a sufficient indication of the change that has occurred, but leaves us fully prepared for the deliberate mockery, the flippant cynicism, of the next elegy.

The fourth, eighth, and ninth elegies of the first book are concerned with one Marathus, a puer delicatus, ostensibly belonging to the poet. The boy's name is never mentioned by Ovid nor by any succeeding writer, and it is likely that he is no more real than those fair and fragile Hellenic damsels of syllabled air that smile or frown upon us from the pages of Horace. We must not forget however that the vices of the Greeks had the same attraction for the Romans, especially for the cruder type, that the lower life of Paris seems to have for so many Americans.

The arrangement, as with the elegies to Delia, is chronological in the artistic sense, and each is a separate entity. They are among the most successful of the many well-written poems which the Alexandrian Greeks and some of their Roman imitators chose to waste upon a theme peculiarly repulsive to modern taste.

The fourth, a sort of general introduction to the series, might be called 'Priapus de arte amandi.' As such it is the most important forerunner now existing of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, written some 25 or 30 years later.

The setting of the piece is found in more than one representation which has actually survived from antiquity — a garden

or a large tree, with a suggestion of landscape, conventionalized as a country scene by a figure of Priapus in the foreground. Facing the little god is Tibullus who has come to him for advice. How, he inquires, shall a formosorum amator conduct a successful campaign? Priapus, more accessible and more obliging than the majority of his divine confrères, proceeds at once to deliver a lecture on this subject (lines 9–72). At the close of the discourse the poet takes the pains to explain that his only object in seeking instruction was to oblige his friend Titius.

> sed Titium coniunx haec meminisse vetat.
> pareat ille suae!

'Titius has taken a wife and is disqualified. Let him therefore love, honour, and obey, as every married man should.'

Others however may profit by this invaluable information. The mere possession of it reminds the poet that he is now qualified as a magister amoris, and may look forward to the idyllic old age of a distinguished professor surrounded by an admiring throng of enthusiastic students — a pleasant dream, from which the sudden pang of 81 —

> heu heu quam Marathus lento me torquet amore,

is a rude awakening. Having thus turned the laugh upon himself, Tibullus brings his poem to a close.

The two remaining elegies of this series are as it were a gloss upon the general discourse of Priapus. In the eighth, which is well conceived and distinctly amusing, it appears that the boy Marathus, who had abused his master's weakness (1, 4, 81–84 = 1, 8, 71–76), has fallen in love with one Pholoe, but that the coy damsel is quite unmoved by his airs and graces. Tibullus lectures the precious pair, and incidentally brings home to the despairing lover that, as the Scorner Scorned, he is now a striking example of the doctrine of Nemesis preached by Priapus. Meanwhile the girl remains as cool and defiant as she dares to be — a striking contrast to the boy, who, what with

his vanity and his foppishness, has been reduced to a fountain of tears. As Tibullus contemplates the pair there is a decided twinkle in his eye. In fact it would be hard to find a poem in which real kindliness and the thorough appreciation of an amusing situation are so perfectly tempered by a certain suggestion of the detachment belonging to an onlooker, and to one who never forgets the difference between a Roman gentleman and a couple of irresponsible slaves from the East.

The ninth is more powerful and less amusing. Marathus has been carrying on an intrigue with a horrible old creature whose only possible attraction is his money. The poet becomes aware of the situation, taxes the boy with his perfidy, venality, and ingratitude, and casts him off.

Most of the motives in this group have already appeared in the Delia cycle, and may be trusted to appear again in the next book. The one important exception is the sudden prominence of the idea of self-sacrifice. It is to be observed that in antiquity, so far at least as literary art is concerned, this motive, like much else which in the conventional range of modern Romantic love we should call chivalrous, is specifically characteristic of the type of eroticism which lies at the basis of this group of elegies.

The first elegy of the second book is a charming description of a rustic merrymaking, and reveals the author in his happiest vein. The second is a birthday poem to his friend Cornutus, a member of the Messalla group, and by some identified with Cerinthus, the lover of Sulpicia. The piece may be compared with the birthday poem to Messalla in the first book as a striking example of the poet's ability to handle this peculiarly difficult type of composition. Neither of these poems can be dated, and the same is true of the third and fourth.

In the fifth Tibullus makes his bow to the powers that be. It is his longest piece, and the only one of a national character. Even here however his absorption in the concerns of his old friend is seen in the fact that the ostensible occasion of the poem is the

appointment of Messalinus, Messalla's eldest son, as one of the XVviri sacris faciundis. The date cannot be fixed exactly, but the fact that in a list of the XVviri belonging to the year 18 B.C. the name of Messalinus comes last suggests that at that time the appointment was still recent. If so the piece was composed not long before the poet's death in 19.

The sixth elegy is addressed to the poet Macer on the eve of his departure for a distant campaign. Assuming, as probably we may, that this is the Aemilius Macer who died in Asia in 16 B.C., it seems likely that the last poem of this book is also the last work of its author. This and the fact that the book itself is smaller than the average libellus favour the assumption of its posthumous publication. The theory however is of course incapable of proof, and has been strenuously opposed.

At any rate the poet's love affair with Nemesis, of which we hear in the last four elegies (2, 3–6), must have ended not long before his death. We hear of the usual lena in the usual way. The girl also has a rich lover of the usual sort. Finally — and this seems to be a bit of genuine history — we hear of her little sister who early in the affair with Tibullus fell from an upper window, and was killed. Otherwise Tibullus's story of his last love is largely a jeremiad occasioned by his own woes.

The name of Nemesis, though occasional in actual life, was undoubtedly a pseudonym. As Marx has pointed out, Nemesis, like Elpis, Eros, Pothos, etc., comes from the domain of Greek erotic poetry. It typifies the idea of retaliation, of repayment in kind for injuries received, of which we hear so much in the Anthology (5, 273 : 9, 260, 405 : 11, 326 : 12, 141), and which Tibullus himself expresses in 1, 9, 79. Marx also observes that Nemesis often appears in representations of Eros and Psyche (Baumeister, 3, 1425), and that when our poet writes (2, 6, 27) —

Spes facilem Nemesim spondet mihi sed negat illa,

he seems to be thinking of the opposition between Νέμεσις and Ἐλπίς which we still find in *Anth.* 9, 146, and in works of art.

In other words, Tibullus's object in choosing the girl was to 'get even' with Delia, and in christening her Nemesis he meant to indicate that in his case she was the mortal instrument of the great goddess of balance and of even-handed justice. If so, he found — as many others have found — that his instrument of vengeance was something of a boomerang.

As a successful courtesan of the higher class Nemesis is a young person vastly superior to her predecessor in tenacity of purpose and single-hearted devotion to the main chance. She has no illusions, is not impressed by poetry, and does not enjoy sentiment. Her tastes are expensive, and she expects the poet to gratify them, or else to cease from absorbing her valuable time. In short she is the regular rapax meretrix of comedy, and the poet is her usual lover. He is forever complaining of his bondage, and of her greed, heartlessness, and infidelity — all stock themes, but, like the characters themselves, too common in daily life to warrant the assumption that the poet's inspiration is purely literary.

In the first elegy (2, 3) of the series Nemesis has left town with her wealthy lover, and is now at his country place taking part in the merriment of the vintage season. The poet was not invited, but feels that he must go. This abject attitude however which runs through the entire group, and which we have already observed in one scene (1, 5) of the affair with Delia, is especially prominent in the following elegy (2, 4). This piece has been termed a mere verse exercise after the Alexandrian manner. I should agree with Mr. Postgate that as an expression of genuine feeling it has no equal in the work of Tibullus. Such however is subjective criticism.

'Farewell forever,' he begins, 'to my former freedom. My fate is sealed. My lot is a bitter bondage and every torture which Love the slave-driver can invent. Oh, to lose the power of feeling such agonies as mine how gladly would I be a stone on some icy peak, or stand a beetling crag towering immovable against the tempestuous winds and angry seas. As it is my days are

bitter and my nights more bitter still. My verses avail me nothing. She forever reaches out her hand and asks for money, money, money! Begone then, ye Muses, since ye cannot help a lover! Gifts she demands and gifts I must get or see her no more. Anything but that!' etc.

The man is the slave of a degrading passion for an utterly unworthy object, and is keenly alive to the fact. In this respect the piece is a striking parallel to the 76th of Catullus. Catullus however is struggling fiercely with his obsession, and though he himself despairs we feel that his youth and courage are going to win the day. Not so Tibullus. The tragedy of Tibullus is the tragedy of the used-up man who has no hope and has ceased to struggle. As a picture of this depressingly pathological situation the elegy has few equals.

Was all this purely literary, or does the poet's persistent harping on one note have something to do with his own condition at the time? It is of course impossible to decide. Tibullus deals by preference with traditional motives, we know almost nothing of the models he may have had before him; nor must we lose sight of the fact, constantly attested by every great playwright, that an author so wonderfully endowed with the dramatic instinct as was Tibullus knows how to assume any character and to present it to the life. Again as we compare and combine the several groups of elegies to Delia, Marathus, and Nemesis, all different types, we are tempted to conclude that, whatever his personal experience may have been, the poet's plan, from the first, was to work out methodically all the standard literary aspects of his department and to rest his plea for fame on a complete cycle of the Erotic elegy *à la mode Alexandrienne*.

In such a programme personal experience cannot be expected to occupy a prominent place, and in fact it has been stated more than once that the testimony of these elegies is quite at variance with the poet's character and tastes as described by Horace in his epistle (1, 4). Note however that the keen-eyed Horace does

elsewhere gently task his friend with being too much the slave of his affections. At least this is the literal meaning of *Odes*, 1, 33, in which he refers to the 'woeful elegies' in which Tibullus 'continually harps' on the fact that 'Glycera' has deceived and slighted him for a younger man. No one knows who Glycera was. It is most reasonable to suppose however that she was either Nemesis or, more likely, Delia. The term *miserabiles elegi* will apply to either cycle.

It would be interesting if we knew more of the poet's physical condition during the last five or ten years of his life. The elegiac lover is always slight and delicate (see 2, 3, 9, and note); he is not fit to endure exposure except when ordered to it by imperious Love, and anything like manual labour blisters his hands at once. Nevertheless Tibullus's reference to his 'tender hands' and 'slender limbs' (2, 3, 9) is no doubt really descriptive of his personal appearance. At all events we naturally associate a slight physique with a man of Tibullus's temperament.

So far as the question of his actual physical condition is concerned, the elegies give no indication of the nervous excitability so characteristic of Propertius. On the other hand we also fail to find the superabundant vitality, the rude health, of Ovid. Indeed we have no right to expect it. Probably the vitality of Tibullus was low, and his constitution delicate. Otherwise he would not have died at the early age of 35. The health of such people may be good enough from day to day, but they are often prone to dwell somewhat upon the details of the matter.

That this was the case with Tibullus himself is clearly indicated by Horace's epistle to him. In this poem Horace begins by laying special emphasis on the fact that his friend is a veritable Fortunatus. He has everything that heart could wish—wealth, good sense, genius, fame, a charming personality, good looks—amongst the rest, good health (valetudo).

This is not flattery. It is encouragement, and as such the natural prelude to the bit of advice and warning which as usual

the poet intends to convey. Hence the lines that immediately follow —

> inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras
> omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:
> grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora,

the plain implication of which is to the effect that in spite of every reason to the contrary our poet is too inclined to despondency, that he is upset by trifles — the besetting sin of a high-strung, fastidious soul — that he worries too much over his health, and that he is unreasonably haunted by the fear of death.

In other words, though strange to say Kiessling seems to have been the first to observe it, Tibullus was a hypochondriac. Horace had already seen more than enough of it in his friend Maecenas. In the case of Tibullus it would be easily superinduced by his probably delicate childhood. If so, a mild form of it may well have been fostered in later years by the anxious ministrations of his devoted women folk at home.

The discovery of this peculiarity is more or less illuminating. For example we know that the tendency to melancholy, the tendency to dwell upon death, to luxuriate in the details of one's prospective funeral, even the inability to struggle with a degrading passion, are all elegiac commonplaces. But we also know that they are in harmony with the poet's supposed condition. Here then we are even less certain than before. On the other hand we have good reason now to suspect that his illness at Corcyra was by no means so serious as he thought it was. Even the word *reptare* which Horace uses to describe his friend's habitual gait suggests a man who is convinced that he must not overtax his strength.

Finally it is more than probable that Tibullus's tendency to look upon the darker side had a direct influence on his point of view regarding his own work. For example he would naturally find, as Horace seems to have done, that the fussy, assertive Propertius was not to his taste. Even his literary methods and his artistic point of view were utterly at variance with those of Ti-

bullus. But Propertius was undoubtedly a poet of the first rank, and with the publication of his first book the world made haste to recognize the fact; he was taken up by Maecenas, his name was in every one's mouth. Tibullus published his own first book at about the same time.[1] He knew its artistic merit, he knew there were a few readers who would appreciate its superiority from that point of view. But he also knew that with the larger public it was overshadowed by the brilliant work of his rival. The effect of such a disappointment upon a man of Tibullus's temperament can be easily imagined. Indeed the very emphasis with which Horace assures his friend that his literary glory is secure, is enough to justify us in suspecting that the last years of our poet's brief life were perhaps occasionally haunted by the fear that he was destined never to realize his one consuming ambition, a permanent place in the Roman Temple of Fame.

III. LATER TRADITION AND IMITATION

In his own time however and for many years to come, the reputation of Tibullus as a poet was the equal of his reputation as a man. The tender verses of Domitius Marsus, whose bitter

[1] Many of the same motives appear in Tibullus and Propertius (as also in Ovid), and much attention has been given to the various coincidences in theme, thought, and expression. See esp. Jacoby, *Rhein. Mus.*, 65, p. 22 f., whose statements and conclusions are many of them, it seems to me, in need of considerable revision. The first book of Propertius (see 2, 31) was perhaps published soon after October of 28, the first book of Tibullus (see 1, 7) about a year later. But attempts to prove imitation, still more to prove which was the imitator, are not especially profitable. No one for instance knows how long the poems of both were circulated before publication. The first three books of Propertius had all been published when Tibullus was writing his second book. But even here, as in the first book, the loss of Gallus as well as of practically all the Greek background makes it impossible to tell how many such resemblances are due to a common or a similar source. Where the two poets have dealt with the same theme, they have developed it each in his own way. Which way is better is a matter of taste, and nothing is gained by attempting to exploit either at the expense of the other. The last book of Propertius was published, and some at least of the pieces in it were written, after the death of Tibullus.

tongue was not always attuned to such a strain, are in themselves an indication that the death of Tibullus, like that of Vergil, was felt by the world at large almost as a personal bereavement. So the loss to letters of Tibullus the poet made a similar impression upon all cultivated men. This is really the message of Ovid's famous elegy upon his death. Elsewhere too this generous and discriminating critic does ample justice to the genius of his great predecessor.

Velleius Paterculus, writing in the time of Tiberius, brackets Tibullus with Ovid as 'perfectissimi in forma operis sui.' It is quite possible of course that the honest old campaigner had never read Tibullus. The criticism however is doubtless an echo of the prevailing opinion. Most valuable of all is the criticism of Quintilian (see p. 179), written in the last decade of the first century. For him Tibullus is of the four great elegiac poets the most consummate artist. Nor is Quintilian his only admirer in this period. We learn for example that at that time a copy of Tibullus was considered a suitable present (apophoretum) for a guest at a dinner party (Martial, 14, 193)—a sure sign that our poet was looked upon as a standard author.

It is evident too that he was read as well as admired. The allusions to him in Statius and Martial (see pp. 179–180) presuppose a reading public thoroughly familiar with his poetry. Literary reminiscences of his phrases suggest a similar assumption. From this point of view the largest debtor to our poet is Ovid, who is continually paying him the sincere tribute of imitation. Until the age of the Antonines however, more especially perhaps in Martial and Calpurnius, echoes of the Tibullian phrase, though generally slight and often indefinite, are sufficiently frequent and varied to imply in themselves a living tradition of the author. Perhaps the best proof of Tibullus's real popularity among a wide range of readers is the fact that echoes of him are not infrequently heard in the ordinary metrical epitaphs of the Imperial period.

Strange to say however, if we exclude the few examples found

in professional grammarians and commentators, there appears to be but one direct quotation from his works in the entire literature. This is made by Seneca (*N. Q.* 4, 2, 2 = Tib. 1, 7, 26) and evidently from memory, for he attributes the line to Ovid. That a man so thoroughly conversant with the elegy could make this particular mistake is in itself an indication of that overshadowing popularity of Ovid which dated from the late Augustan Age, and was destined to endure until well into the last century. It is evident too that the class of readers indicated by Quintilian's 'sunt qui Propertium malint' was well represented in the time of Domitian. Even in the metrical epitaphs mentioned above echoes of the elegy are distributed in the significant ratio of Ovid, 125; Propertius, 20; Tibullus, 12.

The status of Tibullus in the reign of the Antonines cannot be determined with certainty. We learn from two poems (*Anth. Lat.* 451–452) presumably written not far from this period that the name itself of Delia had become a literary reminiscence. This however is no proof of Tibullus's popularity at the time. One may speak of a 'gay Lothario' without incurring the suspicion of being acquainted with Nicholas Rowe even by name. The second century was a bookish age, an age of fine critical editions and large professional interest in philological and antiquarian research. The cultivated public talked much of books and authors, and was especially interested in literary gossip. It is no accident that the *De Viris Inlustribus*, 'The Lives of Distinguished Men,' by Suetonius, an excellent scholar, and for some years the private secretary of Hadrian, should belong to this age. The book contained that life of Tibullus of which the vita in our mss. is probably a distant echo, and its appearance at that time doubtless roused new interest in our poet. Many people however can converse about a poet whom they have never read. The fact therefore that Apuleius can tell us who Delia really was is no sign in itself that Tibullus was still well known at first hand.

There are no notable echoes of him in the literature of this

period. The literature however in which such echoes would naturally be found, if found at all, has disappeared almost to the last line. It is certain too that the important and far-reaching revolution of taste represented by the archaistic school of Fronto had a decided effect on the tradition of the great Augustan poets. Yet here too we must remember that the Imperial reading public was still too large, if not too independent, to be deeply affected as a whole by any one school, however important. On the whole therefore it is probably safe to say that Tibullus, though still a popular author, was less read than in the previous period, and was already entering the stage of being read about, and admired from afar — the fate, as a rule, of the world's best books.

The march to oblivion in the third and fourth centuries was considerably accelerated no doubt by the lack of professorial recognition, such as it was. At all events grammatical references to Tibullus are unusually rare, and there is nothing to show that he was ever paid the compliment of a commentary. To be sure an occasional echo in poets like Nemesianus, Ausonius, and possibly Paulinus Nolanus, indicates that even in this period Tibullus was still read. But he can hardly have been known to the larger reading public, and least of all, if we may believe Ammianus (28, 4, 14), to the Roman nobility. These degenerate representatives of what had once been the most highly cultivated class in the Empire he does not hesitate to describe as — 'detestantes ut venena doctrinas, Iuvenalem et Marium Maximum curatiore studio legunt, nulla volumina praeter haec in profundo otio contrectantes.' It has even been urged that the reason why Hieronymus makes no reference to Tibullus and Propertius in his Chronicle is because he had never read either of them.

The last ancient author, and the first since Apuleius, to mention our poet is Sidonius Apollinaris (fifth century). His information (see p. 181) is without warrant in previous tradition, and his works give no signs of a knowledge of Tibullus at first hand. A careful examination of the elegies of Maximianus, written about

550, suggests that he may have had a direct knowledge of Tibullus, but the evidence is slight and not especially convincing (see 1, 2, 19–20 and note).

Here at last the tiny rivulet of Tibullian tradition finally dries up. There are no citations from him in Priscian, and henceforth until the Renaissance, if we exclude three or four mediaeval book catalogues, all evidence of him is confined to the occasional quotation of a passage which may always be traced either to one of the mediaeval florilegia (see p. 89) or to a note of some ancient grammarian or commentator.[1]

With the Revival of Learning our poet, together with Catullus and Propertius, once more came to the front, and for the time being resumed his place in the territory over which Ovid had so long reigned alone. Delia again becomes a familiar character; the literary gossip of Apuleius and Sidonius is revived and enlarged. Genuine literary echoes begin near the end of the fourteenth century and until the sixteenth century occur with some frequency in the poetry of the Humanists (Joannes Secundus, Sannazaro, Baptista Mantuanus,[2] Aleandro, Pontanus, etc.). Since then Latin verse has reverted more or less to the manner and form of Ovid.

The number of editions issued before 1700 is a good proof that Tibullus must have been fairly well known to the more cultivated reading public throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It must be confessed however that there are no very striking proofs of it in the vernacular literature of that period. In England for example the tradition has always been slender. Jonson's *Poetaster* numbers Tibullus among its dramatis personae; Daniel's choice of *Delia* as the title of a collection of amatory sonnets (1592) is an early example of an allusion which since then has appeared again and again; occasionally Tibullus furnishes the tag of Latin regularly

[1] For details see R. Ehwald, *Philologus*, 46, p. 639 f.

[2] The examples are noted by W. P. Mustard in his edition of Mantuan's *Eclogues*, Baltimore, 1911, p. 57, n. 67.

adorning the title page of Elizabethan books; occasionally too one hears an echo of him in Spenser, and in certain lyric and dramatic poets of this period. But there is no 'Tudor translation' of Tibullus, no one piece of poetry inspired by him or showing a deep and sympathetic study of his works.

Robert Herrick has been called the 'English Tibullus.' He mentions Tibullus once, and has the same genuine love for the country, but he does not imitate him, and it would be difficult to find two writers more unlike in their ideas of poetic art. The inimitable Burton does not exclude Tibullus from his unique library on the subject of Melancholy, and traces of the poet may be detected here and there in Cowley, Rowe, Walsh, and other authors; but as a whole references to him in English of the seventeenth century are more rare and less striking than in the previous age.

The tradition of him in France of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is much the same. He is referred to by Rabelais and quoted a few times by Montaigne. Echoes of him are occasional in the poets, especially in such poets of the Pléiade as Ronsard, Belleau, and Baïf. Delia becomes, as in England, a literary reminiscence. In 1655 de Maroles published a translation into French.

In Italy Tibullus was studied and admired from an early date. Petrarch may have been acquainted with him, but the evidence for it noted in his Italian works does not seem conclusive. The same is true of Boccaccio. Dante was too early to have known him, except in the tenuous tradition of the Middle Ages. From the middle however of the fifteenth century, echoes of him occur with considerable frequency. Among others may be mentioned Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, the *Cortegiano* of Baldessar Castiglione, and the *Aminta* of Tasso. The most striking example perhaps in the entire literature of Italy is the *Elegie* of Luigi Alamanni, published in 1532. In his dedicatory epistle the author speaks of Tibullus and Propertius

as 'i miei maestri,' and these pleasing and well-written poems in terza rima — among the first of their name in a modern language — are an ample justification of this claim.

The deliberate use of the literary echo together with a notable enthusiasm for the Roman poets, formal classicism combined with a growing tendency to the idyllic erotic, were all favourable to the popularity of Tibullus in the eighteenth century. In this age of Pope, Watteau, and Voltaire, of Dresden shepherdesses and pastoral operas, of *petit-maîtres* and *cœurs sensibles*, the prominence of Tibullus in the literatures of Europe was more marked than it has ever been except in his own time. France, Germany, Italy, England, Spain — each really deserves a chapter by itself.

The translation of 'Mr. Dart' in 1720 was followed by that of James Grainger in 1759. Both are decidedly mediocre. Apart too from the traditional echo, which becomes more frequent, we now find occasional translations of favourite passages, 'imitations' of Tibullus, poems 'written after the manner of Tibullus,' and the like. Indeed James Hammond's (1710–1742) poems to 'Delia' (Miss Dashwood) — practically all the verse he ever wrote — owe their inspiration entirely to the elegies of our author.

In France the indications of Tibullus's popularity are even more marked. Among translations may be mentioned those of Pezai (1771), de Longchamps (1777), Pastoret (1784), Mirabeau (1798), and Mollevault (1808). There are also frequent 'imitations' by La Harpe, Lebrun, Loyson, Andrieux, etc. Bertin, like Hammond, owes a large share of his inspiration to Tibullus alone. The *élégie* itself becomes more prominent and the regular echo of our poet more frequent. Now too — and apparently for the first time — we find, as in Voltaire, entire poems suggested by a single passage. *Les Amours de Tibulle* by de la Chappelle (2d ed., 1732) is a sentimental romance of Tibullus's life and adventures, in which is interspersed the translation of his elegies. The book reminds one at once of the

romances of Honoré d'Urfé, which at that time were especially popular.

One of the most notable literary developments of the nineteenth century was the rise of the German elegy under Goethe and his contemporaries. The great leader himself was most deeply affected by Propertius, but a number of translations, among others that of Johann Heinrich Voss (1810), and no less than four annotated editions, are in themselves ample proof that the interest of the German public in Tibullus at this time was unusually deep and widespread.[1]

In France and Italy too the literary tradition of Tibullus was continued, but on the whole, and especially in England during the Victorian period, the interest in him during the nineteenth century was less general than in the previous age.[2] Tennyson shows no traces of him. On the other hand Cranstoun's translation, published in 1872, is the best complete version in English, and the occasional renderings of Elton (1814) are still admired. Whiffen's versions (1829) are deservedly forgotten. The best French translation is by Martinon (1895). Williams's translation (Boston, 1905), so far as I know, is the first version by an American. Among modern writers who show traces of his influence the most notable is Carducci.[3]

IV. CRITICISM AND DISCUSSION

It will be seen that the influence of Tibullus upon subsequent thought has on the whole been considerable. And yet it has probably been less than that of any other great Roman poet. Literary echoes of him are rare, quotations from him are uncommon,

[1] The influence of Tibullus on German literature is now being studied by Dr. R. B. Roulston, Associate in German in the Johns Hopkins University, and his results will soon be published.

[2] A few occur in Byron and Moore. The Lake Poets and their kind appear to know nothing of the elegy.

[3] See esp. his *Juvenilia*, 27 and 31.

the one memory of him in the phraseology of modern English (see 1, 7, 26, n.) is 'Jupiter Pluvius.'

A scanty record for one whom the greatest of Roman critics did not hesitate to call 'tersus atque maxime elegans' among the elegiac poets. How shall we explain this apparent incongruity? To answer this important question we must examine the qualities of his genius, and get some vision of the peculiarities of his type against the background furnished by his rivals in the same department.

For variety and scope of talent, for vivacity and sparkling wit, for ease and grace, Ovid unquestionably bears the palm. As a master of technique he has no peer. He can say in verse whatever he likes, and can express it as a poet should. But it is Plessis who warns us, and in this connection (*La Poésie Latine*, p. 353), that 'wit and fluency are dangerous gifts for a poet.' The man who follows across country that mischievous sprite, a ready wit, is in danger of trampling upon the tender flower of sentiment. Fluency and prolixity are Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; the brilliant and the facile easily pass over to the diffuse and the frivolous. We feel that his taste really was on a level with his talent, that no one was more capable than was he of recognizing the danger line in the exercise of his own genius, and our impression is confirmed by Quintilian, who had read the lost *Medea*, and by an anecdote by the Elder Seneca, who was personally acquainted with the poet himself.[1] Unfortunately however Ovid sometimes lacked the resolution to discipline his genius instead of indulging it. To use the expressive phrase of Quintilian, he was 'nimium amator ingenii sui.'

But for a larger public his eminent virtues were never seriously lowered by occasional lapses of this sort. Hence from his own time until the present generation, as long in other words as the Latin authors were really read by a larger public, Ovid was always the most popular of the elegiac poets. His influence upon Euro-

[1] *Controversiae*, 2, 2, 12 f.

pean literature merely for the single century from 1550 to 1650 probably exceeds the sum of that exerted by both his rivals during the entire nineteen centuries since their death.

Propertius is unique. In his personality as well as in his art he is a fascinating puzzle of apparent paradoxes and inconsistencies. An elegiac poet by nature and choice, he nevertheless disregards practically every convention of the department. In an atmosphere of half-ironical sentiment and cultivated persiflage he is for the most part passionately serious and desperately sincere. In a department the ideal of which is clarity and unstudied ease he is a proverb of abruptness, irregularity, startling contrasts, and obscurity. Few Roman poets are so charged with literary reminiscence. No Roman poet is more strikingly original. He did not, nay, he could not, think as others have thought. His emotional insight, his bizarre and powerful imagination, strain at the leash of the distich, and tax every resource of his native tongue. A lover of pleasure, yet with high ideals, a rapid thinker, but a slow and painful composer, a cool head, but an ardent heart, always young in years, yet, matured early as he was in the fierce sun of an absorbing passion, never young in spirit, Propertius has imparted to his poetry — if we may borrow from the most penetrating and sympathetic of his modern crities — 'a touch of harshness, the suspicion as it were of a bitter after-taste, reminding one of fruit that has ripened without sunlight, of hearts that have loved without happiness.'[1] He is, and we should expect him to be, the favourite in the cultivated world of to-day. His temperament and attitude have much in common with the mood of the present generation; his abruptness, his tendency to exaggeration, his startling contrasts, his very neglect of the conventional canons of classical style, in themselves commend him to readers accustomed to the 'high relief' of modern literary art. Not however that Propertius will ever be known and admired by a large circle of readers. He is far too difficult. But no one with the intelligence and training to

[1] F. Plessis, *Étude sur Properce*, pp. 297–298.

master his poetry has ever failed to recognize his remarkable genius.[1]

Tibullus again belongs to an entirely different type. A standard example of the 'low relief' of antique literary art, his most notable quality is perfect simplicity. He is simplex munditiis, a genuine representative, as Plessis has observed, of the Attic school. As such his taste is simple to the point of severity. There is no apparent effort to impress the reader with his own ability. He is not a man of brilliant passages, he furnishes practically no quotations for lovers of the striking or sententious, he makes no attempt even to depart from the traditional themes and motives of the elegy. So too there is no elaborate use of mythological lore, no deep and recondite learning, no signs of the close and fervid study of specific literary models. His diction, though famous for its beauty and delicacy, is always simple; and the development of his thought, though artistic to the last degree, gives no hint of formality or premeditation. His style is notably sane and sober; indeed as Sellar observes, 'the active power of his imagination is perceptible rather in the collocation of his words than in figures of speech' (*i.e.* metaphors). Finally his metrical technique, dainty and artistic to the point of a proverb, nevertheless shuns the invariable application of certain less important rules, as conducive to monotony and in itself savouring of affectation. In other words, thought and form are in perfect harmony and are a faithful reflection in every particular of the Tibullian standard of naturalness and simplicity.

Of course his simplicity is not artless. No competent critic in these days, certainly no classical scholar worthy of the name, needs to be reminded that in a literary masterpiece simplicity is always deliberate and naïveté always artistic. Tibullus is a conscious artist.

It would appear too that, apart from the natural bent of his

[1] 'Properz ist das grössere Talent, Tibull der grössere Künstler.' — F. Leo, *Röm. Lit.* p. 350.

own individual genius, he also had a definite ideal in view. At all events it is significant to observe that, taken point by point, Tibullus reflects faithfully, so far as we know it, the idyllic-erotic elegy, the standard type of Mimnermos as modified by Philetas.

The ideal of Tibullus, the ideal of the traditional type of which he is himself the only representative now surviving, is the art that conceals art. The value and rarity of this style are not always fully appreciated even by those who admire it most. It is peculiarly liable to misinterpretation because, though full of reserves, it betrays no indications of the fact. The reserves of literary art, the things a poet ignores, not because he cannot say them, but because he does not choose to say them, are the last to be detected. In our estimate of Tibullus it is well to keep this in mind. In dealing with any poet, above all with a poet of the Tibullian type, we are somewhat in danger of mistaking choice for necessity, peculiarities and limitations of department for peculiarities and limitations of individual genius.

For example it is frequently stated that the education of Tibullus was probably nothing more than that, let us say, of an average country gentleman in the time of Augustus. The statement can only be derived from the fact that he makes no great show of learning. If so, it rests on the naïve assumption that a poet never fails to tell us all he knows. As a matter of fact any display of learning would be quite out of place in the idyllic elegy, above all, as Marx has observed, in poems ostensibly addressed to women of the people like Delia and Nemesis.[1] That here as elsewhere Tibullus is a conscious artist is proved, if proof is needed, by the fact that in poems of a non-idyllic character (like 1, 7 and 2, 5), evidences of special learning are by no means absent.

So of the fact that he says nothing of the many great contem-

[1] This point is in no way disturbed by Jacoby's adverse criticism, *Rhein. Mus.* 65, 68, n. 2. The matter is a question of dramatic propriety. From this point of view whether the poem was actually written for Delia or not makes no difference. It is enough that it is addressed to her.

poraries with whom he was doubtless on the best of terms, that he never mentions or discusses the tradition of his department in the past, that he makes no acknowledgement of literary inspiration, no confession of literary faith — how shall we explain these phenomena? The question is no longer capable of a final and definite reply. It is perhaps worth observing however that all these matters seem out of place in the strictly idyllic type. Even the mollitia with which he has been charged and the absence of certain more serious aspirations, though possibly due to individual limitations, are nevertheless in harmony with the traditions of his model. The conventional love affair of the elegy follows simple lines, the beaten paths of antique as well as of modern sentiment do not lead to the highest ground. Above all the idyllic mood does not and should not mount to the lonely peaks of contemplation and the wider outlooks of the spirit.

We must of course admit the claim that he does not show the daring imagination of Propertius nor betray the same ardour of temperament, but such passages as the awful picture of wolf-madness in 1, 5, 49 ff. (the more awful because merely suggested), the sinister hint of 1, 2, 39–40, the infernal art of the invective in 1, 9, 53 ff., the emotional stress of 2, 4, 5 ff., are momentary glimpses of a new Tibullus; and they suggest a poet quite capable of producing lights and shades of the most startling sort, if he had chosen to transgress the self-imposed laws of his own literary code.

It is also beyond question that he does not possess the inexhaustible vivacity and wit, the infectious animal spirits, of Ovĭd. At the same time one of the notable characteristics of Tibullus is his humour, and readers of Theokrītos and the Bucolic poets will not fail to perceive that the vein is that which was always more or less characteristic of the idyllic mood throughout the Alexandrian Age. The 'gentle elegiac melancholy' of Tibullus, in reality one of his less important moods, is still a commonplace of criticism. It is hard to see however how any sympathetic reader can succeed in missing the humour of the situation in 1, 2, the satire of 1, 4, the

inimitable mockery of 1, 6, the twinkle of amusement in 1, 8, the whimsical observation of 2, 1, 79–86, the affectionate raillery of 2, 2, the genuine Alexandrian persiflage of 2, 6, 1 ff.

It seems to be the general opinion that Tibullus lacked the energy or the ambition, or possibly even the ability, to add those last touches to his elegies that would have made them perfect works of art according to his own standard. It is urged in support of this opinion that, clear as he is, he is not always clear, that he sometimes repeats the same word too frequently, that there are occasional freedoms in his versification which are not found to the same extent in standard technique (*i.e.* in Ovid's technique), etc. This may be true, but it is yet to be proved. Whatever our modern point of view may be, the opinion remains a mere assertion until we can show that the peculiarities cited in its support actually were inconsistent with his own ideal of literary art.

A recent critic is inclined to place Tibullus among poets of the second rank.[1] This may be true. But it is difficult to define accurately the genius of Tibullus, and even more difficult perhaps to define just what constitutes a poet of the second rank. Modern criticism for example would doubtless award the first rank to Browning, the second to Gray and Collins. More than one reputable reader however would not exchange the Tibullian grace of the 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard' or the Simonidean simplicity of 'How Sleep the Brave' for all the verses Browning ever wrote or was capable of writing.

Here however we are concerned, not with the position of Tibullus in the wider domain of poetry as such, but merely with his position in the elegy. This is also the question with which Quintilian was concerned. His reply was, 'elegia quoque Graecos provocamus, cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime videtur auctor Tibullus. sunt qui Propertium malint. Ovidius utroque lascivior, sicut durior Gallus.'

[1] The best characterization is given by Sellar, *l.c.* p. 237. An adequate discussion of the views of Rothstein, Pichon, and especially Jacoby on this question would require more space than can be given to it here.

Until recent years modern critics, more especially the scholars of the Renaissance and of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, followed this estimate with such verbal literalness that in some instances we may fairly suspect that the real meaning and application of it was not understood. On the other hand the tendency of late years to depreciate the worth of Tibullus occasionally supports itself by impugning Quintilian's ability to appreciate the best poetry. In the majority of such instances we no longer suspect that he has not been understood, we are sure of it.[1] The criticism of Quintilian, like that of Velleius, like that of Ovid, is largely if not entirely concerned with the poet's technique and form, in short with his art. In this respect not only Quintilian, but as a rule antique criticism in general, is a faithful reflection of the poet's own attitude toward his work. His standard and the goal of his ambition was perfection of form. He rarely lost sight of the essential unity of the plastic arts.

Judged from this point of view the superiority of Tibullus is quite beyond dispute. We may grant that Ovid was capable of surpassing Tibullus even in his own domain. Indeed after Quintilian's words on Ovid's *Medea* we are sure of it. The fact remains however that he did not, and that Tibullus showed better taste and more literary self-control. We may grant too that Tibullus did not possess the unique imagination of Propertius. We think however that here again he sometimes showed better taste, and we know that he wrote better verses. In short judged by his own standard, which is the standard of antiquity in general, he is

[1] See Rothstein, *Einleit. zu Properz*, p. xlvii; esp. Jacoby, *Rhein. Mus.* 65, p. 79, '— statt zu konstatieren, dass wir mit ganz anderen Voraussetzungen an ein Gedicht herantreten, wie die Rhetoren Velleius und Quintilian, denen jede Fähigkeit mangelt, über die Komposition eines Kunstwerks zu urteilen, weil ihr eigenes Schaffen sich ganz auf die Ausgestaltung der Einzelheiten erstrickt,' etc. Cp. p. 86, ' das Urteil an sich und für uns nicht kompetenter antiker Kritiker,' etc.

Surely Velleius and Quintilian are an ill-assorted pair to bracket as representatives of any one thing in common. And I am constrained to register my protest here that Quintilian was thoroughly acquainted with the great canons of criticism, that they are immutable, and that we depart from them at our peril.

just what Quintilian described him to be, 'tersus atque elegans maxime,' or as Sellar puts it, 'in his art the most faultless, the most perfectly harmonious.'

Comparisons however are more or less futile, and are often misleading. The three poets are really complementary rather than parallel. The unique genius of Propertius, the sparkle, the creative imagination, of Ovid, the Hellenic symmetry and reserve of Tibullus — each represents an individual and important contribution to our picture of the most artistic branch of poetry developed by Roman genius.

V. THE CORPUS TIBULLIANUM

The first book of Tibullus, as we have seen, was published not far from 27 B.C., the second and last, either just before his death or soon afterward. The resulting edition in two books appears to have been the only one known to the Roman public until some time after the reign of Domitian. It has also been suggested that the same edition was used by the later grammarians or by their authorities — at any rate all their citations are confined to the first two books. So too certain old library catalogues would appear to imply, though this is by no means as plausible, that copies of it survived until well into the Middle Ages.

The text however which we know, and which was known to the early mediaeval excerptors, is descended from another edition to which a number of poems had been added, either as an appendix to book 2 or as a third book. The further subdivision of this appendix into a third and fourth book is convenient, but it is due to the Italian scholars of the fifteenth century, and has no authority in tradition. Who was the editor of this collection? When was it incorporated with Tibullus? Had it ever been published before, either in part or as a whole? Who and what were the authors of the various pieces? These are all questions which have been dis-

cussed at great length, but to which it is no longer possible to give a definite answer.

The first section of this series of miscellaneous poems is by an author who calls himself Lygdamus (3, 2, 29). It consists of six elegies addressed to 'Neaera.' We conclude that the two had once been married or betrothed (1, 23; 4, 60), but that afterward she was alienated from him. He however has always loved her, and longs for a reconciliation. The poems are technically correct, and throw considerable light on society in the Augustan Age. They also indicate a man of rare generosity, tenderness, and refinement of feeling; we may grant, too, that criticism of his art has certainly been too severe; but it must be acknowledged that we have here the work of an amateur, and one whose character as a man was superior to his genius as a poet. He follows Tibullus closely in both matter and form, and the mere presence of his poems in this collection is in itself a proof that he was in some way connected with the circle of Messalla.

His identity however is a puzzle. If his real name was Lygdamus, he was of servile extraction, doubtless a learned freedman of the house of Messalla, and we should have a foundation for Mr. Postgate's suggestion that he was the editor of the *Appendix Tibulliana*. This however is by no means necessary. As a man of good family — and surely this is the implication of 1, 2 and 6, 59–60 — he would, like the Demophoön and the Lynceus of Propertius (*e.g.* 2, 22, 2: 2, 34, 9), prefer to conceal his identity under a pseudonym. That this was probably the case is further shown by the fact that Neaera herself is of good family (4, 91 f.; 2, 11). As such she could hardly have been betrothed, much less married, to a man whose real name was Lygdamus.

He states, or so at least the lines are usually interpreted, that he was born in the year or possibly on the day that both consuls fell at Modena, *i.e.* 43 B.C. This effectually disposes of the old theory that Lygdamus = the youthful Tibullus, but at the same time introduces a problem for which no man can offer a satisfactory

solution. The passage in question together with the context is 3, 5, 15 f.—

> et nondum cani nigros laesere capillos,
> nec venit tardo curva senecta pede.
> natalem primo nostrum videre parentes,
> cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.
> quid fraudare iuvat vitem crescentibus uvis
> et modo nata mala vellere poma manu?

Now Ovid, also born in 43, uses incidentally the same line to describe the date (*Trist.* 4, 10, 6)—

> editus hic ego sum: nec non ut tempora noris,
> cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.

Note too that Lygdamus, lines 19–20 practically = Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 14, 23–24 —

> quid plenam fraudes vitem crescentibus uvis
> pomaque crudeli vellis acerba manu?

and that Lygdamus, line 16 = Ovid, *Ars. Amat.* 2, 670 —

> iam veniet tacito curva senecta pede.

The coincidence is so close that we must assume one of the two to be imitating the other.[1] But which? For either choice is open to grave objection. It is most natural to suppose, and the majority of scholars favour this view, that Lygdamus imitated Ovid. If so, he imitated a passage (*Trist.* 4, 10, 6) published not earlier than 11–13 A.D., and the poet who alludes so feelingly to his tender youth was between 55 and 60 years of age! A satisfactory explanation of this objection is yet to be offered. We might say that he was writing nunc pro tunc, we might say that the entire affair, except the date, was a dramatic fiction, but we have no proof, and the probabilities are against us. On the other hand if Ovid was the imitator, why for this particular fact did he use the same line, and why was it that no less than three times in

[1] Bürger, *Hermes*, 40, 321; Calonghi, *Rivista di Filologia*, 29, 273: Skutsch, *Pauly-Wissowa*, 4, pp. 941, etc.

thirty-odd years he betrayed so vivid a recollection of six lines in the least important piece of an unimportant poet?

Much would be gained if it could be proved that 'natalem primo' (or 'primum'), etc., meant 'the first anniversary of one's birth,' in other words that Lygdamus was born in 44, not 43. We could then agree most heartily with the attractive theory recently taken up by Plessis (*Poésie Latine*, p. 364) that Lygdamus was probably none other than the brother of Ovid. Ovid's brother (*Trist.* 4, 10, 9 ff.) was born exactly a year earlier, *i.e.* in 44, which agrees with the date so gained for Lygdamus; he showed marked ability, but more especially for the law, which accounts for the quality of Lygdamus's verses; he died at the age of 20, which entirely justifies the reference to youth in Lygd. lines 19–20, and also explains why Ovid himself returned so often to this particular passage of six otherwise unimportant verses. Finally, the two boys were educated together in Rome, and it is reasonable to suppose that he was, as was his brother Ovid at that time, a member of the Messalla circle. Hence the presence of his poems in this collection. Unfortunately this interpretation of 'natalem primo,' upon which all turns, though reasonable enough in itself, does not seem to be supported by good parallels in actual Latin usage. On the whole therefore our best answer to this question is 'non liquet.'

The next piece of the collection (4, 1) is the so-called *Panegyricus Messallae*, a highly laudatory poem of 212 hexameters, the date of which (l. 122) has been placed between 31 and 27 B.C. It is now unnecessary to prove that Tibullus was never responsible for this poem.[1] The author is unknown, and if Messalla was like Sulla, he probably gave his enthusiastic panegyrist a goodly recompense—on condition that he write no more.[2]

[1] Tibullian authorship was denied first by Lachmann, *Kl. Schr.* 2, 149. For the influence of the nomos here see Crusius, *Verhand. d. Philologenvers.* 39, 265 f.

[2] Cicero, *Arch.* 25.

The next eleven elegies (4, 2–12) on the contrary are by far the best and the most interesting in the entire collection. They tell us the charming story of the two young lovers, Sulpicia the ward and probably the niece of Messalla himself, and the young man whom she calls 'Cerinthus.' The elegies in question are our only surviving documents in the case. As Gruppe was the first to observe, they fall into two groups, 4, 2–6 and 4, 7–12, the first by some sympathetic poet and friend, the second by the heroine herself. Each is to a certain extent an independent version of the same story, but the relation of the two is such that both are needed to complete this romantic chapter in the history of Messalla's own household.

Sulpicia was the daughter of Servius Sulpicius (4, 10, 4), who was doubtless the son of Cicero's old friend. If, as seems likely, her mother (4, 6, 15) was Messalla's sister Valeria (Hieron. *adv. Iouin.* 1, 46), Servius had been dead for some time, and her uncle's guardianship is explained. We are told that she was beautiful, we know that she was accomplished and the possessor of remarkable literary ability. She also possessed a large portion and one of the longest pedigrees in the Empire. A veritable docta puella and a most attractive young person withal, though considering the loving care with which she was evidently surrounded and the fact that she had been reared from childhood in the unconventional atmosphere of the Messalla circle, it is fair to suspect that she was somewhat wilful and, let us confess it, a trifle spoiled. At all events she fell most desperately in love with her Cerinthus; in due course he returned her affection, and for some time neither Messalla nor her mother was aware of the situation. As we shall see presently, the conclusion of the story is a matter of some doubt.

The first group is introduced by a copy of verses supposed to accompany a present to Sulpicia from her friend the poet on the first of March, the date of the Matronalia. As a tribute of warm yet purely disinterested regard on a special occasion, this poem has few equals. It is hard to believe that there was any member

of Messalla's circle beside Tibullus himself who was capable of writing a piece of this peculiarly difficult type, in which grace, delicacy, and good breeding are so exquisitely blended.

The next piece, in which our poet assumes the person of Sulpicia herself, is occasioned by the fact that her lover has gone on a boar hunt. As we read the poem we are inevitably reminded of Venus and Adonis, or of Phaidra and Hippolytos, long familiar to the elegiac sphere as the traditional prototypes of this particular situation.

The next elegy is occasioned by an illness of Sulpicia, and is therefore addressed to Apollo, the god of healing. Cerinthus is vitally interested in the welfare of his beloved, and at first thought we should expect him to speak in his own person here, as Sulpicia has done in the previous elegy. Our poet however is more artistic. In the case of this particular pair of lovers the conventional situation of the elegy is reversed. The girl writes the poetry, the youth has nothing to say; or at all events his contributions to the literature of the affair, though doubtless of a highly inflammable nature and treasured by the recipient with corresponding care, were nevertheless in plain prose, and as such have not survived. Whenever therefore the feelings of Cerinthus require expression, our poet acts as spokesman. Here however his dramatic aside to Cerinthus (ll. 15 f.) while addressing Apollo —

> pone metum, Cerinthe: deus non laedit amantes.
> tu modo semper ama: salva puella tibi est, etc. —

is quite as telling as anything written in the first person could possibly be.

The next poem was occasioned by the birthday of Cerinthus, and is written in the person of Sulpicia; the last of this group, by the birthday of Sulpicia, and here as before the poet acts as spokesman. The two poems are companion pieces, and should be compared throughout.

A close examination of these five poems suggests that the

actual foundation of them was the series next to be considered, and possibly some facts in addition of which the writer had personal knowledge. If so, not the least interesting feature of this collection is the unique opportunity it offers to study the methods pursued by an antique elegiac poet in the artistic use of his material. It would also be interesting if we could name the author. It is most natural — indeed on the whole it is most logical — to suppose that his name was Tibullus.[1] The poems emanate from Messalla's circle, and are in no respect unworthy of Tibullus. A detailed technical and stylistic comparison with the first two books reveals differences, but none of sufficient importance to preclude the possibility of a common authorship. On the other hand among the many resemblances that might be cited not the least striking is the characteristic objective attitude of our poet as compared with that of Tibullus himself in 2, 2. Messalla's circle was to say the least exceptionally favoured, if it possessed a second elegiac poet so like Tibullus in his poetical temperament and so nearly his equal in genius. Tibullian authorship of these poems however is only a matter of probabilities. It can neither be proved nor disproved.

The authorship of the second group is beyond question. It consists of six short poems composed by Sulpicia herself, the more interesting because they were apparently not written for the purpose of telling her story after the artistic fashion of the elegy. On the contrary with the possible exception of the first (4, 7), which reads like an entry in her diary, these pieces are in the form of brief notes addressed to Cerinthus himself, and it seems evident that none of them was ever intended for publication.

No one can read these verses without being impressed with the remarkable ability of their author. She certainly does not rank among the great poets of the world, even her mastery of technique occasionally suggests an amateur; and after her mar-

[1] Reitzenstein, *P-W.* 6, p. 93. Bürger, *Hermes*, 40, 328, finds them echoing the last book of Propertius, therefore not Tibullian. The argument is of no value.

riage she probably never wrote another line. But, like Catullus and a few of the chosen, this slip of a girl has that rarest of all gifts, the gift of straightforward simplicity; and, unlike her namesake in the next century, as well as some of her poetical sisters in centuries nearer our own, she shows no trace of self-consciousness and no sign of affectation. Moreover her personality is marked, and she writes from a full heart. The consequence is that in a scant forty lines she has contrived to impress herself upon us more deeply than many other writers have done who have spent a lifetime pursuing the same object by more sophisticated methods.

But, apart from their intrinsic interest and value, these pieces claim attention as practically all we have left of the poetry written by Roman women during the classical period. As such they are regularly used to illustrate the theme of 'Feminine Latinity' so often discussed since Gruppe's time. I am inclined to think that this theme has been overworked, and that between our enthusiasm of discovery and the limitations of our knowledge we have emphasized some phenomena which are not conclusive. It is not an easy matter even in one's own tongue to acquire the feeling for those often delicate and subtle distinctions of usage upon which an intelligent and fruitful discussion of this question is so largely based.

Cicero for example (*De Orat.* 3, 45) makes Crassus say that the speech of Laelia reminded him of Plautus and Naevius (see also Pliny, *Epist.* 1, 16, 6), and it is still true to-day that the language of women is more conservative than that of their masculine contemporaries in the same class. 'Facilius enim,' to quote Cicero's own words, 'mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant, quod multorum sermonis expertes, ea tenent semper quae prima didicerunt.' The elegies of Sulpicia however afford nothing distinctively antique, and even if we found anything of this sort, should we be able to justify our classification of it as Feminine Latinity?

The same may be said of the occasional traces of prosaic or conversational usage (*e.g.* 'cum digno digna,' 4, 7, 10; the double dative, 4, 7, 2; the double negative, 4, 7, 8; the zeugma, 4, 7, 4; the use of 'quiescas,' 4, 8, 5; 'quamvis' with the indic., 4, 8, 8; the meaning of 'cadam,' 4, 10, 2; 'aeque ac' with a sentence, 4, 12, 1–2). The majority of these occur in other poets, and the remainder cannot be called distinctively feminine. So too of an occasional vagueness or lack of strict logical connection in the construction of a sentence (see 4, 9, 4; 4, 10, 5, and notes), an occasional awkwardness in the formation of a distich, etc. A sufficient explanation of these and similar peculiarities is mere inexperience in literary and metrical technique. Inexperience in such matters is not distinctively feminine.

Irrespective however of training, of environment, or of any extraneous cause, mere sex in itself is clearly reflected in habits of thought and points of view. A genuine woman reacts so to speak to a given emotional stimulus in a way more or less characteristic of every other genuine woman in the same situation. In this respect nothing in all literature could be more characteristically feminine than these elegies. Their charming author is beyond all doubt a very woman. It is really for that reason that her poetry is undeniably so difficult. Her way of thinking is distinctively feminine, and though we may be familiar with it in the modern sphere of our own personal experience, it is less easy to follow in Latin, because Latin as we know it in the surviving literature is distinctively and exclusively masculine. She is feminine in what she says and in the way she says it. On the other hand, and this is the real difficulty, she is quite as feminine in what she does not say.

The present arrangement of the poems was evidently based upon the usual plan of variety and importance, not upon chronological sequence. 4, 7, by which the series is introduced, really marks the culmination of the affair. Chronologically, or at least psychologically, the order is 4, 12; 4, 10; 4, 7; and as these

three poems indicate a stage of development too acute to allow for the intervention of birthday celebrations and such comparatively indifferent matters, we may perhaps arrange the six poems thus: 4, 8 and 4, 9 in immediate succession; 4, 11 before or after 4, 8 and 4, 9; then 4, 12; 4, 10; 4, 7 in the order named.

From 4, 8 we learn that Sulpicia has been expecting to see Cerinthus on her birthday. She now writes him that Messalla has just announced his intention of taking her for an outing in the country, with the object, it would seem, of making her birthday an unusually pleasant occasion. Of course the foremost thought in her mind is that Cerinthus will not be there, and the girlish keenness of her disappointment is seen in every line. 'My hateful old birthday,' she exclaims, 'is coming, and the dreary hours of it must be passed in the stupid country, and without Cerinthus.' The amusing side of the situation for the onlooker is the fact that poor Messalla's extra effort to please his niece was evidently coupled with a blissful ignorance of the importance of Cerinthus in her scheme of life. Of course the attention was well meant, but it was all the more irritating for that very reason. Yet upon this piece are founded such solemn assertions of earlier scholars as that Messalla was in love with Sulpicia, that she disliked him, and that she hated the country.

Perhaps Messalla realized that for some occult reason his niece showed no great interest in his suggestion. At any rate in her next letter to Cerinthus (4, 9) Sulpicia writes that the proposed journey has been given up, and that her birthday will be spent at home as originally planned. It will be observed that she no longer calls it her 'hateful old birthday.' Possibly 4, 5 and 4, 6, in the previous group, were originally suggested by these two pieces. It is likely too that 4, 4 — the poem on an illness of Sulpicia — is to be connected in a similar fashion with 4, 11, in which Sulpicia herself writes a touching letter to Cerinthus on the same theme. The theme is traditional, and the thoughts are not new; but for beauty, tenderness, and good

taste it is the model of its kind, and the poet of 4, 4 was particularly successful in his interpretation of it.

In 4, 12 Sulpicia apologizes to Cerinthus for having left him so abruptly the previous evening. 'She bitterly regrets now that she was so young and foolish as to run away — and only because she was afraid to show how much she loved him.' The words suggest an advanced stage in the courtship of these two young things. Indeed the characteristically feminine mixture of motives responsible for the last two lines would occupy at least a chapter in a modern psychological novel. As it stands it is a revelation, the more eloquent because wholly unconscious, of the girl's gentle nurture and essential innocence. She shrank back instinctively from the prospect of complete surrender, for of course this was the real motive, or rather the principal motive, of her flight. The motive itself, and the fact that she does not betray it except by inference, are both so feminine and so true to nature, yet at the same time so rare in conventional literary art, that we must believe these letters to be the astonishingly faithful record of a genuine love affair.

4, 10, the most difficult, and perhaps the most thoroughly characteristic of Sulpicia's letters, was evidently written and sent to Cerinthus immediately after she had been told that his attentions were being bestowed elsewhere. Every line palpitates with the suppressed fury of a passionate, high-spirited Roman girl who has been cut to the quick, not only in her love, but in her pride. She is in no mood for euphemisms. Indeed the tone of the entire communication, especially the biting irony of the clause of 'perverse purpose,' 'ne male inepta cadam' (see l. 2 and note), may well have been associated with an only too vivid memory of the scene of 4, 12 and a realization of the narrowness of her escape.

The rising tide of wrath and scorn is marked by the sudden shift from bitter irony in 1–2 to the passionate assertion of utter indifference in 3–4, as expressed in the characteristic demand of

Cerinthus to proceed as he has begun. On this side is the mere common drudge, the lowest even in her own class; on this is 'Servi filia Sulpicia.' This is not a mere outburst of jealous fury. There is no room for jealousy here. Nor is the fierce scorn for the woman herself; she is not to blame. It is for Cerinthus, that he could stoop so low; it is the bitter cry of her own humiliation.

To be sure the situation is slightly modified by the last two lines (5–6), although no rigid and detailed interpretation of them is altogether free from objection. The main drift however of this truly feminine parting shot is clear enough, quite as clear at least as the writer intended it to be. It is somewhat amusing to observe that whatever interpretation we adopt, the sentence —

> solliciti sunt pro nobis, quibus illa dolori est
> ne cedam ignoto, maxima causa, toro —

is a naïve betrayal of the fact that the source of her information regarding Cerinthus was only one of 'those persons interested in her behalf' — Cerinthus would have called him a rival — and that under cover of the intentionally vague and impressive plural she is really quoting part of what her informant told her on that occasion. It is of course unnecessary to add that Sulpicia wished at the same time to remind Cerinthus that she had plenty of admirers who appreciated her worth and who were ready to see to it that she did not lack for consolation.

Probably the temporarily despised recipient of this missive thought it best to call at once in person and explain. And as the letter (cp. 'ne . . . cadam,' l. 2) was certainly written before 4, 7, we know that on this occasion Cerinthus, though doubtless utterly bewildered, must have explained himself to her entire satisfaction. Indeed who shall say that the dénouement of 4, 7 was not perhaps precipitated by the inevitable revulsion of feeling arising from her conviction that the accusation of 4, 10 was entirely unfounded?

At all events 4, 7, the last of this series, was evidently written just after the consummation of her love, for she is still in a highly

exalted mood, and her naïvely joyous belief that for her complete victory came only with complete surrender has yet to be assailed by such afterthoughts as we find in 4, 5, 6–14, Ovid, *Her.* 18, 93, and every similar affair since the world began.

Here, so far as Sulpicia is concerned, the story ends. Certainly she has given a vivid picture of herself. From the nature of the case however she has told us practically nothing of the κωφὸν πρόσωπον in this dramatic idyll of the Augustan Age. This was done by the poet of the first group, and it is his most important contribution to the history of the affair. His attitude of the interested observer and confidant, his humorous appreciation of the situation and yet his entire sympathy with it, enable him to portray the character of Cerinthus to the life. Cerinthus is a person of deep feelings, but his inability to express them has reached the point of a joke among his friends. In the face of strong emotion he shows a marked tendency to remain silent. Much less is it likely that he ever dreamed of relieving his feelings in verse. Apart from 4, 4, 11–22, one of the most illuminating passages in this connection is 4, 5, 17–18. The situation disclosed by these lines is too characteristic, too true to nature, to be anything but a glimpse of the genuine history of this well-matched pair of lovers — he, the shy and reserved but deeply smitten youth of 4, 4 (and 2, 2), she, the frank, ardent, impulsive maiden of the letters. He is her natural quarry, and when once she sights him the final outcome is a foregone conclusion. But it requires no special insight to divine which of the two will be obliged to do the articulate wooing, if any is to be done at all. Hence the mere fact that the ordinary conditions of the elegy are in this instance reversed is in itself a good proof that we are dealing with realities. Indeed setting aside the marked differences in the temperament of the two, in a situation like that of 4, 5, 17–18 the shyness, even the occasional gaucherie, of a boy of gentle birth and training is too characteristic to require comment. On the other hand the greater frankness and naïveté of Sulpicia in the same situation is

quite as characteristic of her youth, her sex, and her essential innocence. Having once given herself, she rejoiced in the surrender.

The identity of Cerinthus is a mystery. We may however discard at once the statement that he was 'a young Greek' of 'obscure birth.' Irrespective of the literary associations of the name, the reversed conditions of the elegy so carefully observed by the poet of the first group are proof enough that it was a pseudonym. Further the mere fact that Cerinthus is Greek favours the assumption that the real name was Roman. The assertion that he was of humble birth is certainly not proved by 4, 10, 6, the passage from which it is derived, and is rendered most unlikely, not only by the poet's attitude toward him and by the fact that in the Augustan Age hunting (4, 3), in which the poet makes him engage, was distinctly a gentleman's pursuit, but also and above all because of his evidently intimate relations with the household of Messalla. Equally groundless is the assertion based upon 4, 6, 15–16, that the girl's mother considered him an undesirable *parti*. She simply had never thought of him at all in that connection. Any other interpretation spoils the desired contrast between lines 15 and 16.

The older Italian scholars (cp. the reading of 2, 2, 9, and 2, 3, 1) and some modern investigators (*e.g.* K. P. Schulze) do not hesitate to identify Cerinthus with Cornutus, the newly married young friend to whom Tibullus addressed 2, 3, and in honour of whose birthday he wrote 2, 2. If this is true, it is impossible not to identify the 'uxor' of 2, 2, 11 with Sulpicia, and to see in this charming poem the epilogue of her romance. One is sorely tempted to believe it, the more so as we really have no evidence against it. The circumstances and surroundings of Cerinthus and Cornutus appear to have been identical ; the two names are metrically equivalent ; above all it is hard to believe there were two young men in the circle of Messalla at the same time so exactly alike temperamentally as the shy and wordless, but sorely smitten,

Cerinthus of 4, 4, 11–22, and the shy and wordless, but sorely smitten, Cornutus of 2, 2, 9–12. The question however is incapable of a definite solution, and it is the part of wisdom to leave it so.

Two pieces, 4, 13 and 4, 14, remain to be considered. The first, which protests unalterable fidelity to some woman unknown, is ostensibly signed by Tibullus himself (l. 13).[1] The second and last poem, also presumably by Tibullus, is an epigram of four lines. They apparently belong to an earlier manner, and had probably been rejected by the poet himself. Perhaps they were found among his papers after his death. At all events the character and contents of books 3 and 4 as a whole indicate clearly that we have before us a collection of poems all emanating from the circle of Messalla during the time when Tibullus was a member of it. This and the fact that a number of pieces were evidently not intended for general circulation suggest that the editor actually had access to the archives of Messalla's household, and that he added all he found there to the existing edition of Tibullus with the idea of giving to the world the surviving record of whatever bore directly or indirectly upon the poet's literary activity.

Such being the case it seems likely that except for three or four slight lacunae due to imperfect transmission the edition of Tibullus now before us is not only complete, but contains some pieces which he himself had not intended to publish.

VI. TEXTUAL TRADITION

It has already been observed that the tradition of Tibullus during the Middle Ages is unusually slight. In fact it seems likely that the preservation of our poet from the ninth to the thirteenth century is due to France, and that here we owe a special debt of gratitude to the literary tastes and personal influence of the famous Latin poet and teacher Hildebert (died 1134). That a few mss. of our author

[1] See Introd. to 4, 13 in the Notes.

were to be found in various parts of France during this long period is shown indirectly by contemporary catalogues of libraries long since lost or dispersed. None however have survived. Indeed all our mss. of the complete text appear to be descended directly or indirectly from a single copy found in the fourteenth century, transcribed, and then lost.

The oldest and best representative of it, and our principal authority for the text now before us, is the Ambrosianus (R. 26, sup.), a ms. of the fourteenth century, which at that time belonged to Coluccio Salutato. As its name indicates, it is now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

The Vaticanus 3270, belonging early in the fifteenth century, is closely related to the Ambrosianus, and is next to it in order of merit.

The Codex Eboracensis, dated 1425, to which Lachmann drew special attention in his edition of 1829, is occasionally of some value.

Other mss. of this family still survive in large numbers, but they have no independent value, and have all suffered more or less severely from the corrections and emendations of the various Italian scholars who from 1370 to 1450 were especially interested, not only in Tibullus, but also in Catullus and Propertius.[1]

The text of the Ambrosianus however is by no means of the best, and although we find some traces of an older and a better tradition, our record of it is only partial. Our most important representative of it was the so-called Fragmentum Cuiacianum, a ms. once belonging to the famous jurist Cujas (1522–1590). Unfortunately it did not begin until 3, 4, 65, and as it is now lost, our knowledge of it for editorial purposes is limited to a collation of it made by Scaliger, and entered by him on the margin of his own copy of the Plantinian Tibullus (1569) now in Leyden.

[1] These men are responsible for the various stop-gaps found in this family of mss. at the four lacunae in the Corpus Tibullianum (1, 2, 25; 1, 10, 26; 2, 3, 14 and 75); see R. Soldati, *Riv. di Filologia*, 28, 287.

A late ms. of Ovid and Tibullus (of no value) is reported by E. Gerunzi, *Atene e Roma*, No. 66, p. 185.

In addition to this we derive occasional help from the mediaeval florilegia to which reference has already been made. These are the Excerpta Parisina and the Excerpta Frisingensia. The best representatives of the former are the Parisinus 7647 of the twelfth or thirteenth century and 17903 of the thirteenth century; of the latter, the Monacensis 6292 of the eleventh century. Both collections, but especially the Excerpta Parisina, enjoyed a wide popularity from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, and quotations from Tibullus in the writers of that period, *e.g.* in Vincent de Beauvais, can usually be traced to one or the other of them. They are collections for the most part of wise saws and modern instances, and the editors do not scruple to Bowdlerize. It is evident however that the text from which they drew their elegant extracts was better than that represented by the Ambrosianus.

It was claimed by Baehrens that the Guelferbytanus (fifteenth century), discovered and collated by him in 1876, actually represented the text used by the editor of the Excerpta Parisina. The claim cannot be supported. Rothstein[1] for example made it reasonably clear that the points of agreement between this ms. and the Excerpta Parisina were due to editorial collation. At the same time the exact position of the Guelferbytanus in our textual tradition is not altogether certain.

The first dated edition of Tibullus (also containing Catullus, Propertius, and the *Silvae* of Statius) appeared in 1472. The commentary of 'Bernardinus Cyllenius' appears in the Roman edition of 1475. It was reprinted in some later editions, and is still of value. The best edition of the sixteenth century is the second Aldine of 1515 (the first appeared in 1502); the most famous is Scaliger's edition of 1577. The best commentary of this period is by Achilles Statius, and it appeared first in the Venice edition of 1567. It was reprinted along with the notes of the Douzas, the commentaries of Scaliger, Muretus (Venice, 1544),

[1] *De Tibulli Codicibus*, Berlin, 1880. A facsimile of g was published by Leo in 1910.

Gebhardus, etc., in the variorum of J. G. Graevius (2 vols., Utrecht, 1680), the most notable edition of the seventeenth century.

The great editions of the eighteenth century are those of Janus Broukhusius, Amsterdam, 1708, and of J. A. Vulpius, 2d edition, Padua, 1749. Each is furnished with a complete index verborum; and their commentaries, though characteristically long and wordy, are mines of information from which every succeeding editor has extracted something of value. The text however was still dominated more or less by the pernicious influence of Scaliger's wholly unwarranted transpositions and redistributions.

The first really critical edition according to modern standards was published by Lachmann in 1829. The important annotated editions of this period are by J. H. Voss, Heidelberg, 1811; I. G. Huschke, Rostock, 1814; Heyne-Wunderlich, 4th edition, Leipzig, 1817; and L. Dissen, Göttingen, 1835. All are of value, but Dissen's is especially noteworthy. He was a critic of rare taste and discrimination; his introduction has never been entirely superseded; and his commentary in spite of some peculiarities is still the best complete commentary on Tibullus in modern times.

The text of Lucian Müller (Teubner, 1870) is marred by his tendency here as elsewhere to transpose and emend where neither is necessary. Baehrens's great service (Teubner, 1878) lay in demonstrating the position and value in our textual tradition of the Ambrosianus. But he set too high a value on the Guelferbytanus; and his text, like every other text with which he had to do, is marred by his inveterate habit of drastic and ill-considered emendation.

The best modern texts now available are those by E. Hiller, Tauchnitz, 1885, with testimonia and index verborum; by Haupt-Vahlen, 6th edition, Leipzig, 1904; and J. P. Postgate, for the Bibliotheca Classica Oxoniensis (1905), and for the 'Medici Society,' London, 1910.

The only modern commentaries on the complete Corpus Tibullianum are by Philippe Martinon, Paris, 1895; and Geyza Némethy, Budapest, 1905.

VII. THE POET'S ART

It would be impossible in the space at our command to give a complete conspectus of the formal and stylistic qualities of Tibullus's poetry. We must therefore content ourselves with a brief treatment of a few important points suggested by the general statements already made in the preceding pages. For further details the student is referred to the notes.

One of the most characteristic and important features of Tibullus's poetic art is his method of developing his theme. Mindful of the artistic simplicity belonging to his own peculiar type, he arranges his topics so skilfully and associates them by transitions so natural and unaffected, that all idea of artifice or of a deliberate scheme disappears in the mere pleasure of reading. As soon however as under the leadership of Vahlen and Leo[1] we begin to consider these masterpieces of composition as they are instead of as they were, after they had been disfigured by the transpositions of Scaliger and the doctrinaires of 'strophic arrangement,' we perceive that, as Sellar puts it, 'there is at once unity and variety in every elegy — the unity of a dominant sentiment, the variety of thoughts and pictures in keeping with it, arranged in groups corresponding with one another, and succeeding one another by gentle and natural transition.'

'1, 3, for instance, gives utterance to his feelings while ill at Corcyra and apprehensive of death. What gives unity to the poem is his memory of the love of Delia in the past, and his longing for her in the immediate future. But with this feeling is blended his love of home: and a vivid contrast is drawn between the perils of war and foreign adventure and the ideal happiness of the Saturnian Age. From these perils he passes to the thought of his own imminent danger, and from that to describe the joys of the

[1] Vahlen, *Monatsber. der Berliner Akademie*, 1878, p. 343 f.; F. Leo, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, II, n. 1 f. For later contributions see Schanz, *l.c.* (p. 30, n. 1, above). For Jacoby's theories of the poet's art see *op. cit.* (p. 24, n., above). His evidence lacks adequate support and his conclusions are unsound.

blessed in Elysium and the tortures of the damned in Tartarus; among them he mentions last the punishment of the daughters of Danaos, " Danai proles Veneris quod numina laesit." This thought ⟨carrying with it the characteristic parable of warning to Delia⟩ leads him back by the force of contrast to the brightest picture which his imagination can paint in the world of the living, that of Delia spinning among her handmaids, and of his own unexpected return. There is no mechanical arrangement, but rather a harmonious combination of his materials, their succession being regulated sometimes by the suggestions of similarity, sometimes of contrast. The peaceful joys of the country are in many of the elegies set over against the dangers and the rough life of the soldier, and the joy of youth and love is made more intense by the thought of death. There is nothing forced or strained in his manner of treatment: no undue emphasis or exaggeration of colouring. He is impressive by the truth and simplicity of his separate pictures, and their harmony with the moods to which he wishes to give expression.'

Often, as in 1, 3, he prefers to begin with the contrast, the negative of his underlying theme, and to end with the positive statement, having passed from the one to the other by a series of conflicting views — a sort of echo of the ἀγών, as Crusius observes, except that the opposing sentiments are in the speaker's own breast.

In short the most characteristic feature of our poet's rhetorical exposition is that it proceeds by parallelism, comparison, contrast, by statement and counterstatement, desirable and undesirable, negative and positive, running off from time to time into variations which seem to halt like eddies in a flowing stream, albeit the stream continues to flow steadily onward until it reaches the end. To paraphrase the words of Vahlen, 'the poetry of Tibullus moves like the waves of a summer sea. We sway in rhythmic cadence, now forward, now backward, yet from time to time the crest of some succeeding billow carries us insensibly a little farther on.'

Let us take the introductory elegy of the first book as an illustration. Tibullus has already seen active service as a soldier. Now his friend and patron invites him to return to it. There is hope of pecuniary reward, hence a chance to recoup the fallen fortunes of his house; there is also a chance to win distinction. None of these things is formally stated, they are merely mentioned in passing or to be inferred from the context (cp. 25–26, 53–54, 1–4, 41–42). Tibullus refuses to return, but not until 53–54 do we realize that he was refusing, and that the refusal is addressed to Messalla; and not until 55 ff., though we begin to suspect it as far back as 45, does it become clear that the elegy was really inspired by Delia and intended for her. Or to put it another way:

1–6. Those who are willing to acquire wealth at the price of toil and danger are welcome to it. My income is not large; but the bubble reputation, the life of action, are nothing to me so long as I can keep the humble but comfortable home I now have.

7–24. Idyllic picture of that home, its associations, occupations, etc.

25–26. An exclamation which takes up 1–6 again, and adds a new motive — Give me my quiet life; I have had enough of the other.

27–40. Second idyllic picture.

41–42. Again 1–6 with a new motive — Give me my quiet life; I do not regret the loss of my ancestral fortune, my wants are few.

43–48. Wants enumerated; new motive of the domina generally stated.

49–52. Again 1–6, with the new motive suggested by the domina just mentioned—The quiet life for me. I would not win the wealth of Ormus or of Ind at the price of breaking a girl's heart.

53 ff. War for honour (not wealth) becomes a man like

Messalla. Here however I cannot choose; for love is stronger than ambition, and I am in love. (Note the compliment to both Messalla and the girl, and how artfully we have been led by a series of hints to this point.)

Now as if in reply to the implied reproach of the previous lines he names the girl, and immediately adds—'But fame and fortune are nothing to me, Delia, if you will only love me as long as I live. Death would be sweet after such a life. Death however cuts off love, and old age makes it ridiculous. Both come anon. Let us therefore make the most of youth while it is yet ours. Here I am in my element. Here in fact I have already taken service. Hence therefore,' etc., and he ends on the keynote (1–6).

By way of comparison, let us examine the first elegy of Propertius to Cynthia (1, 1).

1–8. Since I fell in love with Cynthia I have been utterly helpless in her hands. She has ruined me, and I have no redress.

9–18. The myth of Milanion and Atalanta the huntress, *i.e.* (following the Alexandrian rule, see p. 15) the literary prototype of his own case. The transition from 8 to 9 has been postponed to 16–18, so that he can sum up after his favourite fashion, and proceed to his next topic by showing that the prototype is not as complete as it appeared at first sight. 'Preces' and 'benefacta' saved the day for Milanion, but his wits were sharpened by adversity, mine, alas! are paralyzed.

19–30. If these fakirs from Thessaly with their stale moon trick could make her suffer as I suffer, I might believe anything of them.

Help, friends! But no, it is too late.

Take me to the ends of the earth beyond the reach of womankind. Only the happy should stay here. My case is desperate.

35 ff. Beware, ye lovers all, and shun the fault I fell in.

There is no carefully managed transition here as in Tibullus,

none of his anticipatory hints, no recurring notes with added motives and variations. Propertius does not pause for transitions, he does not anticipate, often the general statement is only to be derived from a series of particulars, he does not end as Tibullus does. 'My case is pitiable — worse than its prototype — my case is hopeless. Lovers, take warning ere you regret it.' Such is the sum of his thought. In other words Propertius is highly emotional. He even starts his melody as it were with a bang, like a man whose feelings are already too much for him. Much of the difficulty and not a little of the modernity of this great poet may be traced to these emotional qualities of his style.

Still a different type is represented by Ovid. It varies according to theme and mood, but it is usually characteristic of his neat and orderly methods and reflects his rhetorical training. An extreme case is *Amores*, I, 9, really a suasoria in verse, beginning with a statement of his theme —

militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido:
Attice, crede mihi, militat omnis amans —

followed by a series of proofs and illustrations and ending with the Q. E. D.—

qui nolet fieri desidiosus, amet!

As regards the once popular theory of strophic arrangement we are probably safe in saying that so far as not only Tibullus but also the entire elegy is concerned such regular recurrence as we observe is due simply to rhetoric. On general principles strophic arrangement should not inhere in any types of poetry except those with which the accompaniment of music or the dance is traditional and constant. The recurring strain of music, the recurring figure of the dance, the opposition of chorus to chorus, of sex to sex, of shepherd to shepherd, is the real and reasonable basis of strophic arrangement and demonstrates its value and usefulness. There is nothing now to show that it was characteristic even of the earliest elegy which was accompanied by the flute. The

Alexandrian development was away from the lyric toward the narrative type. After and even before that time a musical accompaniment was not characteristic of the elegy. The Romans, as we have seen, did not sing their poetry, but declaimed it.[1]

Tibullus's peculiar method of developing his theme which has been described above is one of the most notable marks of that kinship with Mimnermos long ago observed by Gruppe and since then commented upon by Sellar, Plessis, Leo, Crusius, and others. It is also interesting to observe that this scheme of exposition is in entire harmony with the traditional wave effect, the to and fro of thought and emotion, produced by the distich itself.

Here too Tibullus was an artist of the first rank and went his own way. For mastery of the distich we may pair Tibullus with Ovid, Propertius with Catullus and probably with Gallus, whom Quintilian describes as 'durior.'

The general laws of the distich may be learned from any grammar and are the same for both languages. As soon however as we investigate details and variations of usage, we find that the Roman distich as finally developed by the great masters is distinctly national. In tracing its growth on Roman soil and in defining Tibullus's position in the process two laws of general application should be kept in mind.

The first is that in every department of Roman poetry the progress was always toward greater strictness of technique. Exceptional usage, whether inherited from the Greek norm or permitted by Latin itself, has a tendency either to disappear or to be confined by certain definite restrictions. Hence the most striking difference between Catullus the beginner, still too near his Greeks, and Ovid the master, who had before him not only Gallus, Propertius, and Tibullus, but many other poets since lost.

[1] G. Lafaye, *Catulle et ses Modèles;* Teuffel-Skutsch, *Gesch. der Röm. Litt.* 245, 6 and ref. Crusius's theory of the influence of the nomos is not universally accepted; cp. Leo, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1898, p. 56: 'It is impossible to derive a literary form from a musical form: the elegy has no more connection with the nomos than the sonnet with the sonata.'

The second is the law of department. The distich requires to be handled with the utmost daintiness and skill. It is less tolerant of exceptional usage in the elegy than in the epigram. The hexameter of the elegy for example is ostensibly the same as that of the epigram, the epic, and the Horatian satire. But in freedom of usage by departments there is a regular decrease in the order — satire, epic, epigram, elegy. Hence the difference between the hexameter of Ovid the elegiac, and Ovid the epic poet.

To the combined operation of both laws, the law of chronology and the law of department, is due the apparent contradiction that the hexameter of Horace the satirist is nearer to the verse of Lucretius the epic poet than to the verse of Juvenal in his own department, and that the distich of Martial the epigrammatist partakes less of his predecessor Catullus than of Ovid the elegist. The multiplied pressure of both laws in the elegy itself greatly accelerated the growth of the distich. Less than a generation completed a process which in the case of the epic went on for more than a century.

The main points to be considered in the hexameter are the caesura, the cadence, the schemata, and the proportion of dactyls. The details of Tibullian usage in these respects are mentioned in the commentary as they occur. Here it is enough to say that Tibullus's fondness for the favourite Roman caesura semiquinaria (as, *e.g.*, in 1, 1, 1) is less marked than that of Ovid. His proportion of dactyls is also somewhat less and the slight increase in his dactyls from 44.9 per cent in book 1 to 48.6 per cent in book 2 seems to indicate that in this respect he was developing in the direction of Ovid. The versus spondiacus however (*i.e.* a spondee in the fifth foot) is never found. Ten occur in the elegy of Catullus, 6 in the elegy of Ovid, 7 in Propertius. In his cadence too Tibullus is more careful even than Ovid. Propertius on the contrary, especially in his earlier work, drops back almost to the inexperience of Catullus.

In the matter of dactyls the pentameter, generally speaking,

follows the lead of the hexameter in the direction of greater lightness. In the matter of the schemata, *i.e.* the four possible combinations of dactyls and spondees in the first two feet, the Romans emphasized especially the Alexandrian fondness for DS, and increased the proportion of DD at the expense of the other two. In other words in the pentameter, as in the hexameter, there was a growing fondness for a dactyl in the first foot.

But the most striking development of the Roman pentameter as opposed to the Greek is the so-called law of the dissyllable, *i.e.* the rapidly growing tendency which finally became fixed to end the verse with an iambic word. For the Greeks there was more freedom here than in the cadence of the hexameter, and there was also no marked chronological development. The favourites are words of two, three, or four syllables, and usage is about equally divided. Monosyllables were not liked, but otherwise the choice of a word here appears to have been determined largely by convenience. Words of five, six, or seven syllables are less common here, but they are also less common in the language itself.

Turning now to Latin we find that Catullus, as usual, was following the Greeks, but there is already a decided tendency to the dissyllable. Note too that the tendency is more marked in his elegy than in his epigram. This difference, though less marked in later times, was one that always remained. As compared with Catullus, the work of Tibullus shows an enormous increase in favour of the dissyllable. The difference however between the first and second book is too slight to warrant the conclusion that he would have gone farther in this direction if he had lived. The notable freedom of Propertius in the first three books, which reminds one of Catullus and probably brackets him in this respect with Gallus, indicates inexperience or a subsequent change of heart. At all events in his last elegies, written some years later, it has practically disappeared. Lygdamus, as usual, follows Tibullus. With Ovid the law of the dissyllable finally became fixed.

Many regret the establishment of this rule. They see in the

final result an emasculated, monotonous sweetness which helped to make the Ovidian elegy a finished product in both senses of the word. Doubtless we should feel less regret if we could pronounce Latin as Ovid did, for that this law is associated in some way with the accentual system of Latin as opposed to Greek may fairly be assumed. It may also be assumed that agreement of word accent and verse ictus was as desirable here as in the cadence of the hexameter. But in that case we need oxytones, and in the ordinary pronunciation of Ovid's time there were no oxytones.

Zielinski[1] however has shown that both poetry and oratorical prose were not—and owing to conservatism, never had been—pronounced according to the familiar rules of accentuation in the time of Cicero and Augustus, but that on the contrary they retain and echo the pronunciation of the time of Plautus, when they first reached artistic prominence. At all events 'forént' represents the required accentuation of all iambic words at the close of a Ciceronian clausula, and here perhaps we have the real explanation of the law of the dissyllable at the close of the pentameter.

If both halves contain dactyls only and close with an iambic word the result is a uniform cadence for both. The pre-Alexandrian elegy made no effort to avoid this combination, but in the surviving pentameters of Kallimachos it is very rare. Catullus was not especially influenced by the norm of Kallimachos, but in Tibullus the presence of only four such lines (1, 4, 4; 1, 5, 64; 2, 2, 22; 2, 5, 18) seems to indicate deliberate avoidance. The same is true of Ovid, but to a less degree. Many of his examples however as, *e.g.*, *Amores*, 3, 3, 8—

longa decensque fuit: longa decensque manet—

are for special rhetorical effects. Propertius never paid any attention to this refinement of technique; see 2, 5, 18 n.

Elision was a law of the Latin language; hence the only way to

[1] *Das Klauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden*, p. 242; cp. *A. J. P.* 25, p. 462.

avoid it was to avoid a concurrence of vowels. Frequency and freedom in its use are therefore characteristic of ordinary speech, and of comedy and satire, the literary departments most nearly allied to ordinary speech. Vergil avoids harsh elision, but otherwise is noted for his freedom. With Ovid the use of elision diminished rapidly, and the process continued until in the late poets it practically reached the vanishing point. Tibullus was notably careful in this important matter; but the observations of Hoerschelmann[1] show that there was considerable development between books 1 and 2.

Synaloephe with est occurs in thesi at the close of the verse or (less often) at a caesura, though at a semiternaria only in book 1. It occurs in arsi only at the close of the verse. The one exception is 1, 1, 22.

Hiatus is found only in 1, 5, 33, where see note.

Exceptions to the regular rules of prosody are rare, and more or less characteristic of all contemporary poetry. Synaeresis occurs but once (2, 1, 49), diaeresis, but twice (1, 7, 2; 1, 7, 40). Shortening of *e* in the third person plural of the perf. indic. act. — occasional in all dactylic verse — is to be found in 2, 3, 12 and 4, 5, 4. On prŏcurare, 1, 5, 13, chorĕae, 1, 3, 59, and final ŏ in the present ind. act., 2, 6, 41, see the notes. Wölfflin's rule of săcrā or sācră for Tibullus is not supported by the Ambrosianus in 1, 3, 18 (see note). On lengthening of a final syllable not in hiatu, but before a caesura, see 1, 10, 13, and 2, 2, 5 with the notes.

Closely associated with metrical technique, as already discussed, is the length, form, and arrangement of a sentence with relation to the distich. Here however we must content ourselves with a few general statements.

It may be said that on the whole the Greeks allowed the sentence to run on with every variety of pause. Indeed for certain moods the long sentence appears even to have been cultivated by some of

[1] *Philologus*, 56, 355.

the Alexandrian poets. The Roman elegy on the contrary is marked by a rapidly growing conception of the distich as a unity. Even in the elegies of Catullus, though sentences run through six, eight, and ten distichs, we usually find at least a quasi-pause at the close of the pentameter. In the developed elegy the long sentence, comparatively speaking, is characteristic of Propertius. Next comes Tibullus, and lastly Ovid. But in all three poets there is always a pause at the end of the pentameter, and the sentence itself is so arranged as to bring out the symmetrical relations of distich to distich. Cp. Tib. 1, 1, 1–4 ; 25–28 ; 45–48 ; 2, 19–22 ; 59–62 ; 66–74, etc.; Prop. 1, 1, 3–6 ; 19–26 ; 2, 1–6 ; 15–22, etc. ; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 1, 21–24 ; 2, 1–4 ; 3, 7–14, etc.

But in harmony with the simplicity of his type the sentences of Tibullus are rarely long, and never complex. His clauses are direct and simple ; the thought is brought out more frequently by coördination, or even by mere juxtaposition, than by the more common Roman habit of grouping ideas in the perspective afforded by the various relations of hypotaxis. Hence when connecting particles occur they are more often coördinate than subordinate. Not infrequently they are omitted altogether, especially between distichs, and the connection, as so often in English, is left to the reader. Here too should be reckoned the enormous use of anaphora so characteristic of Tibullus. As Sellar (p. 245) well says : 'Tibullus fully recognizes the limits of the distich, and its inadequacy to the expression of consecutive thought. Poetry with him returns to something like its original function before it was used as the organ of action and thought. It becomes in a great measure again the simple expression of feeling in the form of a prayer, a wish, or a regret.'

The sentence however is profoundly affected by the fact that the distich is a unit, each half of which is the complement of the other. We must therefore so arrange what we have to say between the two halves of the distich as to balance and unite them, and yet to distinguish them sharply by comparison, contrast, emphasis, etc.

Otherwise we may develop the thought in one or two principal ways.[1]

I. Division of the idea into parts, unfolding it in continuous sentences and clauses. Characteristic of Tibullus, and in a different form, of Ovid. See Tib. 1, 1, 1–2 ; 3–4 ; 9–10 ; 11–12, etc. This device runs through the elegy, and makes for simplicity.

II. Amplification by repetition of the same idea in different forms. Characteristic of Propertius and, in a different way, of Ovid. This device — one of the best known and most common in rhetoric — is of course used in various ways, *e.g.* positive, then negative ; literal, then figurative ; general, then particular, etc. The hexameter foreshadows the pentameter (hence the point of the epigram is often in the pentameter), or the pentameter remodels the hexameter, and adds something to it, comments on it, merely echoes it for emphasis, etc., etc. Compare, *e.g.*, Tib. 1, 1, 39–40 ; 43–44 ; 55–56 ; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 9, 1–2 ; 3–4 ; 21–22 ; 25–26 ; 31–32 ; 35–36 ; 41–42.

If the distich is filled by a single sentence, it is usual to divide subject and predicate in some artistic way between the two verses. For example we should avoid ending the grammatical construction with the hexameter. In this way the two verses are at once united and distinguished. Compare Tib. 1, 1, 19–20 ; 23–24 ; 31–32 ; 33–34 ; 35–36, etc.

Again a clause depending on an adjective or participle and nearly or quite filling the pentameter is tacked on the sentence. Very characteristic of Propertius ; cp. 1, 1, 1–2 ; 2, 19–20, etc. So even of an entire distich, cp. 1, 15, 25–29. The habit reflects his highly emotional strain. The pentameter is a sigh, an echo, an afterthought, a comment. Emotion is not periodic. If it must express itself in long sentences, they naturally take such forms as these. The only cases in Tibullus are 1, 5, 13–14 ; 1, 7, 2 f. ; 1, 7, 28 f. ; 1, 8, 72 ; 2, 5, 24, but all have the subject or object of the

[1] Here Dissen is still of real value. See his Introd., p. LXII, f.

first line at the beginning of the second, and are therefore quite different from the characteristic form of Propertius, 1, 1, 1–2.

So if the distich is filled by a succession of sentences or clauses it is usual to clamp the two halves by avoiding a too frequent pause at the close of the hexameter. Tibullus often pauses near the beginning of the pentameter, as in 1, 1, 34 and 40; 2, 4; 28; 34; 58; 88; 98, etc., but a full pause at the end of the fifth foot of the hexameter, as in 1, 4, 27 and 63; 1, 5, 61 and 75; 1, 9, 11 (not in book 2), was always rare in careful writers. Characteristic of Tibullus here, as we should expect, is the special emphasis upon parallelism between the two verses. The thought falls into two parts, and the fact is emphasized, *e.g.*, by contrasting negative and positive or vice versa (1, 1, 9–10; 37–38; 67–68; 2, 15–16; 23–24; 63–64; 4, 21–22, etc.). Less common in Propertius, and usually modified and extended as in 1, 2, 15–22; 23–24, etc.

Another very common method of marking the relation was by the use of contrasted epithets. This is of course characteristic of the distich as a whole, but it is especially notable in the distich of Tibullus (1, 1, 21–22; 45–46; 47–48; 2, 17–18; 4, 11–12; 49–50; 5, 67–68, and often).

All these aspects of the sentence within the distich are found also in the versatile Ovid. But Ovid is not simple in the manner of Tibullus, nor emotional in the manner of Propertius. He has the grace, rapidity, and variety of one who was at once a highly trained rhetorician and a natural story-teller. These qualities are reflected in the variety of his sentences, but especially in the brief, snappy sentence—the solution of a long period into a series of separate statements without connecting particles—which is peculiarly Ovidian and foreshadows the rhetoric of the Silver Age (*Amores*, 3, 4, 1–10; 2, 10, 1 ff.; *Ars Amat.* 2, 144–160, etc.).

The distich also had an equally strong influence upon the arrangement of the words within the sentence itself. The full

development of this art constitutes one of the most important contributions of the Alexandrians to the technique of the distich. It was mainly caused by the fact that when the elegy became descriptive it naturally returned to lyric, and borrowed its bolder and more artful arrangement of words. The object of all such arrangement was to bring out not only the relation of hexameter to pentameter, but also, within each verse, of hemistich to hemistich. Among these phenomena we may mention —

1. The arrangement of a noun and its adjective at the ends respectively of the two hemistichs, thus, 1, 1, 2:

1. et teneat *culti* | iugera multa *soli*,

or 1, 1, 21:

tunc vitula *innumeros* | lustrabat caesa *iuvencos*,

(much more frequent in the pentameter than in the hexameter). If the words belong to the same declension, the result is an assonance which serves to impress the relation on the ear. The frequency of this assonance in the Alexandrian poets is notable. Of the 49 pentameters in the one long fragment of Hermesianax (Athen. 597), no less than 26 are examples of it. Probably Philetas belonged to the same class. In the hymn of Kallimachos to Pallas 16 of the 25 pentameters so constructed (out of a total of 71) contain assonance. A similar situation in the elegies of Catullus shows his study of Alexandrian models. The frequency of it in highly descriptive passages, *e.g.*, 66, 13 ff., is also significant. After Catullus all the elegiac poets constantly use this device. Of the three, Tibullus is freest in the pentameter, Propertius in the hexameter. With all, the arrangement adj. — subst. is much more common than subst. — adj. Rasi's figures for the pentameter are: Tibullus, adj. — subst., 38.35 per cent; subst. — adj., 3.33 per cent. Propertius, adj. — subst., 38.01 per cent; subst. — adj., 7.28 per cent. Ovid, *Amores*, adj. — subst., 24.61 per cent; subst. — adj., 11.48 per

cent. In fact the frequency of such phenomena as these might well be responsible for the growth of rhyme in later poetry.

Often the verb is placed between. This serves to clamp, *e.g.*, 1, 6, 24.

Other less common but equally artistic methods of accomplishing the same purpose are sufficiently explained by the following examples:

2. spicea quae *templi* | pendeat ante *fores*.
3. maluerit *praedas* | stultus et arma *sequi*.
   nam neque tunc *plumae* | nec stragula picta *soporem*.
4. totus et *argento* | contextus totus et *auro*.
5. pomosisque[a] ruber[b] | custos[b] ponatur in hortis[a].
   terreat ut *saeva* | *falce* Priapus aves.

No. 5 is especially common in Ovid. Note, *e.g.*, *Amores*, 1, 2, 30,

et nova[a] captiva[b] | vincula[a] mente[b] feram,

or *Amor.* 1, 2, 48 (a contrast by chiasmus),

tu[a] gravis alitibus[b] | tigribus[b] ille[a] fuit,

or *Amor.* 1, 2, 52,

qua vicit victos | protegit ille manu,

or *Amor.* 1, 3, 15–16,

non mihi mille placent, non sum desultor amoris,
  tu mihi, siqua fides, *cura perennis* eris.

Amores 1, 9 deserves especial study in this connection.

It will be seen that this rhetorical aspect of the distich was most fully developed by Ovid. He uses it to bring out the sharp contrasts, the neat points, the swift lightness of touch for which he is justly famous. Catullus is near the Alexandrians. Tibullus shows his kinship with the Ionians. He is Mimnermos tempered by Philetas (?).

As we study these and similar details we see more and more clearly that if one is to sing of love, of the old stories of other days, of the great historic legends of Rome, one needs a distich more sonorous and ornate than the old gnomic type. It is certain therefore that the Roman elegiac poets did well to learn the metrical art of the distich from the Alexandrians.

TIBVLLVS

LIBER PRIMVS

I

Divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro
   et teneat culti iugera multa soli,
quem labor adsiduus vicino terreat hoste,
   Martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugent:
me mea paupertas vita traducat inerti,
   dum meus adsiduo luceat igne focus.
ipse seram teneras maturo tempore vites
   rusticus et facili grandia poma manu:
nec spes destituat, sed frugum semper acervos
   praebeat et pleno pinguia musta lacu.
nam veneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agris
   seu vetus in trivio florida serta lapis:
et quodcumque mihi pomum novus educat annus,
   libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo.
flava Ceres, tibi sit nostro de rure corona
   spicea quae templi pendeat ante fores:
pomosisque ruber custos ponatur in hortis
   terreat ut saeva falce Priapus aves.
vos quoque, felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri
   custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares:
tunc vitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuvencos,
   nunc agna exigui est hostia parva soli:

agna cadet vobis quam circum rustica pubes
clamet 'io messes et bona vina date.'
iam modo iam possim contentus vivere parvo
nec semper longae deditus esse viae,
sed Canis aestivos ortus vitare sub umbra
arboris ad rivos praetereuntis aquae.
nec tamen interdum pudeat tenuisse bidentem
aut stimulo tardos increpuisse boves,
non agnamve sinu pigeat fetumve capellae
desertum oblita matre referre domum.
at vos exiguo pecori, furesque lupique,
parcite: de magno est praeda petenda grege.
hic ego pastoremque meum lustrare quot annis
et placidam soleo spargere lacte Palem.
adsitis, divi, nec vos e paupere mensa
dona nec e puris spernite fictilibus.
fictilia antiquus primum sibi fecit agrestis
pocula, de facili composuitque luto.
non ego divitias patrum fructusque requiro
quos tulit antiquo condita messis avo:
parva seges satis est, satis est requiescere lecto
si licet et solito membra levare toro.
quam iuvat immites ventos audire cubantem
et dominam tenero continuisse sinu
aut, gelidas hibernus aquas cum fuderit Auster,
securum somnos imbre iuvante sequi!
hoc mihi contingat: sit dives iure furorem
qui maris et tristes ferre potest pluvias.
o quantum est auri pereat potiusque smaragdi,
quam fleat ob nostras ulla puella vias.
te bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique,
ut domus hostiles praeferat exuvias:

me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae,
  et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.
non ego laudari curo, mea Delia: tecum
  dum modo sim, quaeso segnis inersque vocer.
te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,
  te teneam moriens deficiente manu.
flebis et arsuro positum me, Delia, lecto,
  tristibus et lacrimis oscula mixta dabis.
flebis: non tua sunt duro praecordia ferro
  vincta, nec in tenero stat tibi corde silex.
illo non iuvenis poterit de funere quisquam
  lumina, non virgo, sicca referre domum.
tu manes ne laede meos, sed parce solutis
  crinibus et teneris, Delia, parce genis.
interea, dum fata sinunt, iungamus amores:
  iam veniet tenebris Mors adoperta caput:
iam subrepet iners aetas, nec amare decebit,
  dicere nec cano blanditias capite.
nunc levis est tractanda Venus, dum frangere postes
  non pudet et rixas inseruisse iuvat.
hic ego dux milesque bonus: vos, signa tubaeque,
  ite procul, cupidis vulnera ferte viris:
ferte et opes: ego composito securus acervo
  despiciam dites despiciamque famem.

2

Adde merum vinoque novos compesce dolores,
  occupet ut fessi lumina victa sopor:
neu quisquam multo percussum tempora Baccho
  excitet, infelix dum requiescit amor.
nam posita est nostrae custodia saeva puellae,

clauditur et dura ianua firma sera.
ianua difficilis domini, te verberet imber,
te Iovis imperio fulmina missa petant.
ianua, iam pateas uni mihi, victa querellis,
neu furtim verso cardine aperta sones.
et mala si qua tibi dixit dementia nostra,
ignoscas: capiti sint precor illa meo.
te meminisse decet quae plurima voce peregi
supplice, cum posti florida serta darem.
tu quoque ne timide custodes, Delia, falle;
audendum est: fortes adiuvat ipsa Venus.
illa favet, seu quis iuvenis nova limina temptat,
seu reserat fixo dente puella fores:
illa docet molli furtim derepere lecto,
illa pedem nullo ponere posse sono,
illa viro coram nutus conferre loquaces
blandaque compositis abdere verba notis.
nec docet hoc omnes, sed quos nec inertia tardat
nec vetat obscura surgere nocte timor.
en ego cum tenebris tota vagor anxius urbe,
* * * * * *
nec sinit occurrat quisquam qui corpora ferro
vulneret aut rapta praemia veste petat.
quisquis amore tenetur eat tutusque sacerque
qualibet: insidias non timuisse decet.
non mihi pigra nocent hibernae frigora noctis,
non mihi, cum multa decidit imber aqua.
non labor hic laedit, reseret modo Delia postes
et vocet ad digiti me taciturna sonum.
parcite luminibus, seu vir seu femina fiat
obvia: celari vult sua furta Venus.
neu strepitu terrete pedum, neu quaerite nomen,

neu prope fulgenti lumina ferte face.
si quis et imprudens aspexerit, occulat ille
   perque deos omnes se meminisse neget:
nam fuerit quicumque loquax, is sanguine natam,
   is Venerem e rapido sentiet esse mari.
nec tamen huic credet coniunx tuus, ut mihi verax
   pollicita est magico saga ministerio.
hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi,
   fluminis haec rapidi carmine vertit iter,
haec cantu finditque solum manesque sepulcris
   elicit et tepido devocat ossa rogo:
iam tenet infernas magico stridore catervas,
   iam iubet aspersas lacte referre pedem.
cum libet, haec tristi depellit nubila caelo:
   cum libet, aestivo convocat orbe nives.
sola tenere malas Medeae dicitur herbas,
   sola feros Hecatae perdomuisse canes.
haec mihi composuit cantus, quis fallere posses:
   ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus.
ille nihil poterit de nobis credere cuiquam,
   non sibi, si in molli viderit ipse toro.
tu tamen abstineas aliis: nam cetera cernet
   omnia: de me uno sentiet ille nihil.
quid credam? nempe haec eadem se dixit amores
   cantibus aut herbis solvere posse meos,
et me lustravit taedis, et nocte serena
   concidit ad magicos hostia pulla deos.
non ego totus abesset amor, sed mutuus esset,
   orabam, nec te posse carere velim.
ferreus ille fuit qui, te cum posset habere,
   maluerit praedas stultus et arma sequi.
ille licet Cilicum victas agat ante catervas,

ponat et in capto Martia castra solo,
totus et argento contextus, totus et auro,
insideat celeri conspiciendus equo,
ipse boves mea si tecum modo Delia possim
iungere et in solito pascere monte pecus,
et te dum liceat teneris retinere lacertis,
mollis et inculta sit mihi somnus humo.
quid Tyrio recubare toro sine amore secundo
prodest, cum fletu nox vigilanda venit?
nam neque tunc plumae nec stragula picta soporem
nec sonitus placidae ducere posset aquae.
num Veneris magnae violavi numina verbo,
et mea nunc poenas impia lingua luit?
num feror incestus sedes adiisse deorum
sertaque de sanctis deripuisse focis?
non ego, si merui, dubitem procumbere templis
et dare sacratis oscula liminibus,
non ego tellurem genibus perrepere supplex
et miserum sancto tundere poste caput.
at tu qui laetus rides mala nostra, caveto
mox tibi: non uni saeviet usque deus.
vidi ego qui iuvenum miseros lusisset amores
post Veneris vinclis subdere colla senem
et sibi blanditias tremula componere voce
et manibus canas fingere velle comas:
stare nec ante fores puduit caraeve puellae
ancillam medio detinuisse foro.
hunc puer, hunc iuvenis turba circumterit arta,
despuit in molles et sibi quisque sinus.
at mihi parce, Venus: semper tibi dedita servit
mens mea: quid messes uris acerba tuas?

3

Ibitis Aegaeas sine me, Messalla, per undas,
o utinam memores ipse cohorsque mei:
me tenet ignotis aegrum Phaeacia terris:
abstineas avidas, Mors precor atra, manus.
abstineas, Mors atra, precor: non hic mihi mater
quae legat in maestos ossa perusta sinus,
non soror, Assyrios cineri quae dedat odores
et fleat effusis ante sepulcra comis,
Delia non usquam quae, me cum mitteret urbe,
dicitur ante omnes consuluisse deos.
illa sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit: illi
rettulit e trinis omina certa puer.
cuncta dabant reditus: tamen est deterrita numquam,
quin fleret nostras, respiceretque vias.
ipse ego solator, cum iam mandata dedissem,
quaerebam tardas anxius usque moras;
aut ego sum causatus, aves dant omina dira,
Saturni sacram me tenuisse diem.
o quotiens ingressus iter mihi tristia dixi
offensum in porta signa dedisse pedem!
audeat invito ne quis discedere Amore,
aut sciat egressum se prohibente deo.
quid tua nunc Isis mihi, Delia, quid mihi prosunt
illa tua totiens aera repulsa manu,
quidve, pie dum sacra colis, pureque lavari
te (memini) et puro secubuisse toro?
nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi (nam posse mederi
picta docet templis multa tabella tuis),
ut mea votivas persolvens Delia voces
ante sacras lino tecta fores sedeat

bisque die resoluta comas tibi dicere laudes
  insignis turba debeat in Pharia,
at mihi contingat patrios celebrare Penates
  reddereque antiquo menstrua tura Lari.
quam bene Saturno vivebant rege, prius quam
  tellus in longas est patefacta vias!
nondum caeruleas pinus contempserat undas,
  effusum ventis praebueratque sinum,
nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris
  presserat externa navita merce ratem.
illo non validus subiit iuga tempore taurus,
  non domito frenos ore momordit equus,
non domus ulla fores habuit, non fixus in agris
  qui regeret certis finibus arva lapis.
ipsae mella dabant quercus, ultroque ferebant
  obvia securis ubera lactis oves.
non acies, non ira fuit, non bella, nec ensem
  immiti saevus duxerat arte faber.
nunc Iove sub domino caedes et vulnera semper,
  nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae.
parce, pater. timidum non me periuria terrent,
  non dicta in sanctos impia verba deos.
quod si fatales iam nunc explevimus annos,
  fac lapis inscriptis stet super ossa notis:
'hic iacet immiti consumptus morte Tibullus,
  Messallam terra dum sequiturque mari.'
sed me, quod facilis tenero sum semper Amori,
  ipsa Venus campos ducet in Elysios.
hic choreae cantusque vigent, passimque vagantes
  dulce sonant tenui gutture carmen aves,
fert casiam non culta seges, totosque per agros
  floret odoratis terra benigna rosis:

ac iuvenum series teneris immixta puellis
ludit, et adsidue proelia miscet Amor.
illic est cuicumque rapax Mors venit amanti,
et gerit insigni myrtea serta coma.
at scelerata iacet sedes in nocte profunda
abdita, quam circum flumina nigra sonant:
Tisiphoneque impexa feros pro crinibus angues
saevit, et huc illuc impia turba fugit:
tunc niger in porta serpentum Cerberus ore
stridet, et aeratas excubat ante fores.
illic Iunonem temptare Ixionis ausi
versantur celeri noxia membra rota,
porrectusque novem Tityos per iugera terrae
adsiduas atro viscere pascit aves.
Tantalus est illic, et circum stagna: sed acrem
iam iam poturi deserit unda sitim:
et Danai proles, Veneris quod numina laesit,
in cava Lethaeas dolia portat aquas.
illic sit quicumque meos violavit amores,
optavit lentas et mihi militias.
at tu casta precor maneas, sanctique pudoris
adsideat custos sedula semper anus.
haec tibi fabellas referat positaque lucerna
deducat plena stamina longa colo.
at circa gravibus pensis adfixa puella
paulatim somno fessa remittat opus.
tunc veniam subito, nec quisquam nuntiet ante,
sed videar caelo missus adesse tibi.
tunc mihi, qualis eris, longos turbata capillos,
obvia nudato, Delia, curre pede.
hoc precor, hunc illum nobis Aurora nitentem
Luciferum roseis candida portet equis.

4

'Sic umbrosa tibi contingant tecta, Priape,
ne capiti soles, ne noceantque nives:
quae tua formosos cepit sollertia? certe
non tibi barba nitet, non tibi culta coma est,
nudus et hibernae producis frigora brumae,
nudus et aestivi tempora sicca Canis.'
sic ego: tum Bacchi respondit rustica proles
armatus curva sic mihi falce deus.
'o fuge te tenerae puerorum credere turbae:
nam causam iusti semper amoris habent.
hic placet, angustis quod equum compescit habenis:
hic placidam niveo pectore pellit aquam:
hic, quia fortis adest audacia, cepit: at illi
virgineus teneras stat pudor ante genas.
sed ne te capiant, primo si forte negabit,
taedia: paulatim sub iuga colla dabit.
longa dies homini docuit parere leones,
longa dies molli saxa peredit aqua:
annus in apricis maturat collibus uvas,
annus agit certa lucida signa vice.
nec iurare time: Veneris periuria venti
irrita per terras et freta summa ferunt.
gratia magna Iovi: vetuit pater ipse valere
iurasset cupide quidquid ineptus amor:
perque suas impune sinit Dictynna sagittas
adfirmes, crines perque Minerva suos.
at si tardus eris, errabis: transiet aetas:
quam cito non segnis stat remeatque dies,
quam cito purpureos deperdit terra colores,
quam cito formosas populus alba comas!

quam iacet, infirmae venere ubi fata senectae,
  qui prior Eleo est carcere missus equus!
vidi iam iuvenem, premeret cum serior aetas,
  maerentem stultos praeteriisse dies.
crudeles divi! serpens novus exuit annos:
  formae non ullam fata dedere moram.
solis aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque iuventas:
  nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum.
tu, puero quodcumque tuo temptare libebit,
  cedas: obsequio plurima vincit amor.
neu comes ire neges, quamvis via longa paretur
  et Canis arenti torreat arva siti,
quamvis praetexens picea ferrugine caelum
  venturam admittat nimbifer Eurus aquam.
vel si caeruleas puppi volet ire per undas,
  ipse levem remo per freta pelle ratem.
nec te paeniteat duros subiisse labores
  aut opera insuetas atteruisse manus,
nec, velit insidiis altas si claudere valles,
  dum placeas, umeri retia ferre negent.
si volet arma, levi temptabis ludere dextra:
  saepe dabis nudum, vincat ut ille, latus.
tum tibi mitis erit, rapias tum cara licebit
  oscula: pugnabit, sed tamen apta dabit.
rapta dabit primo, mox offeret ipse roganti,
  post etiam collo se implicuisse velit.
heu male nunc artes miseras haec saecula tractant:
  iam tener adsuevit munera velle puer.
at tua, qui Venerem docuisti vendere primus,
  quisquis es, infelix urgeat ossa lapis.
Pieridas, pueri, doctos et amate poetas,
  aurea nec superent munera Pieridas.

carmine purpurea est Nisi coma: carmina ni sint,
ex umero Pelopis non nituisset ebur.
quem referent Musae, vivet dum robora tellus,
dum caelum stellas, dum vehet amnis aquas.
at qui non audit Musas, qui vendit amorem,
Idaeae currus ille sequatur Opis
et tercentenas erroribus expleat urbes
et secet ad Phrygios vilia membra modos.
blanditiis vult esse locum Venus ipsa: querellis
supplicibus, miseris fletibus illa favet.'
haec mihi, quae canerem Titio, deus edidit ore:
sed Titium coniunx haec meminisse vetat.
pareat ille suae: vos me celebrate magistrum,
quos male habet multa callidus arte puer.
gloria cuique sua est: me qui spernentur amantes
consultent: cunctis ianua nostra patet.
tempus erit, cum me Veneris praecepta ferentem
deducat iuvenum sedula turba senem.
heu heu quam Marathus lento me torquet amore!
deficiunt artes, deficiuntque doli.
parce, puer, quaeso, ne turpis fabula fiam,
cum mea ridebunt vana magisteria.

5

Asper eram et bene discidium me ferre loquebar:
at mihi nunc longe gloria fortis abest.
namque agor ut per plana citus sola verbere turben
quem celer adsueta versat ab arte puer.
ure ferum et torque, libeat ne dicere quicquam
magnificum post haec: horrida verba doma.
parce tamen, per te furtivi foedera lecti.

per Venerem quaeso compositumque caput.
ille ego, cum tristi morbo defessa iaceres,
te dicor votis eripuisse meis:
ipseque te circum lustravi sulfure puro,
carmine cum magico praecinuisset anus:
ipse procuravi ne possent saeva nocere
somnia, ter sancta deveneranda mola:
ipse ego velatus filo tunicisque solutis
vota novem Triviae nocte silente dedi.
omnia persolvi: fruitur nunc alter amore,
et precibus felix utitur ille meis.
at mihi felicem vitam, si salva fuisses,
fingebam demens, sed renuente deo.
rura colam, frugumque aderit mea Delia custos,
area dum messes sole calente teret,
aut mihi servabit plenis in lintribus uvas
pressaque veloci candida musta pede.
consuescet numerare pecus, consuescet amantis
garrulus in dominae ludere verna sinu.
illa deo sciet agricolae pro vitibus uvam,
pro segete spicas, pro grege ferre dapem.
illa regat cunctos, illi sint omnia curae:
at iuvet in tota me nihil esse domo.
huc veniet Messalla meus, cui dulcia poma
Delia selectis detrahat arboribus:
et tantum venerata virum, hunc sedula curet,
huic paret atque epulas ipsa ministra gerat.
haec mihi fingebam, quae nunc Eurusque Notusque
iactat odoratos vota per Armenios.
saepe ego temptavi curas depellere vino:
at dolor in lacrimas verterat omne merum.
saepe aliam tenui: sed iam cum gaudia adirem,

admonuit dominae deseruitque Venus.
tunc me discedens devotum femina dixit,
et pudet et narrat scire nefanda meam.
non facit hoc verbis, facie tenerisque lacertis
devovet et flavis nostra puella comis.
talis ad Haemonium Nereis Pelea quondam
vecta est frenato caerula pisce Thetis.
haec nocuere mihi, quod adest huic dives amator:
venit in exitium callida lena meum.
sanguineas edat illa dapes atque ore cruento
tristia cum multo pocula felle bibat:
hanc volitent animae circum sua fata querentes
semper, et e tectis strix violenta canat:
ipsa fame stimulante furens herbasque sepulcris
quaerat et a saevis ossa relicta lupis,
currat et inguinibus nudis ululetque per urbes,
post agat e triviis aspera turba canum.
eveniet: dat signa deus: sunt numina amanti,
saevit et iniusta lege relicta Venus.
at tu quam primum sagae praecepta rapacis
desere: nam donis vincitur omnis amor.
pauper erit praesto semper tibi: pauper adibit
primus et in tenero fixus erit latere:
pauper in angusto fidus comes agmine turbae
subicietque manus efficietque viam:
pauper ad occultos furtim deducet amicos
vinclaque de niveo detrahet ipse pede.
heu canimus frustra, nec verbis victa patescit
ianua, sed plena est percutienda manu.
at tu qui potior nunc es, mea fata timeto:
versatur celeri Fors levis orbe rotae.
non frustra quidam iam nunc in limine perstat

sedulus ac crebro prospicit ac refugit
et simulat transire domum, mox deinde recurrit
solus et ante ipsas exscreat usque fores.
nescio quid furtivus amor parat. utere quaeso,
dum licet: in liquida nat tibi linter aqua.

6

Semper, ut inducar, blandos offers mihi vultus,
post tamen es misero tristis et asper, Amor.
quid tibi saevitiae mecum est? an gloria magna est
insidias homini composuisse deum?
nam mihi tenduntur casses: iam Delia furtim
nescio quem tacita callida nocte fovet.
illa quidem tam multa negat, sed credere durum est:
sic etiam de me pernegat usque viro.
ipse miser docui quo posset ludere pacto
custodes: heu heu nunc premor arte mea.
fingere tunc didicit causas, ut sola cubaret,
cardine tunc tacito vertere posse fores:
tunc sucos herbasque dedi, quis livor abiret
quem facit impresso mutua dente Venus.
at tu, fallacis coniunx incaute puellae,
me quoque servato, peccet ut illa nihil.
neu iuvenes celebret multo sermone caveto
neve cubet laxo pectus aperta sinu,
neu te decipiat nutu, digitoque liquorem
ne trahat et mensae ducat in orbe notas.
exibit quam saepe, time, seu visere dicet
sacra bonae maribus non adeunda deae.
at mihi si credas, illam sequar unus ad aras:
tunc mihi non oculis sit timuisse meis.

saepe, velut gemmas eius signumque probarem,
per causam memini me tetigisse manum:
saepe mero somnum peperi tibi, at ipse bibebam
sobria supposita pocula victor aqua.
non ego te laesi prudens: ignosce fatenti;
iussit Amor: contra quis ferat arma deos?
ille ego sum, nec me iam dicere vera pudebit,
instabat tota cui tua nocte canis.
quid tenera tibi coniuge opus? tua si bona nescis
servare, frustra clavis inest foribus.
te tenet, absentes alios suspirat amores
et simulat subito condoluisse caput.
at mihi servandam credas: non saeva recuso
verbera, detrecto non ego vincla pedum.
tum procul absitis, quisquis colit arte capillos,
et fluit effuso cui toga laxa sinu:
quisquis et occurret, ne possit crimen habere,
stet procul ante alia, stet procul ante via.
sic fieri iubet ipse deus, sic magna sacerdos
est mihi divino vaticinata sono.
haec ubi Bellonae motu est agitata, nec acrem
flammam, non amens verbera torta timet:
ipsa bipenne suos caedit violenta lacertos
sanguineque effuso spargit inulta deam,
statque latus praefixa veru, stat saucia pectus,
et canit eventus quos dea magna monet.
'parcite quam custodit Amor violare puellam,
ne pigeat magno post didicisse malo.
attigerit, labentur opes, ut vulnere nostro
sanguis, ut hic ventis diripiturque cinis.'
et tibi nescio quas dixit, mea Delia, poenas:
si tamen admittas, sit precor illa levis.

non ego te propter parco tibi, sed tua mater
me movet atque iras aurea vincit anus.
haec mihi te adducit tenebris multoque timore
coniungit nostras clam taciturna manus:
haec foribusque manet noctu me adfixa proculque
cognoscit strepitus me veniente pedum.
vive diu mihi, dulcis anus: proprios ego tecum,
sit modo fas, annos contribuisse velim.
te semper natamque tuam te propter amabo:
quidquid agit, sanguis est tamen illa tuus.
sit modo casta, doce, quamvis non vitta ligatos
impediat crines nec stola longa pedes.
et mihi sint durae leges, laudare nec ullam
possim ego quin oculos appetat illa meos:
et si quid peccasse putet, ducarque capillis
immerito pronas proripiarque vias.
non ego te pulsare velim, sed, venerit iste
si furor, optarim non habuisse manus.
nec saevo sis casta metu, sed mente fideli:
mutuus absenti te mihi servet amor.
at quae fida fuit nulli, post victa senecta
ducit inops tremula stamina torta manu
firmaque conductis adnectit licia telis
tractaque de niveo vellere ducta putat.
hanc animo gaudente vident iuvenumque catervae
commemorant merito tot mala ferre senem:
hanc Venus ex alto flentem sublimis Olympo
spectat et infidis quam sit acerba monet.
haec aliis maledicta cadant: nos, Delia, amoris
exemplum cana simus uterque coma.

7

Hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes
  stamina non ulli dissoluenda deo:
hunc fore Aquitanas posset qui fundere gentes,
  quem tremeret forti milite victus Atax.
evenere: novos pubes Romana triumphos
  vidit et evinctos bracchia capta duces:
at te victrices lauros, Messalla, gerentem
  portabat niveis currus eburnus equis.
non sine me est tibi partus honos: Tarbella Pyrene
  testis et Oceani litora Santonici,
testis Arar Rhodanusque celer magnusque Garumna,
  Carnutis et flavi caerula lympha Liger.
an te, Cydne, canam, tacitis qui leniter undis
  caeruleus placidis per vada serpis aquis,
quantus et aetherio contingens vertice nubes
  frigidus intonsos Taurus alat Cilicas?
quid referam ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes
  alba Palaestino sancta columba Syro,
utque maris vastum prospectet turribus aequor
  prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros,
qualis et, arentes cum findit Sirius agros,
  fertilis aestiva Nilus abundet aqua?
Nile pater, quanam possim te dicere causa
  aut quibus in terris occuluisse caput?
te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres,
  arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Iovi.
te canit atque suum pubes miratur Osirim
  barbara, Memphiten plangere docta bovem.
primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris
  et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum,

primus inexpertae commisit semina terrae
pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus.
hic docuit teneram palis adiungere vitem,
hic viridem dura caedere falce comam:
illi iucundos primum matura sapores
expressa incultis uva dedit pedibus.
ille liquor docuit voces inflectere cantu,
movit et ad certos nescia membra modos:
Bacchus et agricolae magno confecta labore
pectora tristitiae dissoluenda dedit:
Bacchus et adflictis requiem mortalibus adfert,
crura licet dura compede pulsa sonent.
non tibi sunt tristes curae nec luctus, Osiri,
sed chorus et cantus et levis aptus amor,
sed varii flores et frons redimita corymbis,
fusa sed ad teneros lutea palla pedes
et Tyriae vestes et dulcis tibia cantu
et levis occultis conscia cista sacris.
huc ades et centum ludis Geniumque choreis
concelebra et multo tempora funde mero:
illius et nitido stillent unguenta capillo,
et capite et collo mollia serta gerat.
sic venias hodierne: tibi dem turis honores,
liba et Mopsopio dulcia melle feram.
at tibi succrescat proles quae facta parentis
augeat et circa stet veneranda senem.
nec taceat monumenta viae quem Tuscula tellus
candidaque antiquo detinet Alba lare.
namque opibus congesta tuis hic glarea dura
sternitur, hic apta iungitur arte silex.
te canit agricola, magna cum venerit urbe
serus inoffensum rettuleritque pedem.

at tu, Natalis multos celebrande per annos,
candidior semper candidiorque veni.

8

Non ego celari possum quid nutus amantis
quidve ferant miti lenia verba sono.
nec mihi sunt sortes nec conscia fibra deorum,
praecinit eventus nec mihi cantus avis:
ipsa Venus magico religatum bracchia nodo
perdocuit multis non sine verberibus.
desine dissimulare: deus crudelius urit
quos videt invitos succubuisse sibi.
quid tibi nunc molles prodest coluisse capillos
saepeque mutatas disposuisse comas,
quid fuco splendente genas ornare, quid ungues
artificis docta subsecuisse manu?
frustra iam vestes, frustra mutantur amictus
ansaque compressos colligat arta pedes.
illa placet, quamvis inculto venerit ore
nec nitidum tarda compserit arte caput.
num te carminibus, num te pallentibus herbis
devovit tacito tempore noctis anus?
cantus vicinis fruges traducit ab agris,
cantus et iratae detinet anguis iter,
cantus et e curru Lunam deducere temptat,
et faceret, si non aera repulsa sonent.
quid queror heu misero carmen nocuisse, quid herbas?
forma nihil magicis utitur auxiliis:
sed corpus tetigisse nocet, sed longa dedisse
oscula, sed femori conseruisse femur.
nec tu difficilis puero tamen esse memento;

persequitur poenis tristia facta Venus.
munera ne poscas: det munera canus amator,
ut foveat molli frigida membra sinu.
carior est auro iuvenis cui levia fulgent
ora nec amplexus aspera barba terit.
huic tu candentes umero suppone lacertos,
et regum magnae despiciantur opes.
at Venus inveniet puero succumbere furtim,
dum tumet et teneros conserit usque sinus,
et dare anhelanti pugnantibus umida linguis
oscula et in collo figere dente notas.
non lapis hanc gemmaeque iuvant quae frigore sola
dormiat et nulli sit cupienda viro.
heu sero revocatur amor seroque iuventas,
cum vetus infecit cana senecta caput.
tum studium formae est: coma tum mutatur, ut annos
dissimulet viridi cortice tincta nucis:
tollere tum cura est albos a stirpe capillos
et faciem dempta pelle referre novam.
at tu dum primi floret tibi temporis aetas
utere: non tardo labitur illa pede.
neu Marathum torque: puero quae gloria victo est?
in veteres esto dura, puella, senes.
parce precor tenero: non illi sontica causa est,
sed nimius luto corpora tingit amor.
vel miser absenti maestas quam saepe querellas
conicit et lacrimis omnia plena madent!
'quid me spernis?' ait. 'poterat custodia vinci:
ipse dedit cupidis fallere posse deus.
nota Venus furtiva mihi est, ut lenis agatur
spiritus, ut nec dent oscula rapta sonum:
et possum media quamvis obrepere nocte

et strepitu nullo clam reserare fores.
quid prosunt artes, miserum si spernit amantem
et fugit ex ipso saeva puella toro?
vel cum promittit, subito sed perfida fallit,
est mihi nox multis evigilanda malis.
dum mihi venturam fingo, quodcumque movetur,
illius credo tunc sonuisse pedes.'
desistas lacrimare, puer: non frangitur illa,
et tua iam fletu lumina fessa tument.
oderunt, Pholoe, moneo, fastidia divi,
nec prodest sanctis tura dedisse focis.
hic Marathus quondam miseros ludebat amantes,
nescius ultorem post caput esse deum:
saepe etiam lacrimas fertur risisse dolentis
et cupidum ficta detinuisse mora:
nunc omnes odit fastus, nunc displicet illi
quaecumque opposita est ianua dura sera.
at te poena manet, ni desinis esse superba.
quam cupies votis hunc revocare diem!

9

Quid mihi, si fueras miseros laesurus amores,
foedera per divos, clam violanda, dabas?
a miser, et si quis primo periuria celat,
sera tamen tacitis poena venit pedibus.
parcite, caelestes: aequum est impune licere
numina formosis laedere vestra semel.
lucra petens habili tauros adiungit aratro
et durum terrae rusticus urget opus,
lucra petituras freta per parentia ventis
ducunt instabiles sidera certa rates:

muneribus meus est captus puer. at deus illa
in cinerem et liquidas munera vertat aquas.
iam mihi persolvet poenas, pulvisque decorem
detrahet et ventis horrida facta coma,
uretur facies, urentur sole capilli,
deteret invalidos et via longa pedes.
admonui quotiens 'auro ne pollue formam:
saepe solent auro multa subesse mala.
divitiis captus si quis violavit amorem,
asperaque est illi difficilisque Venus.
ure meum potius flamma caput et pete ferro
corpus et intorto verbere terga seca.
nec tibi celandi spes sit peccare paranti:
est deus occultos qui vetat esse dolos.
ipse deus tacito permisit saepe ministro
ederet ut multo libera verba mero:
ipse deus somno domitos emittere vocem
iussit et invitos facta tegenda loqui.'
haec ego dicebam: nunc me flevisse loquentem,
nunc pudet ad teneros procubuisse pedes.
tunc mihi iurabas nullo te divitis auri
pondere, non gemmis, vendere velle fidem,
non tibi si pretium Campania terra daretur,
non tibi si Bacchi cura Falernus ager.
illis eriperes verbis mihi sidera caeli
lucere et puras fulminis esse vias.
quin etiam flebas: at non ego fallere doctus
tergebam umentes credulus usque genas.
quid faciam, nisi et ipse fores in amore puellae?
sed precor exemplo sit levis illa tuo.
o quotiens, verbis ne quisquam conscius esset,
ipse comes multa lumina nocte tuli!

saepe insperanti venit tibi munere nostro
  et latuit clausas post adoperta fores.
tum miser interii, stulte confisus amari:
  nam poteram ad laqueos cautior esse tuos.
quin etiam attonita laudes tibi mente canebam,
  et me nunc nostri Pieridumque pudet.
illa velim rapida Vulcanus carmina flamma
  torreat et liquida deleat amnis aqua.
tu procul hinc absis cui formam vendere cura est
  et pretium plena grande referre manu.
at te qui puerum donis corrumpere es ausus
  rideat adsiduis uxor inulta dolis,
et cum furtivo iuvenem lassaverit usu,
  tecum interposita languida veste cubet.
semper sint externa tuo vestigia lecto,
  et pateat cupidis semper aperta domus:
nec lasciva soror dicatur plura bibisse
  pocula vel plures emeruisse viros.
illam saepe ferunt convivia ducere Baccho
  dum rota Luciferi provocet orta diem:
illa nulla queat melius consumere noctem
  aut operum varias disposuisse vices.
at tua perdidicit: nec tu, stultissime, sentis,
  cum tibi non solita corpus ab arte movet.
tune putas illam pro te disponere crines
  aut tenues denso pectere dente comas?
ista haec persuadet facies, auroque lacertos
  vinciat et Tyrio prodeat apta sinu?
non tibi, sed iuveni cuidam vult bella videri,
  devoveat pro quo remque domumque tuam.
nec facit hoc vitio, sed corpora foeda podagra
  et senis amplexus culta puella fugit.

huic tamen accubuit noster puer: hunc ego credam
cum trucibus Venerem iungere posse feris.
blanditiasne meas aliis tu vendere es ausus,
tune aliis demens oscula ferre mea?
tum flebis, cum me vinctum puer alter habebit
et geret in regno regna superba tuo.
at tua tum me poena iuvet, Venerique merenti
fixa notet casus aurea palma meos:
'hanc tibi fallaci resolutus amore Tibullus
dedicat et grata sis, dea, mente rogat.'

IO

Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?
quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!
tum caedes hominum generi, tum proelia nata,
tum brevior dirae mortis aperta via est.
an nihil ille miser meruit, nos ad mala nostra
vertimus in saevas quod dedit ille feras?
divitis hoc vitium est auri, nec bella fuerunt,
faginus astabat cum scyphus ante dapes.
non arces, non vallus erat, somnumque petebat
securus varias dux gregis inter oves.
tunc mihi vita foret, vulgi nec tristia nossem
arma nec audissem corde micante tubam.
nunc ad bella trahor, et iam quis forsitan hostis
haesura in nostro tela gerit latere.
sed patrii servate Lares: aluistis et idem,
cursarem vestros cum tener ante pedes.
neu pudeat prisco vos esse e stipite factos:
sic veteris sedes incoluistis avi.
tunc melius tenuere fidem, cum paupere cultu

stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus.
hic placatus erat, seu quis libaverat uvam,
seu dederat sanctae spicea serta comae:
atque aliquis voti compos liba ipse ferebat
postque comes purum filia parva favum.
at nobis aerata, Lares, depellite tela,
* * * * * *
hostiaque e plena rustica porcus hara.
hanc pura cum veste sequar myrtoque canistra
vincta geram, myrto vinctus et ipse caput.
sic placeam vobis: alius sit fortis in armis,
sternat et adversos Marte favente duces,
ut mihi potanti possit sua dicere facta
miles et in mensa pingere castra mero.
quis furor est atram bellis arcessere Mortem?
imminet et tacito clam venit illa pede.
non seges est infra, non vinea culta, sed audax
Cerberus et Stygiae navita turpis aquae:
illic perscissisque genis ustoque capillo
errat ad obscuros pallida turba lacus.
quam potius laudandus hic est quem prole parata
occupat in parva pigra senecta casa!
ipse suas sectatur oves, at filius agnos,
et calidam fesso comparat uxor aquam.
sic ego sim, liceatque caput candescere canis,
temporis et prisci facta referre senem.
interea Pax arva colat. Pax candida primum
duxit araturos sub iuga curva boves:
Pax aluit vites et sucos condidit uvae,
funderet ut nato testa paterna merum:
pace bidens vomerque nitent, at tristia duri
militis in tenebris occupat arma situs.

* * * * * *

rusticus e lucoque vehit, male sobrius ipse,
uxorem plaustro progeniemque domum.
sed Veneris tunc bella calent, scissosque capillos
femina perfractas conqueriturque fores:
flet teneras subtusa genas: sed victor et ipse
flet sibi dementes tam valuisse manus.
at lascivus Amor rixae mala verba ministrat,
inter et iratum lentus utrumque sedet.
a, lapis est ferrumque suam quicumque puellam
verberat: e caelo deripit ille deos.
sit satis e membris tenuem rescindere vestem,
sit satis ornatus dissoluisse comae,
sit lacrimas movisse satis: quater ille beatus
quo tenera irato flere puella potest.
sed manibus qui saevus erit, scutumque sudemque
is gerat et miti sit procul a Venere.
at nobis, Pax alma, veni spicamque teneto,
perfluat et pomis candidus ante sinus,

LIBER SECVNDVS

I

Quisquis adest, faveat: fruges lustramus et agros
ritus ut a prisco traditus exstat avo.
Bacche, veni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uva
pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge, Ceres.
luce sacra requiescat humus, requiescat arator,
et grave suspenso vomere cesset opus.
solvite vincla iugis: nunc ad praesepia debent
plena coronato stare boves capite.
omnia sint operata deo: non audeat ulla
lanificam pensis imposuisse manum.
vos quoque abesse procul iubeo, discedat ab aris,
cui tulit hesterna gaudia nocte Venus.
casta placent superis: pura cum veste venite
et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam.
cernite fulgentes ut eat sacer agnus ad aras
vinctaque post olea candida turba comas.
di patrii, purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes:
vos mala de nostris pellite limitibus,
neu seges eludat messem fallacibus herbis,
neu timeat celeres tardior agna lupos.
tunc nitidus plenis confisus rusticus agris
ingeret ardenti grandia ligna foco,
turbaque vernarum, saturi bona signa coloni,
ludet et ex virgis exstruet ante casas.

eventura precor: viden ut felicibus extis
significet placidos nuntia fibra deos?
nunc mihi fumosos veteris proferte Falernos
consulis et Chio solvite vincla cado.
vina diem celebrent: non festa luce madere
est rubor, errantes et male ferre pedes.
sed 'bene Messallam' sua quisque ad pocula dicat,
nomen et absentis singula verba sonent.
gentis Aquitanae celeber Messalla triumphis
et magna intonsis gloria victor avis,
huc ades aspiraque mihi, dum carmine nostro
redditur agricolis gratia caelitibus.
rura cano rurisque deos. his vita magistris
desuevit querna pellere glande famem:
illi compositis primum docuere tigillis
exiguam viridi fronde operire domum:
illi etiam tauros primi docuisse feruntur
servitium et plaustro supposuisse rotam.
tum victus abiere feri, tum consita pomus,
tum bibit irriguas fertilis hortus aquas,
aurea tum pressos pedibus dedit uva liquores
mixtaque securo est sobria lympha mero.
rura ferunt messes, calidi cum sideris aestu
deponit flavas annua terra comas.
rure levis verno flores apis ingerit alveo,
compleat ut dulci sedula melle favos.
agricola adsiduo primum satiatus aratro
cantavit certo rustica verba pede
et satur arenti primum est modulatus avena
carmen, ut ornatos diceret ante deos,
agricola et minio suffusus, Bacche, rubenti
primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros.

huic datus a pleno, memorabile munus, ovili
dux pecoris curtas auxerat hircus opes.
rure puer verno primum de flore coronam
fecit et antiquis imposuit Laribus.
rure etiam teneris curam exhibitura puellis
molle gerit tergo lucida vellus ovis.
hinc et femineus labor est, hinc pensa colusque,
fusus et apposito pollice versat opus:
atque aliqua adsiduae textrix operata Minervae
cantat, et applauso tela sonat latere.
ipse quoque inter agros interque armenta Cupido
natus et indomitas dicitur inter equas.
illic indocto primum se exercuit arcu:
ei mihi, quam doctas nunc habet ille manus!
nec pecudes, velut ante, petit: fixisse puellas
gestit et audaces perdomuisse viros.
hic iuveni detraxit opes, hic dicere iussit
limen ad iratae verba pudenda senem:
hoc duce custodes furtim transgressa iacentes
ad iuvenem tenebris sola puella venit
et pedibus praetemptat iter suspensa timore,
explorat caecas cui manus ante vias.
a miseri, quos hic graviter deus urget! at ille
felix, cui placidus leniter adflat Amor.
sancte, veni dapibus festis, sed pone sagittas
et procul ardentes hinc precor abde faces.
vos celebrem cantate deum pecorique vocate
voce: palam pecori, clam sibi quisque vocet.
aut etiam sibi quisque palam: nam turba iocosa
obstrepit et Phrygio tibia curva sono.
ludite: iam Nox iungit equos, currumque sequuntur
matris lascivo sidera fulva choro,

postque venit tacitus furvis circumdatus alis
   Somnus et incerto Somnia nigra pede.

2

Dicamus bona verba : venit Natalis ad aras :
   quisquis ades, lingua, vir mulierque, fave.
urantur pia tura focis, urantur odores
   quos tener e terra divite mittit Arabs.
ipse suos Genius adsit visurus honores,
   cui decorent sanctas mollia serta comas.
illius puro destillent tempora nardo,
   atque satur libo sit madeatque mero,
adnuat et, Cornute, tibi quodcumque rogabis.
   en age, quid cessas? adnuit ille : roga.
auguror, uxoris fidos optabis amores :
   iam reor hoc ipsos edidicisse deos.
nec tibi malueris totum quaecumque per orbem
   fortis arat valido rusticus arva bove,
nec tibi, gemmarum quidquid felicibus Indis
   nascitur, Eoi qua maris unda rubet.
vota cadunt : utinam strepitantibus advolet alis
   flavaque coniugio vincula portet Amor,
vincula quae maneant semper dum tarda senectus
   inducat rugas inficiatque comas.
hic veniat Natalis avis prolemque ministret,
   ludat et ante tuos turba novella pedes.

3

Rura meam, Cornute, tenent villaeque puellam :
   ferreus est, heu heu, quisquis in urbe manet.

ipsa Venus latos iam nunc migravit in agros,
verbaque aratoris rustica discit Amor.
o ego, cum aspicerem dominam, quam fortiter illic
versarem valido pingue bidente solum
agricolaeque modo curvum sectarer aratrum,
dum subigunt steriles arva serenda boves!
nec quererer quod sol graciles exureret artus,
laederet et teneras pussula rupta manus.
pavit et Admeti tauros formosus Apollo,
nec cithara intonsae profueruntve comae,
nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis:
14 quidquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor.
14a ipse deus solitus stabulis expellere vaccas
* * * * * *
b et miscere novo docuisse coagula lacte,
c lacteus et mixtu subriguisse liquor.
tunc fiscella levi detexta est vimine iunci,
raraque per nexus est via facta sero.
o quotiens illo vitulum gestante per agros
dicitur occurrens erubuisse soror!
o quotiens ausae, caneret dum valle sub alta,
rumpere mugitu carmina docta boves!
saepe duces trepidis petiere oracula rebus,
venit et a templis irrita turba domum:
saepe horrere sacros doluit Latona capillos,
quos admirata est ipsa noverca prius.
quisquis inornatumque caput crinesque solutos
aspiceret, Phoebi quaereret ille comam.
Delos ubi nunc, Phoebe, tua est, ubi Delphica Pytho?
nempe Amor in parva te iubet esse casa.
felices olim, Veneri cum fertur aperte
servire aeternos non puduisse deos,

fabula nunc ille est: sed cui sua cura puella est
fabula sit mavult quam sine amore deus.
at tu, quisquis is es cui tristi fronte Cupido
imperat, ut nostra sint tua castra domo

* * * * * *

ferrea non Venerem sed praedam saecula laudant:
praeda tamen multis est operata malis.
praeda feras acies cinxit discordibus armis:
hinc cruor, hinc caedes mors propiorque venit.
praeda vago iussit geminare pericula ponto,
bellica cum dubiis rostra dedit ratibus.
praedator cupit immensos obsidere campos,
ut multa innumera iugera pascat ove:
cui lapis externus curae est, urbisque tumultu
portatur validis mille columna iugis,
claudit et indomitum moles mare, lentus ut intra
neglegat hibernas piscis adesse minas.
at tibi laeta trahant Samiae convivia testae
fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota.
heu heu divitibus video gaudere puellas:
iam veniant praedae, si Venus optat opes,
ut mea luxuria Nemesis fluat utque per urbem
incedat donis conspicienda meis.
illa gerat vestes tenues quas femina Coa
texuit, auratas disposuitque vias:
illi sint comites fusci quos India torret,
solis et admotis inficit ignis equis:
illi selectos certent praebere colores
Africa puniceum purpureumque Tyros.

* * * * * *

nota loquor: regnum ipse tenet quem saepe coegit
barbara gypsatos ferre catasta pedes.

at tibi dura seges, Nemesim qui abducis ab urbe,
persolvat nulla semina certa fide.
et tu, Bacche tener, iucundae consitor uvae,
tu quoque devotos, Bacche, relinque lacus.
haud impune licet formosas tristibus agris
abdere: non tanti sunt tua musta, pater.
o valeant fruges, ne sint modo rure puellae:
glans alat, et prisco more bibantur aquae.
glans aluit veteres, et passim semper amarunt:
quid nocuit sulcos non habuisse satos?
tunc quibus aspirabat Amor praebebat aperte
mitis in umbrosa gaudia valle Venus.
nullus erat custos, nulla exclusura dolentes
ianua: si fas est, mos precor ille redi.
* * * * * *
horrida villosa corpora veste tegant.
nunc si clausa mea est, si copia rara videndi,
heu miserum, laxam quid iuvat esse togam?
ducite: ad imperium dominae sulcabimus agros:
non ego me vinclis verberibusque nego.

4

Hic mihi servitium video dominamque paratam:
iam mihi, libertas illa paterna, vale.
servitium sed triste datur, teneorque catenis,
et numquam misero vincla remittit Amor,
et seu quid merui seu quid peccavimus, urit.
uror, io, remove, saeva puella, faces.
o ego ne possim tales sentire dolores,
quam mallem in gelidis montibus esse lapis,
stare vel insanis cautes obnoxia ventis,

naufraga quam vasti tunderet unda maris!
nunc et amara dies et noctis amarior umbra est:
omnia nunc tristi tempora felle madent.
nec prosunt elegi nec carminis auctor Apollo:
illa cava pretium flagitat usque manu.
ite procul, Musae, si non prodestis amanti:
non ego vos, ut sint bella canenda, colo,
nec refero solisque vias et qualis, ubi orbem
complevit, versis Luna recurrit equis.
ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero:
ite procul, Musae, si nihil ista valent.
at mihi per caedem et facinus sunt dona paranda,
ne iaceam clausam flebilis ante domum:
aut rapiam suspensa sacris insignia fanis:
sed Venus ante alios est violanda mihi.
illa malum facinus suadet dominamque rapacem
dat mihi: sacrilegas sentiat illa manus.
o pereat quicumque legit viridesque smaragdos
et niveam Tyrio murice tingit ovem.
hic dat avaritiae causas et Coa puellis
vestis et e rubro lucida concha mari.
haec fecere malas: hinc clavim ianua sensit
et coepit custos liminis esse canis.
sed pretium si grande feras, custodia victa est
nec prohibent claves et canis ipse tacet.
heu quicumque dedit formam caelestis avarae,
quale bonum multis attulit ille malis!
hinc fletus rixaeque sonant, haec denique causa
fecit ut infamis sic deus esset Amor.
at tibi quae pretio victos excludis amantes
eripiant partas ventus et ignis opes:
quin tua tunc iuvenes spectent incendia laeti,

nec quisquam flammae sedulus addat aquam.
seu veniet tibi Mors, nec erit qui lugeat ullus,
nec qui det maestas munus in exsequias.
at bona quae nec avara fuit, centum licet annos
vixerit, ardentem flebitur ante rogum:
atque aliquis senior veteres veneratus amores
annua constructo serta dabit tumulo
et 'bene' discedens dicet 'placideque quiescas,
terraque securae sit super ossa levis.'
vera quidem moneo, sed prosunt quid mihi vera?
illius est nobis lege colendus amor.
quin etiam sedes iubeat si vendere avitas,
ite sub imperium sub titulumque, Lares.
quidquid habet Circe, quidquid Medea veneni,
quidquid et herbarum Thessala terra gerit,
et quod, ubi indomitis gregibus Venus adflat amores,
hippomanes cupidae stillat ab inguine equae,
si modo me placido videat Nemesis mea vultu,
mille alias herbas misceat illa, bibam.

5

Phoebe, fave: novus ingreditur tua templa sacerdos:
huc age cum cithara carminibusque veni.
nunc te vocales impellere pollice chordas,
nunc precor ad laudes flectere verba novas.
ipse triumphali devinctus tempora lauro,
dum cumulant aras, ad tua sacra veni.
sed nitidus pulcherque veni: nunc indue vestem
sepositam, longas nunc bene pecte comas,
qualem te memorant Saturno rege fugato
victori laudes concinuisse Iovi.

tu procul eventura vides, tibi deditus augur
scit bene quid fati provida cantet avis,
tuque regis sortes, per te praesentit aruspex,
lubrica signavit cum deus exta notis:
te duce Romanos numquam frustrata Sibylla
abdita quae senis fata canit pedibus.
Phoebe, sacras Messalinum sine tangere chartas
vatis, et ipse precor quid canat illa doce.
haec dedit Aeneae sortes, postquam ille parentem
dicitur et raptos sustinuisse Lares:
nec fore credebat Romam, cum maestus ab alto
Ilion ardentes respiceretque deos.
Romulus aeternae nondum formaverat urbis
moenia, consorti non habitanda Remo,
sed tunc pascebant herbosa Palatia vaccae
et stabant humiles in Iovis arce casae.
lacte madens illic suberat Pan ilicis umbrae
et facta agresti lignea falce Pales,
pendebatque vagi pastoris in arbore votum,
garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo,
fistula cui semper decrescit arundinis ordo:
nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor.
at qua Velabri regio patet, ire solebat
exiguus pulsa per vada linter aqua.
illa saepe gregis diti placitura magistro
ad iuvenem festa est vecta puella die,
cum qua fecundi redierunt munera ruris,
caseus et niveae candidus agnus ovis.
'Impiger Aenea, volitantis frater Amoris,
Troica qui profugis sacra vehis ratibus,
iam tibi Laurentes adsignat Iuppiter agros,
iam vocat errantes hospita terra Lares.

illic sanctus eris, cum te veneranda Numici
unda deum caelo miserit indigetem.
ecce super fessas volitat Victoria puppes,
tandem ad Troianos diva superba venit.
ecce mihi lucent Rutulis incendia castris:
iam tibi praedico, barbare Turne, necem.
ante oculos Laurens castrum murusque Lavini est
Albaque ab Ascanio condita Longa duce.
te quoque iam video, Marti placitura sacerdos
Ilia, Vestales deseruisse focos,
concubitusque tuos furtim vittasque iacentes
et cupidi ad ripas arma relicta dei.
carpite nunc, tauri, de septem montibus herbas
dum licet: hic magnae iam locus urbis erit.
Roma, tuum nomen terris fatale regendis,
qua sua de caelo prospicit arva Ceres,
quaque patent ortus et qua fluitantibus undis
Solis anhelantes abluit amnis equos.
Troia quidem tunc se mirabitur et sibi dicet
vos bene tam longa consuluisse via.
vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxia laurus
vescar, et aeternum sit mihi virginitas.'
haec cecinit vates et te sibi, Phoebe, vocavit,
iactavit fusas et caput ante comas.
quidquid Amalthea, quidquid Marpesia dixit
Herophile, Phyto Graia quod admonuit,
quasque Aniena sacras Tiburs per flumina sortes
portarit sicco pertuleritque sinu
(haec fore dixerunt belli mala signa cometen,
multus ut in terras deplueretque lapis:
atque tubas atque arma ferunt strepitantia caelo
audita et lucos praecinuisse fugam,

ipsum etiam Solem defectum lumine vidit
iungere pallentes nubilus annus equos
et simulacra deum lacrimas fudisse tepentes
fataque vocales praemonuisse boves),
haec fuerant olim: sed tu iam mitis, Apollo,
prodigia indomitis merge sub aequoribus,
et succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis,
omine quo felix et sacer annus erit.
laurus ubi bona signa dedit, gaudete coloni:
distendet spicis horrea plena Ceres,
oblitus et musto feriet pede rusticus uvas,
dolia dum magni deficiantque lacus:
ac madidus Baccho sua festa Palilia pastor
concinet: a stabulis tunc procul este lupi.
ille levis stipulae sollemnis potus acervos
accendet, flammas transilietque sacras.
et fetus matrona dabit, natusque parenti
oscula comprensis auribus eripiet,
nec taedebit avum parvo advigilare nepoti
balbaque cum puero dicere verba senem.
tunc operata deo pubes discumbet in herba,
arboris antiquae qua levis umbra cadit,
aut e veste sua tendent umbracula sertis
vincta, coronatus stabit et ante calix.
at sibi quisque dapes et festas exstruet alte
caespitibus mensas caespitibusque torum.
ingeret hic potus iuvenis maledicta puellae,
postmodo quae votis irrita facta velit:
nam ferus ille suae plorabit sobrius idem
et se iurabit mente fuisse mala.
pace tua pereant arcus pereantque sagittae,
Phoebe, modo in terris erret inermis Amor.

ars bona: sed postquam sumpsit sibi tela Cupido,
heu heu quam multis ars dedit illa malum!
et mihi praecipue. iaceo cum saucius annum
et faveo morbo, cum iuvat ipse dolor,
usque cano Nemesim, sine qua versus mihi nullus
verba potest iustos aut reperire pedes.
at tu (nam divum servat tutela poetas)
praemoneo, vati parce, puella, sacro,
ut Messalinum celebrem, cum praemia belli
ante suos currus oppida victa feret,
ipse gerens lauros, lauro devinctus agresti
miles 'io' magna voce 'triumphe' canet.
tunc Messalla meus pia det spectacula turbae
et plaudat curru praetereunte pater.
adnue: sic tibi sint intonsi, Phoebe, capilli,
sic tua perpetuo sit tibi casta soror.

6

Castra Macer sequitur: tenero quid fiet Amori?
sit comes et collo fortiter arma gerat?
et seu longa virum terrae via seu vaga ducent
aequora, cum telis ad latus ire volet?
ure, puer, quaeso, tua qui ferus otia liquit,
atque iterum erronem sub tua signa voca.
quod si militibus parces, erit hic quoque miles
ipse levem galea qui sibi portet aquam.
castra peto, valeatque Venus valeantque puellae:
et mihi sunt vires et mihi facta tuba est.
magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi magna locuto
excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores.
iuravi quotiens rediturum ad limina nunquam!

cum bene iuravi, pes tamen ipse redit.
acer Amor, fractas utinam tua tela sagittas
si licet exstinctas aspiciamque faces!
tu miserum torques, tu me mihi dira precari
cogis et insana mente nefanda loqui.
iam mala finissem leto, sed credula vitam
Spes fovet et fore cras semper ait melius.
Spes alit agricolas, Spes sulcis credit aratis
semina quae magno faenore reddat ager:
haec laqueo volucres, haec captat arundine pisces,
cum tenues hamos abdidit ante cibus:
Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum:
crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus:
Spes facilem Nemesim spondet mihi, sed negat illa:
ei mihi, ne vincas, dura puella, deam.
parce, per immatura tuae precor ossa sororis:
sic bene sub tenera parva quiescat humo.
illa mihi sancta est, illius dona sepulcro
et madefacta meis serta feram lacrimis,
illius ad tumulum fugiam supplexque sedebo
et mea cum muto fata querar cinere.
non feret usque suum te propter flere clientem:
illius ut verbis, sis mihi lenta veto,
ne tibi neglecti mittant mala somnia manes,
maestaque sopitae stet soror ante torum,
qualis ab excelsa praeceps delapsa fenestra
venit ad infernos sanguinolenta lacus.
desino, ne dominae luctus renoventur acerbi:
non ego sum tanti, ploret ut illa semel.
nec lacrimis oculos digna est foedare loquaces:
lena nocet nobis, ipsa puella bona est.
lena necat miserum Phryne furtimque tabellas

occulto portans itque reditque sinu:
saepe, ego cum dominae dulces a limine duro
agnosco voces, haec negat esse domi:
saepe, ubi nox promissa mihi est, languere puellam
nuntiat aut aliquas extimuisse minas.
tunc morior curis, tunc mens mihi perdita fingit,
quisve meam teneat, quot teneatve modis:
tunc tibi, lena, precor diras: satis anxia vivas,
moverit e votis pars quotacumque deos.

LIBER TERTIVS

I

Martis Romani festae venere kalendae:
  exoriens nostris hic fuit annus avis:
et vaga nunc certa discurrunt undique pompa
  perque vias urbis munera perque domos.
dicite, Pierides, quonam donetur honore
  seu mea, seu fallor, cara Neaera tamen.
carmine formosae, pretio capiuntur avarae:
  gaudeat, ut digna est, versibus illa meis.
lutea sed niveum involvat membrana libellum,
  pumicet et canas tondeat ante comas
summaque praetexat tenuis fastigia chartae
  indicet ut nomen littera facta meum,
atque inter geminas pingantur cornua frontes:
  sic etenim comptum mittere oportet opus.
per vos, auctores huius mihi carminis, oro
  Castaliamque umbram Pieriosque lacus,
ite domum cultumque illi donate libellum
  sicut erit: nullus defluat inde color.
illa mihi referet, si nostri mutua cura est,
  an minor, an toto pectore deciderim.
sed primum meritam larga donate salute
  atque haec submisso dicite verba sono:
'haec tibi vir quondam, nunc frater, casta Neaera,
  mittit et accipias munera parva rogat,
teque suis iurat caram magis esse medullis,

sive sibi coniunx sive futura soror:
sed potius coniunx: huius spem nominis illi
auferet exstincto pallida Ditis aqua.'

2

Qui primus caram iuveni carumque puellae
eripuit iuvenem, ferreus ille fuit.
durus et ille fuit qui tantum ferre dolorem,
vivere et erepta coniuge qui potuit.
non ego firmus in hoc, non haec patientia nostro
ingenio: frangit fortia corda dolor:
nec mihi vera loqui pudor est vitaeque fateri
tot mala perpessae taedia nata meae.
ergo cum tenuem fuero mutatus in umbram
candidaque ossa super nigra favilla teget,
ante meum veniat longos incompta capillos
et fleat ante meum maesta Neaera rogum.
sed veniat carae matris comitata dolore:
maereat haec genero, maereat illa viro.
praefatae ante meos manes animamque precatae
perfusaeque pias ante liquore manus,
pars quae sola mei superabit corporis, ossa
incinctae nigra candida veste legent,
et primum annoso spargent collecta Lyaeo,
mox etiam niveo fundere lacte parent,
post haec carbaseis umorem tollere velis
atque in marmorea ponere sicca domo.
illic quas mittit dives Panchaia merces
Eoique Arabes, pinguis et Assyria,
et nostri memores lacrimae fundantur eodem:
sic ego componi versus in ossa velim.

sed tristem mortis demonstret littera causam
atque haec in celebri carmina fronte notet:
'Lygdamus hic situs est: dolor huic et cura Neaerae,
coniugis ereptae, causa perire fuit.'

3

Quid prodest caelum votis implesse, Neaera,
blandaque cum multa tura dedisse prece,
non ut marmorei prodirem e limine tecti,
insignis clara conspicuusque domo,
aut ut multa mei renovarent iugera tauri
et magnas messes terra benigna daret,
sed tecum ut longae sociarem gaudia vitae
inque tuo caderet nostra senecta sinu,
tum cum permenso defunctus tempore lucis
nudus Lethaea cogerer ire rate?
nam grave quid prodest pondus mihi divitis auri,
arvaque si findant pinguia mille boves?
quidve domus prodest Phrygiis innixa columnis,
Taenare sive tuis, sive Caryste tuis,
et nemora in domibus sacros imitantia lucos
aurataeque trabes marmoreumque solum?
quidve in Erythraeo legitur quae litore concha
tinctaque Sidonio murice lana iuvat,
et quae praeterea populus miratur? in illis
invidia est: falso plurima vulgus amat.
non opibus mentes hominum curaeque levantur:
nam fortuna sua tempora lege regit.
sit mihi paupertas tecum iucunda, Neaera:
at sine te regum munera nulla volo.
o niveam quae te poterit mihi reddere lucem!

o mihi felicem terque quaterque diem!
at si, pro dulci reditu quaecumque voventur,
audiat aversa non meus aure deus,
nec me regna iuvant nec Lydius aurifer amnis
nec quas terrarum sustinet orbis opes.
haec alii cupiant; liceat mihi paupere cultu
securo cara coniuge posse frui.
adsis et timidis faveas, Saturnia, votis,
et faveas concha, Cypria, vecta tua.
aut si fata negant reditum tristesque sorores
stamina quae ducunt quaeque futura neunt,
me vocet in vastos amnes nigramque paludem
dives in ignava luridus Orcus aqua.

4

Di meliora ferant, nec sint mihi somnia vera
quae tulit hesterna pessima nocte quies.
ite procul, vani, falsumque avertite visum:
desinite in nobis quaerere velle fidem.
divi vera monent, venturae nuntia sortis
vera monent Tuscis exta probata viris:
somnia fallaci ludunt temeraria nocte
et pavidas mentes falsa timere iubent.
et natum in curas hominum genus omina noctis
farre pio placant et saliente sale?
et tamen, utcumque est, sive illi vera moneri,
mendaci somno credere sive volent,
efficiat vanos noctis Lucina timores
et frustra immeritum pertimuisse velit,
si mea nec turpi mens est obnoxia facto
nec laesit magnos impia lingua deos.

iam Nox aetherium nigris emensa quadrigis
  mundum caeruleo laverat amne rotas,
nec me sopierat menti deus utilis aegrae:
  Somnus sollicitas deficit ante domos.
tandem, cum summo Phoebus prospexit ab ortu,
  pressit languentis lumina sera quies.
hic iuvenis casta redimitus tempora lauro
  est visus nostra ponere sede pedem.
non illo quicquam formosius ulla priorum
  aetas, humanum nec videt illud opus.
intonsi crines longa cervice fluebant,
  stillabat Syrio myrtea rore coma.
candor erat qualem praefert Latonia Luna,
  et color in niveo corpore purpureus,
ut iuveni primum virgo deducta marito
  inficitur teneras ore rubente genas,
et cum contexunt amarantis alba puellae
  lilia et autumno candida mala rubent.
ima videbatur talis inludere palla:
  namque haec in nitido corpore vestis erat.
artis opus rarae, fulgens testudine et auro
  pendebat laeva garrula parte lyra.
hanc primum veniens plectro modulatus eburno
  felices cantus ore sonante dedit:
sed postquam fuerant digiti cum voce locuti,
  edidit haec dulci tristia verba modo:
'salve, cura deum: casto nam rite poetae
  Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque favent:
sed proles Semeles Bacchus doctaeque sorores
  dicere non norunt quid ferat hora sequens:
at mihi fatorum leges aevique futuri
  eventura pater posse videre dedit.

quare ego quae dico non fallax accipe vates,
quodque deus vero Cynthius ore feram.
tantum cara tibi quantum nec filia matri,
quantum nec cupido bella puella viro,
pro qua sollicitas caelestia numina votis,
quae tibi securos non sinit ire dies
et, cum te fusco somnus velavit amictu,
vanum nocturnis fallit imaginibus,
carminibus celebrata tuis formosa Neaera
alterius mavult esse puella viri,
diversasque suas agitat mens impia curas,
nec gaudet casta nupta Neaera domo.
a crudele genus nec fidum femina nomen!
a pereat, didicit fallere si qua virum.
sed flecti poterit: mens est mutabilis illis:
tu modo cum multa bracchia tende fide.
saevus Amor docuit validos temptare labores,
saevus Amor docuit verbera posse pati.
me quondam Admeti niveas pavisse iuvencas
non est in vanum fabula ficta iocum:
tunc ego nec cithara poteram gaudere sonora
nec similes chordis reddere voce sonos,
sed perlucenti cantum meditabar avena
ille ego Latonae filius atque Iovis.
nescis quid sit amor, iuvenis, si ferre recusas
immitem dominam coniugiumque ferum.
ergo ne dubita blandas adhibere querellas:
vincuntur molli pectora dura prece.
quod si vera canunt sacris oracula templis,
haec illi nostro nomine dicta refer:
hoc tibi coniugium promittit Delius ipse:
felix hoc, alium desine velle virum.'

dixit, et ignavus defluxit corpore somnus.
  a ego ne possim tanta videre mala.
nec tibi crediderim votis contraria vota
  nec tantum crimen pectore inesse tuo:
nam te nec vasti genuerunt aequora ponti
  nec flammam volvens ore Chimaera fero
nec canis anguinea redimitus terga caterva,
  cui tres sunt linguae tergeminumque caput,
Scyllaque virgineam canibus succincta figuram,
  nec te conceptam saeva leaena tulit,
barbara nec Scythiae tellus horrendave Syrtis,
  sed culta et duris non habitanda domus
et longe ante alias omnes mitissima mater
  isque pater quo non alter amabilior.
haec deus in melius crudelia somnia vertat
  et iubeat tepidos irrita ferre Notos.

5

Vos tenet Etruscis manat quae fontibus unda,
  unda sub aestivum non adeunda Canem,
nunc autem sacris Baiarum proxima lymphis,
  cum se purpureo vere remittit humus:
at mihi Persephone nigram denuntiat horam:
  immerito iuveni parce nocere, dea.
non ego temptavi nulli temeranda virorum
  audax laudandae sacra docere deae,
nec mea mortiferis infecit pocula sucis
  dextera nec cuiquam trita venena dedit,
nec nos sacrilegi templis admovimus ignes,
  nec cor sollicitant facta nefanda meum,
nec nos insanae meditantes iurgia mentis

impia in adversos solvimus ora deos.
et nondum cani nigros laesere capillos,
nec venit tardo curva senecta pede.
natalem primo nostrum videre parentes,
cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.
quid fraudare iuvat vitem crescentibus uvis
et modo nata mala vellere poma manu?
parcite, pallentes undas quicumque tenetis
duraque sortiti tertia regna dei.
Elysios olim liceat cognoscere campos
Lethaeamque ratem Cimmeriosque lacus,
cum mea rugosa pallebunt ora senecta
et referam pueris tempora prisca senex.
atque utinam vano nequiquam terrear aestu!
languent ter quinos sed mea membra dies.
at vobis Tuscae celebrantur numina lymphae
et facilis lenta pellitur unda manu.
vivite felices, memores et vivite nostri,
sive erimus seu nos fata fuisse velint.
interea nigras pecudes promittite Diti
et nivei lactis pocula mixta mero.

6

Candide Liber, ades (sic sit tibi mystica vitis
semper, sic hedera tempora vincta feras),
aufer et ipse meum patera medicante dolorem:
saepe tuo cecidit munere victus amor.
care puer, madeant generoso pocula Baccho,
et nobis prona funde Falerna manu.
ite procul durum curae genus, ite labores:
fulserit hic niveis Delius alitibus.

vos modo proposito dulces faveatis amici,
neve neget quisquam me duce se comitem:
aut si quis vini certamen mite recusat,
fallat eum tecto cara puella dolo.
ille facit dites animos deus, ille ferocem
contudit et dominae misit in arbitrium,
Armenias tigres et fulvas ille leaenas
vicit et indomitis mollia corda dedit.
haec Amor et maiora valet. sed poscite Bacchi
munera: quem vestrum pocula sicca iuvant?
convenit ex aequo nec torvus Liber in illis
qui se quique una vina iocosa colunt:
convenit iratus nimium nimiumque severos:
qui timet irati numina magna, bibat.
quales his poenas qualis quantusque minetur,
Cadmeae matris praeda cruenta docet.
sed procul a nobis hic sit timor, illaque, si qua est,
quid valeat laesi sentiat ira dei.
quid precor a demens? venti temeraria vota,
aeriae et nubes diripienda ferant.
quamvis nulla mei superest tibi cura, Neaera,
sis felix, et sint candida fata tua.
at nos securae reddamus tempora mensae:
venit post multos una serena dies.
ei mihi, difficile est imitari gaudia falsa,
difficile est tristi fingere mente iocum,
nec bene mendaci risus componitur ore,
nec bene sollicitis ebria verba sonant.
quid queror infelix? turpes discedite curae:
odit Lenaeus tristia verba pater.
Gnosia, Theseae quondam periuria linguae
flevisti ignoto sola relicta mari:

sic cecinit pro te doctus, Minoi, Catullus
ingrati referens impia facta viri.
vos ego nunc moneo: felix, quicumque dolore
alterius disces posse cavere tuo.
nec vos aut capiant pendentia bracchia collo
aut fallat blanda sordida lingua prece.
etsi perque suos fallax iuravit ocellos
Iunonemque suam perque suam Venerem,
nulla fides inerit: periuria ridet amantum
Iuppiter et ventos irrita ferre iubet.
ergo quid totiens fallacis verba puellae
conqueror? ite a me, seria verba, precor.
quam vellem tecum longas requiescere noctes
et tecum longos pervigilare dies,
perfida nec merito nobis inimica merenti,
perfida, sed, quamvis perfida, cara tamen!
Naida Bacchus amat: cessas, o lente minister?
temperet annosum Marcia lympha merum.
non ego, si fugit nostrae convivia mensae
ignotum cupiens vana puella torum,
sollicitus repetam tota suspiria nocte.
tu puer i, liquidum fortius adde merum.
iam dudum Syrio madefactus tempora nardo
debueram sertis implicuisse comas.

LIBER QVARTVS

I

Te, Messalla, canam, quamquam me cognita virtus
terret: ut infirmae nequeant subsistere vires,
incipiam tamen. a meritis si carmina laudes,
deficiant: humilis tantis sim conditor actis,
nec tua praeter te chartis intexere quisquam
facta queat, dictis ut non maiora supersint.
est nobis voluisse satis, nec munera parva
respueris. etiam Phoebo gratissima dona
Cres tulit, et cunctis Baccho iucundior hospes
Icarus, ut puro testantur sidera caelo
Erigoneque Canisque, neget ne longior aetas.
quin etiam Alcides, deus ascensurus Olympum,
laeta Molorcheis posuit vestigia tectis,
parvaque caelestis placavit mica, nec illis
semper inaurato taurus cadit hostia cornu.
hic quoque sit gratus parvus labor, ut tibi possim
inde alios aliosque memor componere versus.
alter dicat opus magni mirabile mundi,
qualis in immenso desederit aere tellus,
qualis et in curvum pontus confluxerit orbem,
et vagus, e terris qua surgere nititur, aer,
huic et contextus passim fluat igneus aether,
pendentique super claudantur ut omnia caelo:
at quodcumque meae poterunt audere Camenae,
seu tibi par poterunt seu, quod spes abnuit, ultra

sive minus—certeque canent minus—, omne vovemus
hoc tibi, nec tanto careat mihi carmine charta.
nam quamquam antiquae gentis superant tibi laudes,
non tua maiorum contenta est gloria fama,
nec quaeris quid quaque index sub imagine dicat,
sed generis priscos contendis vincere honores,
quam tibi maiores maius decus ipse futuris:
at tua non titulus capiet sub nomine facta,
aeterno sed erunt tibi magna volumina versu,
convenientque tuas cupidi componere laudes
undique quique canent vincto pede quique soluto.
quis potior certamen erit: sim victor in illis,
ut nostrum tantis inscribam nomen in actis.
  nam quis te maiora gerit castrisve forove?
nec tamen hic aut hic tibi laus maiorve minorve,
iusta pari premitur veluti cum pondere libra,
prona nec hac plus parte sedet nec surgit ab illa,
qualis, inaequatum si quando onus urget utrimque,
instabilis natat alterno depressior orbe.
  nam seu diversi fremat inconstantia vulgi,
non alius sedare queat: seu iudicis ira
sit placanda, tuis poterit mitescere verbis.
non Pylos aut Ithace tantos genuisse feruntur
Nestora vel parvae magnum decus urbis Ulixen,
vixerit ille senex quamvis, dum terna per orbem
saecula fertilibus Titan decurreret horis,
ille per ignotas audax erraverit urbes,
qua maris extremis tellus includitur undis.
nam Ciconumque manus adversis reppulit armis,
nec valuit lotos coeptos avertere cursus,
cessit et Aetnaeae Neptunius incola rupis
victa Maroneo foedatus lumina Baccho:

vexit et Aeolios placidum per Nerea ventos:
incultos adiit Laestrygonas Antiphatenque,
nobilis Artacie gelida quos irrigat unda:
solum nec doctae verterunt pocula Circes,
quamvis illa foret Solis genus, apta vel herbis
aptaque vel cantu veteres mutare figuras:
Cimmerion etiam obscuras accessit ad arcis,
quis numquam candente dies apparuit ortu,
seu supra terras Phoebus seu curreret infra:
vidit, ut inferno Plutonis subdita regno
magna deum proles levibus discurreret umbris,
praeteriitque cita Sirenum litora puppi.
illum inter geminae nantem confinia mortis
nec Scyllae saevo conterruit impetus ore,
cum canibus rapidas inter fera serperet undas,
nec violenta suo consumpsit more Charybdis,
vel si sublimis fluctu consurgeret imo,
vel si interrupto nudaret gurgite pontum.
non violata vagi sileantur pascua Solis,
non amor et fecunda Atlantidos arva Calypsus,
finis et erroris miseri Phaeacia tellus.
atque haec seu nostras inter sunt cognita terras,
fabula sive novum dedit his erroribus orbem,
sit labor illius, tua dum facundia, maior.
  nam te non alius belli tenet aptius artes,
qua deceat tutam castris praeducere fossam,
qualiter adversos hosti defigere cervos,
quemve locum ducto melius sit claudere vallo,
fontibus ut dulces erumpat terra liquores,
ut facilisque tuis aditus sit et arduus hosti,
laudis et adsiduo vigeat certamine miles,
quis tardamve sudem melius celeremve sagittam

iecerit aut lento perfregerit obvia pilo,
aut quis equum celeremve arto compescere freno
possit et effusas tardo permittere habenas
inque vicem modo directo contendere passu,
seu libeat, curvo brevius convertere gyro,
quis parma, seu dextra velit seu laeva, tueri,
sive hac sive illac veniat gravis impetus hastae
amplior, aut signata cita loca tangere funda.
iam simul audacis venient certamina Martis,
adversisque parent acies concurrere signis,
tum tibi non desit faciem componere pugnae,
seu sit opus quadratum acies consistat in agmen,
rectus ut aequatis decurrat frontibus ordo,
seu libeat duplicem seiunctim cernere Martem,
dexter uti laevum teneat dextrumque sinister
miles sitque duplex gemini victoria casus.
 at non per dubias errant mea carmina laudes:
nam bellis experta cano. testis mihi victae
fortis Iapydiae miles, testis quoque fallax
Pannonius gelidas passim disiectus in Alpes,
testis Arupinis et pauper natus in arvis,
quem si quis videat vetus ut non fregerit aetas,
terna minus Pyliae miretur saecula famae.
namque senex longae peragit dum tempora vitae,
centum fecundos Titan renovaverit annos,
ipse tamen velox celerem super edere corpus
audet equum validisque sedet moderator habenis.
te duce non alias conversus terga domator
libera Romanae subiecit colla catenae.
 nec tamen his contentus eris: maiora peractis
instant, compertum est veracibus ut mihi signis,
quis Amythaonius nequeat certare Melampus.

nam modo fulgentem Tyrio subtegmine vestem
indueras oriente die duce fertilis anni,
splendidior liquidis cum Sol caput extulit undis
et fera discordes tenuerunt flamina venti,
curva nec adsuetos egerunt flumina cursus,
quin rapidum placidis etiam mare constitit undis,
ulla nec aerias volucris perlabitur auras
nec quadrupes densas depascitur aspera silvas,
quin largita tuis sunt cuncta silentia votis.
Iuppiter ipse levi vectus per inania curru
adfuit et caelo vicinum liquit Olympum
intentaque tuis precibus se praebuit aure
cunctaque veraci capite adnuit: additus aris
laetior eluxit structos super ignis acervos.
quin hortante deo magnis insistere rebus
incipe: non idem tibi sint aliisque triumphi.
non te vicino remorabitur obvia Marte
Gallia nec latis audax Hispania terris
nec fera Theraeo tellus obsessa colono,
nec qua vel Nilus vel regia lympha Choaspes
profluit aut rapidus, Cyri dementia, Gyndes
aret Arectaeis haud una per ostia campis,
nec qua regna vago Tamyris finivit Araxe,
impia nec saevis celebrans convivia mensis
(ultima vicinus Phoebo tenet arva) Padaeus,
quaque Hebrus Tanaisque Getas rigat atque Magynos.
quid moror? Oceanus ponto qua continet orbem,
nulla tibi adversis regio sese offeret armis.
te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus
teque interiecto mundi pars altera sole.
nam circumfuso consistit in aere tellus
et quinque in partes toto disponitur orbe.

atque duae gelido vastantur frigore semper:
illic et densa tellus absconditur umbra,
et nulla incepto perlabitur unda liquore,
sed durata riget densam in glaciemque nivemque,
quippe ubi non umquam Titan super egerit ortus.
at media est Phoebi semper subiecta calori,
seu propior terris aestivum fertur in orbem
seu celer hibernas properat decurrere luces:
non igitur presso tellus exsurgit aratro,
nec frugem segetes praebent neque pabula terrae:
non illic colit arva deus, Bacchusve Ceresve,
nulla nec exustas habitant animalia partes.
fertilis hanc inter posita est interque rigentes
nostraque et huic adversa solo pars altera nostro,
quas similis utrimque tenens vicinia caeli
temperat, alter et alterius vires necat aer:
hinc placidus nobis per tempora vertitur annus:
hinc et colla iugo didicit submittere taurus
et lenta excelsos vitis conscendere ramos,
tondeturque seges maturos annua partus,
et ferro tellus, pontus confinditur aere,
quin etiam structis exsurgunt oppida muris.
ergo ubi praeclaros poscent tua facta triumphos,
solus utroque idem diceris magnus in orbe.
   non ego sum satis ad tantae praeconia laudis,
ipse mihi non si praescribat carmina Phoebus.
est tibi qui possit magnis se accingere rebus
Valgius: aeterno propior non alter Homero.
languida non noster peragit labor otia, quamvis
Fortuna, ut mos est illi, me adversa fatiget.
nam mihi, cum magnis opibus domus alta niteret,
cui fuerant flavi ditantes ordine sulci

horrea fecundas ad deficientia messis,
cuique pecus denso pascebant agmine colles,
et domino satis et nimium furique lupoque,
nunc desiderium superest: nam cura novatur,
cum memor ante actos semper dolor admonet annos.
sed licet asperiora cadant spolierque relictis,
non te deficient nostrae memorare Camenae.
nec solum tibi Pierii tribuentur honores:
pro te vel rapidas ausim maris ire per undas,
adversis hiberna licet tumeant freta ventis,
pro te vel densis solus subsistere turmis
vel parvum Aetnaeae corpus committere flammae.
sum quodcumque, tuum est. nostri si parvula cura
sit tibi, quanta libet, si sit modo, non mihi regna
Lydia, non magni potior sit fama Gylippi,
posse Meleteas nec mallem vincere chartas.
quod tibi si versus noster, totusve minusve,
vel bene sit notus, summo vel inerret in ore,
nulla mihi statuent finem te fata canendi.
quin etiam mea tunc tumulus cum texerit ossa,
seu matura dies celerem properat mihi mortem,
longa manet seu vita, tamen, mutata figura
seu me finget equum rigidos percurrere campos
doctum seu tardi pecoris sim gloria taurus
sive ego per liquidum volucris vehar aera pennis,
quandocumque hominem me longa receperit aetas,
inceptis de te subtexam carmina chartis.

2

Sulpicia est tibi culta tuis, Mars magne, kalendis:
  spectatum e caelo, si sapis, ipse veni.

hoc Venus ignoscet: at tu, violente, caveto
  ne tibi miranti turpiter arma cadant.
illius ex oculis, cum vult exurere divos,
  accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor.
illam, quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia movit,
  componit furtim subsequiturque Decor.
seu solvit crines, fusis decet esse capillis:
  seu compsit, comptis est veneranda comis.
urit, seu Tyria voluit procedere palla:
  urit, seu nivea candida veste venit.
talis in aeterno felix Vertumnus Olympo
  mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.
sola puellarum digna est cui mollia caris
  vellera det sucis bis madefacta Tyros,
possideatque metit quidquid bene olentibus arvis
  cultor odoratae dives Arabs segetis
et quascumque niger rubro de litore gemmas
  proximus Eois colligit Indus aquis.
hanc vos, Pierides, festis cantate kalendis,
  et testudinea Phoebe superbe lyra.
hoc sollemne sacrum multos haec sumet in annos:
  dignior est vestro nulla puella choro.

3

Parce meo iuveni, seu quis bona pascua campi
  seu colis umbrosi devia montis aper,
nec tibi sit duros acuisse in proelia dentes:
  incolumem custos hunc mihi servet Amor.
sed procul abducit venandi Delia cura:
  o pereant silvae deficiantque canes!
quis furor est, quae mens, densos indagine colles

claudentem teneras laedere velle manus?
quidve iuvat furtim latebras intrare ferarum
candidaque hamatis crura notare rubis?
sed tamen, ut tecum liceat, Cerinthe, vagari,
ipsa ego per montes retia torta feram,
ipsa ego velocis quaeram vestigia cervi
et demam celeri ferrea vincla cani.
tunc mihi, tunc placeant silvae, si, lux mea, tecum
arguar ante ipsas concubuisse plagas:
tunc veniat licet ad casses, inlaesus abibit,
ne Veneris cupidae gaudia turbet, aper.
nunc sine me sit nulla Venus, sed lege Dianae,
caste puer, casta retia tange manu:
et quaecumque meo furtim subrepit amori,
incidat in saevas diripienda feras.
at tu venandi studium concede parenti,
et celer in nostros ipse recurre sinus.

4

Huc ades et tenerae morbos expelle puellae,
huc ades, intonsa Phoebe superbe coma.
crede mihi, propera: nec te iam, Phoebe, pigebit
formosae medicas applicuisse manus.
effice ne macies pallentes occupet artus,
neu notet informis pallida membra color,
et quodcumque mali est et quidquid triste timemus,
in pelagus rapidis evehat amnis aquis.
sancte, veni, tecumque feras quicumque sapores,
quicumque et cantus corpora fessa levant:
neu iuvenem torque metuit qui fata puellae
votaque pro domina vix numeranda facit.

interdum vovet, interdum, quod langueat illa,
dicit in aeternos aspera verba deos.
15 pone metum, Cerinthe: deus non laedit amantes.
tu modo semper ama: salva puella tibi est.
21 nil opus est fletu: lacrimis erit aptius uti,
si quando fuerit tristior illa tibi.
17 at nunc tota tua est, te solum candida secum
cogitat, et frustra credula turba sedet.
Phoebe, fave: laus magna tibi tribuetur in uno
20 corpore servato restituisse duos.
23 iam celeber, iam laetus eris, cum debita reddet
certatim sanctis laetus uterque focis.
25 tunc te felicem dicet pia turba deorum,
optabunt artes et sibi quisque tuas.

5

Qui mihi te, Cerinthe, dies dedit, hic mihi sanctus
atque inter festos semper habendus erit.
te nascente novum Parcae cecinere puellis
servitium et dederunt regna superba tibi.
uror ego ante alias: iuvat hoc, Cerinthe, quod uror,
si tibi de nobis mutuus ignis adest.
mutuus adsit amor, per te dulcissima furta
perque tuos oculos per Geniumque rogo.
mane Geni, cape tura libens votisque faveto,
si modo, cum de me cogitat, ille calet.
quod si forte alios iam nunc suspiret amores,
tunc precor infidos, sancte, relinque focos.
nec tu sis iniusta, Venus: vel serviat aeque
vinctus uterque tibi, vel mea vincla leva.
sed potius valida teneamur uterque catena,

nulla queat posthac nos soluisse dies.
optat idem iuvenis quod nos, sed tectius optat:
nam pudet haec illum dicere verba palam.
at tu, Natalis, quoniam deus omnia sentis,
adnue: quid refert clamne palamne roget?

6

Natalis Iuno, sanctos cape turis acervos
quos tibi dat tenera docta puella manu.
tota tibi est hodie, tibi se laetissima compsit,
staret ut ante tuos conspicienda focos.
illa quidem ornandi causas tibi, diva, relegat:
est tamen occulte cui placuisse velit.
at tu, sancta, fave, neu quis divellat amantes,
sed iuveni quaeso mutua vincla para.
sic bene compones: ullae non ille puellae
servire aut cuiquam dignior illa viro.
nec possit cupidos vigilans deprendere custos,
fallendique vias mille ministret Amor.
adnue purpureaque veni perlucida palla:
ter tibi fit libo, ter, dea casta, mero.
praecipit et natae mater studiosa quod optet:
illa aliud tacita, iam sua, mente rogat.
uritur, ut celeres urunt altaria flammae,
nec, liceat quamvis, sana fuisse velit.
sis iuveni grata, et veniet cum proximus annus,
hic idem votis iam vetus adsit amor.

7

Tandem venit amor, qualem texisse pudori
quam nudasse alicui sit mihi fama magis.

exorata meis illum Cytherea Camenis
attulit in nostrum deposuitque sinum.
exsolvit promissa Venus: mea gaudia narret,
dicetur si quis non habuisse sua.
non ego signatis quicquam mandare tabellis,
ne legat id nemo quam meus ante, velim,
sed peccasse iuvat, vultus componere famae
taedet: cum digno digna fuisse ferar.

8

Invisus natalis adest qui rure molesto
et sine Cerintho tristis agendus erit.
dulcius urbe quid est? an villa sit apta puellae
atque Arretino frigidus amnis agro?
iam, nimium Messalla mei studiose, quiescas,
neu tempestivae saepe propinque viae.
hic animum sensusque meos abducta relinquo,
arbitrio quamvis non sinis esse meo.

9

Scis iter ex animo sublatum triste puellae?
natali Romae iam licet esse meo.
omnibus ille dies nobis natalis agatur,
qui nec opinanti nunc tibi forte venit.

10

Gratum est, securus multum quod iam tibi de me
permittis, subito ne male inepta cadam.
sit tibi cura togae potior pressumque quasillo
scortum quam Servi filia Sulpicia.

solliciti sunt pro nobis, quibus illa dolori est
ne cedam ignoto, maxima causa, toro.

11

Estne tibi, Cerinthe, tuae pia cura puellae,
quod mea nunc vexat corpora fessa calor?
a ego non aliter tristes evincere morbos
optarim, quam te si quoque velle putem.
at mihi quid prosit morbos evincere, si tu
nostra potes lento pectore ferre mala?

12

Ne tibi sim, mea lux, aeque iam fervida cura
ac videor paucos ante fuisse dies,
si quicquam tota commisi stulta iuventa
cuius me fatear paenituisse magis,
hesterna quam te solum quod nocte reliqui,
ardorem cupiens dissimulare meum.

13

Nulla tuum nobis subducet femina lectum:
hoc primum iuncta est foedere nostra Venus.
tu mihi sola places, nec iam te praeter in urbe
formosa est oculis ulla puella meis.
atque utinam posses uni mihi bella videri!
displiceas aliis: sic ego tutus ero.
nil opus invidia est, procul absit gloria vulgi:
qui sapit, in tacito gaudeat ille sinu.
sic ego secretis possum bene vivere silvis,
qua nulla humano sit via trita pede.

tu mihi curarum requies, tu nocte vel atra
  lumen, et in solis tu mihi turba locis.
nunc licet e caelo mittatur amica Tibullo,
  mittetur frustra deficietque Venus.
hoc tibi sancta tuae Iunonis numina iuro,
  quae sola ante alios est mihi magna deos.
quid facio demens? heu heu mea pignora cedo.
  iuravi stulte: proderat iste timor.
nunc tu fortis eris, nunc tu me audacius ures:
  hoc peperit misero garrula lingua malum.
iam faciam quodcumque voles, tuus usque manebo,
  nec fugiam notae servitium dominae,
sed Veneris sanctae considam vinctus ad aras:
  haec notat iniustos supplicibusque favet.

14

Rumor ait crebro nostram peccare puellam:
  nunc ego me surdis auribus esse velim.
crimina non haec sunt nostro sine facta dolore:
  quid miserum torques, rumor acerbe? tace.

VITA TIBVLLI

⟨Domitii Marsi⟩

Te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle,
mors iuvenem campos misit ad Elysios,
ne foret, aut elegis molles qui fleret amores
aut caneret forti regia bella pede.

Albius Tibullus eques *Romanus*, insignis forma cultuque corporis observabilis, ante alios Corvinum Messalam oratorem dilexit, cuius etiam contubernalis Aquitanico bello militaribus donis donatus est. hic multorum iudicio principem inter elegiographos obtinet locum. epistolae quoque eius amatoriae, quamquam breves, omnino utiles sunt. obiit adolescens, ut indicat epigramma supra scriptum.

eques Romanus, *ψ*; eques Regalis, *A*; eques R(omanus) e Gabiis, *Baehrens*. oratorem, *ψ*; originem, *A*.

DE TIBVLLI VITA ET POESI TESTIMONIA ANTIQVA

HORATIVS, *Od.* I, 33

('ad Tibullum' vel 'ad Albium Tibullum' inscr. 'Albium Tibullum adloquitur elegiorum poetam' Porphyrio)

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor
immitis Glycerae, neu miserabiles
decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior
laesa praeniteat fide.

EPIST. I, 4

('ad Albium Tibullum' vel 'ad Albium elegorum scriptorem' inscr.)

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,
quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,
an tacitum silvas inter reptare salubres,
curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?
non tu corpus eras sine pectore: di tibi formam,
di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.
quid voveat dulci nutricula maius alumno,
qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui
gratia fama valetudo contingat abunde,
et mundus victus non deficiente crumena?
inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras
omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:

grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.
me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum.

OVIDIVS, *Amor.* 3, 9

Memnona si mater, mater ploravit Achillem
   et tangunt magnas tristia fata deas,
flebilis indignos, Elegeia, solve capillos:
   a nimis ex vero nunc tibi nomen erit.
ille tui vates operis, tua fama, Tibullus,
   ardet in exstructo, corpus inane, rogo.
ecce puer Veneris fert eversamque pharetram
   et fractos arcus et sine luce facem.
aspice demissis ut eat miserabilis alis
   pectoraque infesta tundat aperta manu.
excipiunt lacrimas sparsi per colla capilli,
   oraque singultu concutiente sonant.
fratris in Aeneae sic illum funere dicunt
   egressum tectis, pulcher Iule, tuis.
nec minus est confusa Venus moriente Tibullo,
   quam iuveni rupit cum ferus inguen aper.
at sacri vates et divum cura vocamur:
   sunt etiam qui nos numen habere putent.
scilicet omne sacrum mors importuna profanat,
   omnibus obscuras inicit illa manus.
quid pater Ismario, quid mater profuit Orpheo?
   carmine quid victas obstipuisse feras?
'Aelinon' in silvis idem pater, 'Aelinon' altis
   dicitur invita concinuisse lyra.
adice Maeoniden, a quo ceu fonte perenni
   vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis:
hunc quoque summa dies nigro submersit Averno:

defugiunt avidos carmina sola rogos:
durat opus vatum, Troiani fama laboris
tardaque nocturno tela retexta dolo.
sic Nemesis longum, sic Delia nomen habebunt,
altera cura recens, altera primus amor.
quid vos sacra iuvant? quid nunc Aegyptia prosunt
sistra? quid in vacuo secubuisse toro?
cum rapiunt mala fata bonos, — ignoscite fasso —
sollicitor nullos esse putare deos.
vive pius: moriere; pius cole sacra: colentem
mors gravis a templis in cava busta trahet;
carminibus confide bonis: iacet ecce Tibullus;
vix manet e toto parva quod urna capit.
tene, sacer vates, flammae rapuere rogales
pectoribus pasci nec timuere tuis?
aurea sanctorum potuissent templa deorum
urere, quae tantum sustinuere nefas.
avertit vultus, Erycis quae possidet arces:
sunt quoque qui lacrimas continuisse negant.
sed tamen hoc melius, quam si Phaeacia tellus
ignotum vili supposuisset humo.
hinc certe madidos fugientis pressit ocellos
mater et in cineres ultima dona tulit;
hinc soror in partem misera cum matre doloris
venit inornatas dilaniata comas,
cumque tuis sua iunxerunt Nemesisque priorque
oscula nec solos destituere rogos.
Delia descendens 'felicius' inquit 'amata
sum tibi: vixisti, dum tuus ignis eram.'
cui Nemesis 'quid' ait 'tibi sunt mea damna dolori?
me tenuit moriens deficiente manu.'
si tamen e nobis aliquid nisi nomen et umbra

restat, in Elysia valle Tibullus erit.
obvius huic venias, hedera iuvenalia cinctus
tempora cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo,
tu quoque, si falsum est temerati crimen amici,
sanguinis atque animae prodige Galle tuae.
his comes umbra tua est. si qua est modo corporis umbra,
auxisti numeros, culte Tibulle, pios.
ossa quieta, precor, tuta requiescite in urna,
et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo.

Amor. 1, 15, 27

donec erunt ignes arcusque Cupidinis arma,
discentur numeri, culte Tibulle, tui.

Ars Amat. 3, 333

et teneri possis carmen legisse Properti,
sive aliquid Galli, sive, Tibulle, tuum.

Ars Amat. 3, 535

nos facimus placitae late praeconia formae:
nomen habet Nemesis, Cynthia nomen habet.

Rem. Amor. 763

carmina quis potuit tuto legisse Tibulli,
vel tua, cuius opus Cynthia sola fuit?
quis poterit lecto durus discedere Gallo?
et mea nescio quid carmina tale sonant.

Trist. 2, 445

non fuit opprobrio celebrasse Lycorida Gallo,
sed linguam nimio non tenuisse mero.
credere iuranti durum putat esse Tibullus,
sic etiam de se quod neget illa viro.

fallere custodem dominum docuisse fatetur,
  seque sua miserum nunc ait arte premi,
saepe, velut gemmam dominae signumve probaret,
  per causam meminit se tetigisse manum,
utque refert, digitis saepe est nutuque locutus
  et tacitam mensae duxit in orbe notam;
et quibus e sucis abeat de corpore livor
  impresso fieri qui solet ore docet:
denique ab incauto nimium petit ille marito,
  se quoque uti servet, peccet ut illa minus.
scit cui latretur, cum solus obambulet ipse,
  cui totiens clausas exscreet ante fores,
multaque dat furti talis praecepta docetque
  qua nuptae possint fallere ab arte viros.
non fuit hoc illi fraudi, legiturque Tibullus
  et placet, et iam te principe notus erat.
invenies eadem blandi praecepta Properti;
  destrictus minima nec tamen ille nota est.
his ego successi —

Trist. 4, 10, 51

Vergilium vidi tantum, nec amara Tibullo
  tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae.
successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi;
  quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.

Trist. 5, 1, 15

delicias si quis lascivaque carmina quaerit,
  praemoneo, non est scripta quod ista legat.
aptior huic Gallus blandique Propertius oris,
  aptior, ingenium mite, Tibullus erit.
atque utinam numero non nos essemus in isto!
  ei mihi, cur umquam Musa iocata mea est?

VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS, 2, 36, 3

Paene stulta est inhaerentium oculis ingeniorum enumeratio, inter quae maxime nostri aevi eminent princeps carminum Vergilius Rabiriusque et consecutus Sallustium Livius Tibullusque et Naso, perfectissimi in forma operis sui: nam vivorum ut magna admiratio, ita censura difficilis est.

QVINTILIANVS, *Inst. Or.* 10, 1, 93

Elegia quoque Graecos provocamus, cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime videtur auctor Tibullus. sunt qui Propertium malint. Ovidius utroque lascivior sicut durior Gallus.

STATIVS, *Silv.* 1, 2, 250

sed praecipui qui nobile gressu
extremo fraudatis opus, date carmina festis
digna toris. hunc ipse Coo plaudente Philetas
Callimachusque senex Umbroque Propertius antro
ambissent laudare diem, nec tristis in ipsis
Naso Tomis divesque foco lucente Tibullus.

MARTIALIS, 4, 6

Credi virgine castior pudica
et frontis tenerae cupis videri,
cum sis improbior, Malisiane,
quam qui compositos metro Tibulli
in Stellae recitat domo libellos.

8, 70

Quanta quies placidi tanta est facundia Nervae,
sed cohibet vires ingeniumque pudor.

cum siccare sacram largo Permessida posset
  ore, verecundam maluit esse sitim,
Pieriam tenui frontem redimire corona
  contentus famae nec dare vela suae.
sed tamen hunc nostri scit temporis esse Tibullum,
  carmina qui docti nota Neronis habet.

8, 73, 5

Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti:
  ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat:
fama est arguti Nemesis formosa Tibulli:
  Lesbia dictavit, docte Catulle, tibi.
non me Peligni nec spernet Mantua vatem,
  si qua Corinna mihi, si quis Alexis erit.

14, 193

Ussit amatorem Nemesis lasciva Tibullum,
  in tota iuvit quem nihil esse domo.

APVLEIVS, *Apol.* 10

Hic illud etiam reprehendi animadvertisti, quod, cum aliis nominibus pueri vocentur, ego eos Charinum et Critiam appellitarim. eadem igitur opera accusent C. Catullum, quod Lesbiam pro Clodia nominarit, et Ticidam similiter, quod quae Metella erat Perillam scripserit, et Propertium, qui Cynthiam dicat, Hostiam dissimulet, et Tibullum, quod ei sit Plania in animo, Delia in versu. et quidem C. Lucilium, quamquam sit iambicus, tamen improbarim, quod Gentium et Macedonem pueros directis nominibus carmine suo prostituerit. quanto modestius tandem Mantuanus poeta, qui itidem ut ego puerum amici sui Pollionis bucolico ludicro laudans et abstinens nominum sese quidem Corydonem, puerum vero Alexin vocat.

DIOMEDES, p. 484, 17 K

Elegia est carmen compositum hexametro versu pentametroque alternis in vicem positis, ut

divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro
et teneat culti iugera multa soli.

quod genus carminis praecipue scripserunt apud Romanos Propertius et Tibullus et Gallus imitati Graecos Callimachum et Euphoriona. elegia autem dicta sive παρὰ τὸ εὖ λεγειν τοὺς τεθνεῶτας: fere enim defunctorum laudes hoc carmine comprehendebantur: sive ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλέου id est miseratione, quod θρήνους Graeci vel ἐλεεῖα isto metro scriptitaverunt. cui opinioni consentire videtur Horatius, cum ad Albium Tibullum elegiarum auctorem scribens ab ea quam diximus miseratione elegos miserabiles dicit hoc modo:

neu miserabiles
decantes elegos.

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS, *Carm.* 9, 259

non Gaetulicus hic tibi legetur,
non Marsus, Pedo, Silius, Tibullus,
non quod Sulpiciae iocus Thaliae
scripsit blandiloquum suo Caleno,
non Persi rigor aut lepos Properti.

Epist. 2, 10, 6

Certe si praeter rem oratoriam contubernio feminarum poeticum ingenium et oris tui limam frequentium studiorum cotibus expolitam quereris obtundi, reminiscere quod saepe versum Corinna cum suo Nasone complevit, Lesbia cum Catullo, Caesennia cum Gaetulico, Argentaria cum Lucano, Cynthia cum Propertio, Delia cum Tibullo.

NOTES

I, 1

This poem is the first of the elegies to Delia, and also serves as an introduction to the book. The date is uncertain. On the form, etc., see Introd. p. 93. This elegy has been much discussed. See the literature cited by Schanz (cp. p. 30, n. above). Since then (1911) Jacoby's theories have called out two important articles: J. J. Hartmann, 'De Tibullo Poeta,' *Mnemosyne*, 39 (1911), pp. 369–411; R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes*, 47 (1912), 80–116. Pohlenz ('*Χάριτες*, *Friedrich Leo*,' etc. Berlin, 1911, p. 104) thinks Tibullus may have been influenced here by the *Thalysia* of Theokritos. He opposes, very properly, Jacoby's assertion that our poet was imitating Hor. *Epode* 2.

Imitated by La Harpe, Lebrun, Loyson, Parny, Blacklock; cp. too Baïf's *Du Contentement*. Luigi Alamanni, *Felicità dell' Amore: Età dell' oro*, echoes this elegy, 1–28 and 1, 3, 35 ff. —

> Chi desia d' acquistar terreno ed oro,
> Sia pur le notti e i giorni al caldo e al gelo
> Soggetto e inteso al marzïal lavoro, etc.

Bertin, 'À Eucharis,' *Amours*, I, 12, was also evidently inspired by some passages in this poem and 1, 2, 65–74. The following lines of Nicholas Grimald (1519–1562), *Oxford Book of Verse*, 42, might well be a summary of our elegy —

> Let some for honour hunt, and hoard the massy gold:
> With her so I may live and die, my weal cannot be told.

'Others are welcome to gold and lands if the toil and the peril of campaigning are to be the price. Give me my modest competence, a life inglorious and a cheerful home, the simple toil and the simple faith of the country-side. My ancestral wealth is no more, but I am at peace, I observe the proper rites, and such as I have I share with the old rustic gods. Nay, I care not for the broad acres of my sires. A small crop is enough, it is enough to rest in my own bed. How pleasant then with one's beloved to hear the cruel winds outside, to drop away unconcerned to slumber, lulled by the pelting storm!

This lot be mine. Let him be rich — he deserves it — who can face the frowning skies and the madness of the seas. Perish rather all the wealth of Ind than that any girl should weep because I had taken to a soldier's life. For you, Messalla, it is meet to wage war by land and sea and to hang your house with trophies. I am chained at home a helpless thrall of love. But I care not, dear Delia, for the praise of men. So long as I am with you they are welcome to say I am without energy and without ambition. May we be together till death comes to part us, and may you follow my body with many tears to the grave. Until then let us love while we may. Death comes anon, anon palsied eld. Now is the time for lightsome love and for all the mad pranks of thoughtless youth. In these wars I am good either to lead or to follow. Be off then, ye alarums of war, bring wounds to greed, aye bring riches too. With my little store I do not dread want and I do not desire wealth.'

1–52. The quiet life and idyllic simplicity. The favourite motive of Tibullus (cp. esp. 1, 10), and constantly recurring in antique literature, esp. during and after the Alexandrian Age. See note on the Golden Age, 1, 3, 35–48; Hor. *Epode*, 2; Verg. *G.* 2, 493 ff.; Columella, *Praefat.* 7; Seneca, *Poetae Lat. Minores*, IV, p. 74 B.; Mart. 10, 47; Propert. 1, 6; 3, 3, 41.

1–2. For the wish cp. 1, 10, 29 ff., for the conventional division of wealth, 2, 2, 13–16; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 2, 13, 'dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis,' etc. The lines are imitated by Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 15, 12; *Fast.* 3, 192; *Pont.* 4, 9, 86; Mart. 1, 85, 2; 116, 2; 6, 16, 2; perhaps Claud. *In Ruf.* 2, 134.

1. **fulvo**: poetic; cp. the 'red gold' of our older literature, *e.g.* 'Of red golde shone their weedes,' or, 'here's a red rogue to buy thee handkerchers.' The prose word is *flavus*, Mart. 12, 65, 6, 'an de moneta Caesaris decem flavos,' 'ten yellow boys,' etc. — **auro**: ablat. instr., cp. *opibus*, 1, 7, 59. So the ablat. is instr. with *vivere* in 25; *decidere*, 1, 2, 30; *perrepere* and *tundere*, 1, 2, 85–86; *fieri*, 4, 6, 14 and note; *traducere*, 1, 5 below and note; *aperta*, 1, 6, 18; *ridere*, 1, 9, 54; *crepitare*, 2, 5, 81; *exstruere*, 2, 5, 99; *vetare*, 2, 6, 36, etc.

2. **culti . . . soli**: hence of course more valuable. There is no reference here to the confiscations (Introd. p. 32). Indeed, Ullman, 'Horace and Tibullus,' *A.J.P.* 33, 160, shows that the losses to which the poet indirectly refers were probably due to something more serious and personal than confiscations. He suggests, in short, that the Albius whom Horace mentions as having a mania for the collection of bronzes (*Sat.* 1, 4, 28) —

hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius aere,

was the father of Tibullus. If so, the shrinkage in the family fortune is

amply explained as well as the fact that Tibullus never refers to the cause of it. Moreover, the fact that Horace confines his illustrations to people who have passed away (*Sat.* 2, 1, 39) suggests that at the time this Satire was written, *i.e.* as early as 39 B.C., the elder Albius was already dead. This would help to explain why Tibullus never refers to him. At that time the son would be not over fifteen or sixteen years of age, and we may well agree with Ullman that Horace (*Sat.* 1, 4, 109) —

Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius,

describes the condition of our poet at that time. If this is true, such expressions as 1, 1, 38–41; 1, 10, 8; 1, 10, 17–20; 2, 3, 47–48 have an added significance and pathos; and indeed, the fact that he had such a father and that he lost even him when he was a mere boy may partly account for his later melancholia. Finally, who shall say how far our poet's characteristic genius and taste were due to the fact that he had just such a father and that his home life from earliest childhood was intimately associated with the contemplation of artistic masterpieces? — For the arrangement of adj. and subst. see Introd. p. 104. For the thought cp. 2, 3, 41–42.

3–4. A favourite motive in antique poetry: Bacchyl. *frag.* 4, 12, Blass, *χαλκεᾶν δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος, | οὐδὲ συλᾶται μελίφρων | ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων, | ἀῶιος ὃς θάλπει κέαρ*: Plutarch, *Nik.* 9, *τοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεύδοντας οὐ σάλπιγγες, ἀλλ' ἀλεκτρυόνες ἀφυπνίζουσι*· Lucan, 4, 394, 'non proelia fessos | ulla vocant, certos non rumpunt classica somnos'; Sil. Ital. 15, 48, 'haud umquam trepidos abrumpet bucina somnos'; Propert. 3, 3, 41; Hor. *Epod.* 2, 5 (with Keller's note), etc.

3. **labor** (*πόνος*): regularly used in both poetry and prose of the hardships of campaigning, such as foraging, digging trenches, fortifying camps, etc. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, 65, gives a graphic description. — **vicino terreat hoste**: Ovid writes from Tomi, *Pont.* 4, 9, 81, 'quaere loci faciem Scythicique incommoda caeli, | et quam vicino terrear hoste roga.' So Percennius in Pannonia says to his fellow-soldiers (Tac. *Ann.* 1, 17), 'non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici.' — **hoste**: for the ablat. cp. *capite*, 1, 72; *acervo*, 1, 77; *metu*, 1, 6, 75; *causa*, 1, 7, 23; *triumphis*, 2, 1, 33; *timore*, 2, 1, 77; *donis*, 2, 3, 52; *comis*, 4, 2, 10. — **terreat** and **fugent** are consecutive subjunctives.

4. **somnos**: the use of plural for singular, characteristic of poetry but by no means confined to it, was largely extended by the Augustan writers and is especially common in Ovid. Examples of it are more common in the first book of Tibullus than in the second. They are encouraged, sometimes necessitated, by the exigencies of metre, but they generally have a rhetorical

colour (as in the prose of the Silver Age) if not a distinctive meaning. More unusual cases are *sepulcra*, 1, 3, 8; *triumphos*, 1, 7, 5; *rura*, 1, 5, 21; 2, 3, 1; *sola*, 1, 5, 3; *sedes*, 2, 4, 53; *rivos*, 1, 1, 28; *regna*, 1, 9, 80. Otherwise the examples usually may be explained according to the general rules, *e.g.* pluralizing of abstracts often makes them concrete, the plural is indefinite or typical, distributive, indicates a series, action interrupted and resumed, parts of the whole, species of the genus, analogy, etc. Moreover these divisions are by no means exclusive, and as in English the specific meaning of the plural is not always clearly impressed on the mind of the user. Here the plural *somnos* appears to be distributive, 'one's sleep o' nights,' cp. 'It seems his sleeps were hinder'd by thy railings' (Shak.). In 1, 48 it is 'slumbers,' the sleeper wakes from time to time but 'drops off' again, at once roused and lulled by the storm. So *musta*, 1, 1, 10; 1, 5, 24, is the 'must' year by year, but *musta*, 2, 3, 66, is typical; cp. *vina*, 1, 1, 24; 2, 1, 29, and *fructus*, 1, 1, 41: *aquas*, 1, 1, 47 and often, is 'waters': *ortus*, 1, 1, 27; 2, 5, 59, like *soles*, 1, 4, 2, etc., is day by day, *i.e.* distributive: *rivos*, 1, 1, 28, emphasizes the parts instead of the whole: *nives*, 1, 2, 50; 1, 4, 2, is snow-flakes or snow-storms, etc. On the subject in general see Paul Maas, *Archiv f. Lat. Lexikographie*, 12, p. 490 ff. — **classica**: Servius on Verg. *A.* 7, 637, says 'classicum dicimus et tubam ipsam et sonum.' *pulsa* shows that here *classica* = *tubae*. — **pulsa**: lit. 'smitten,' applies of course only to stringed instruments, cymbals and the like, as 2, 5, 3; 1, 3, 24; Ovid, *Met.* 10, 205, 'lyra pulsa manu.' The transfer to wind instruments is occasional in Greek, *e.g.* Aristoph. *Aves*, 682 (cp. Blaydes *ad loc.*), Simonides, 29, Crus. (cp. Smyth's note), and is attested by Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.* 2, 4), but in the Latin authors I find no good parallel. Huschke cites Claudian, *Panegyr. Theod.* 313, 'cui tibia flatu, | cui plectro pulsanda chelys,' but this may be explained by zeugma. The regular military phrase is *classicum canere*.

5. **me mea**: grouping of pronouns at the beginning of the sentence is frequent in the poets. So 1, 1, 49; 1, 2, 43; 53; 65; 71; 89, etc., esp. Ovid. Here the emphatic position of *me* marks its antithesis to *alius* in 1. — **paupertas**: as Seneca, *Epist.* 87, 40 carefully defines it, is not poverty, *egestas*, but *parvi possessio*. So Martial says (11, 32, 8), 'non est paupertas, Nestor, habere nihil.' The estimate of what constitutes *paupertas*, a slender income, is largely influenced by the personal equation, cp. lines 77–78 and Introd. p. 32. For the line, cp. *Culex*, 97, 'securam placido traducit pectore vitam.' — **traducat**: should be given its strict etymological meaning. So διάγειν in Sophokles, *Elektra*, 782, χρόνος διῆγέ μ' αἰὲν ὡς θανουμένην: cp. Demosth. 18, 89; Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 1, 3. The metaphor of life as the path of one's march to the grave is still further emphasized by the case of *vita*, ablat.

of the route without a preposition — really instrumental, see note on *auro*, line 1 above — with a verb of motion. Schulze cites Livy, 23, 24, 7, 'silva qua exercitum traducturus erat.' The construction (mainly old-fashioned or poetic) is not common, and extension to the sphere of metaphor is usually supported as here by an adjective.

6. Referred to by Statius, *Silvae*, 1, 2, 255, 'divesque foco lucente Tibullus,' and imitated in an ancient epitaph (*Carm. Epig.* 477, 10), 'tunc meus adsidue semper bene luxit, amice, focus.' The line is also quoted by three of the ancient grammarians.

The touch is characteristic of antiquity. The practical and sacred associations of the hearth and the hearth fire made them synonymous with home and home life, cp. the 'focus perennis' of Mart. 10, 47, 4, also 2, 90, 7–10; Theokritos, 11, 51 (the well-to-do but unattractive Kyklops to his Galatea), *αἰ δέ τοι αὐτὸς ἐγὼν δοκέω λασιώτερος ἦμεν, | ἐντὶ δρυὸς ξύλα μοι καὶ ὑπὸ σποδῷ ἀκάματον πῦρ*: Aristoph. *Pax* 440 (the farmer's ideal of comfort), *μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαγαγεῖν τὸν βίον, | ἔχονθ' ἑταίραν καὶ σκαλεύοντ' ἄνθρακας.* Home is no home without it, Mart. 11, 56, 4, 'et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus;' Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 3, 44, going into exile, speaks of his 'exstinctos focos,' cp. Aisch. *Choeph.* 629, *τίω δ' ἀθέρμαντον ἑστίαν δόμων.* He who has none is poor indeed, Catullus, 23 and Martial's imit. 11, 32.

7. **ipse**: *i.e.* in person, which would be unusual in one of Tibullus's position and emphasizes the old Roman simplicity of the lot preferred, cp. 1, 2, 71; 2, 6, 8 and the parallel of this passage in Propert. 3, 17, 15 ff. — **teneras**: contrasted with *grandia*, see Introd. p. 103. In fact *grandia* is better as a contrast than as an epithet of young fruit trees.

8. **facili**: *i.e.* 'ready,' 'skilful,' cp. *manu sollerti*, 1, 7, 29. The shift of adjectives from a usual passive to an unusual active or *vice versa* is a frequent and characteristic device of poetry, cp. *pigra*, 1, 2, 29; *ignotis*, 1, 3, 3; *tardas*, 1, 3, 16; *tristia*, 1, 5, 50; *fertilis*, 1, 7, 22; *felicibus*, 2, 1, 25; *securo* and *sobria*, 2, 1, 46; *naufraga*, 2, 4, 10; *inulta*, 1, 6, 48; *innoxia*, 2, 5, 63; *amor*, 1, 4, 10 (see note), etc. — **poma**: for *pomos*, cp. 2, 1, 43, 'fruit trees.' On antique methods of planting vineyards and orchards see, *e.g.*, Varro, *De Re Rust.* 1, 7; Columella, 3, 13.

9. **spes**: not the goddess, though, as the verbs show, personified for the moment. Hope and the husbandman are frequently associated; cp. 2, 6, 20 ff., and notes. — **destituat**: usually *destitui spe* or *a spe*. The absolute use as here is so rare that Livy, 1, 41, 1, 'si destituat spes,' has been called a reminiscence, cp. 37, 7, 9, 'si is destituat'; 45, 20, 3, 'spe destituta'; Lucan, 2, 728, 'triumphis destituit Fortuna tuis' (so *G*, i.e. *Ms. Bruxellensis* 5330; see Hosius's text); 5, 298, 'quando pietasque fidesque destituunt.'

10. **musta**: new wine, *mustum*, or oil, is still stored in these vats (*lacus*) both in Italy and the East. A similar usage prevails in our cider mills of the Northern States. The vintage month is October, cp. the *Laus omnium mensium* 19 (*PLM.* IV, p. 291, Baehrens), 'conterit October lascivis calcibus uvas | et spumant pleno dulcia musta lacu.' As the Italian October is mild, Cato's advice, *De Agri Cult.* 113, is good, 'de lacu quam primum vinum in dolia indito.' Other references to the vintage in Tib. are 1, 5, 23; 1, 7, 35; 2, 1, 45; 2, 5, 85; see also Cato, *De Agri Cult.* 120; Verg. *G.* 2, 6; Columella, 12, 19.

11–12. The worship referred to was characteristic of all antiquity and is often mentioned. Theophrastos says of the superstitious man (*Charact.* 28, Jebb) that 'he will pour oil from his flask on the smooth stones at the cross-roads, as he goes by, and will fall on his knees and worship them before he departs.' Jebb quotes Lukian, *Alexand.* 30; Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 7, p. 302, and Schulze cites Xen. *Mem.* 1, 1, 14. Cp. esp. Apuleius, *Florida*, 1, 1, 'ut ferme religiosis viantium moris est, cum aliqui lucus aut aliqui locus sanctus in via oblatus est, votum postulare, pomum adponere, paulisper adsidere . . . neque enim iustius religiosam moram viatori obiecerit aut ara floribus redimita, aut spelunca floribus inumbrata, aut quercus cornibus onerata, aut fagus pellibus coronata, vel enim colliculus sepimine consecratus, vel truncus dolamine effigiatus, vel caespes libamine fumigatus, vel lapis unguine delibutus'; Propert. 1, 4, 23–24; Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 641 (of the *Termini*).

11. **nam**: Tibullus never uses *enim*, cp. 1, 6, 21 n.

12. Imitated in *Carm. Epig.* 1135, 6, 'serta quod et tumulum florida saepe ligant'; Mart. 8, 77, 4, 'splendeat et cingant florea serta caput.' — **in trivio lapis**: the persistence of the tradition is seen in the fact that in modern Italy the same spot is often occupied by a way-side shrine. Indeed the religious associations of the cross-roads — especially in the worship of Hekate — may still be traced in various superstitions of mediaeval and modern times, cp. 1, 5, 54 and note.

13. **educat**: 'bring to maturity,' Catull. 62, 41 'quem (*i.e.* flos) mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber,' hence *novus annus* = 'the (current) season.' For this conception of *annus* as in itself the cause of the year's products, see 1, 4, 19; Livy, 4, 12, 7, 'adversus annus frugibus'; *Pervig. Ven.* 51, 'Hybla, totos funde flores, quidquid annus adtulit'; Stat. *Theb.* 8, 301.

14. For the immemorial custom of first fruits, cp. *e.g.* Pliny, *H.N.* 18, 8, 'ac ne degustabant quidem novas fruges aut vina, antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent.' — **agricolae deo**: purposely indefinite, so 1, 5, 27; 2, 1, 36. *agricola* as an adjective appears first in these three passages of Tib. and elsewhere is found only in Propert. 2, 34, 74; Sidon. *Epist.* 4, 21, 6; Ovid. *Met.*

8, 276; *Pont.* 4, 14, 32; [*Nux*], 10; Prisc. *Perieg.* 181. 5 exx. with *vir* or *homo* are quoted from the Vulgate, etc. — **ante**: local here. Tib. likes *ante* in this place, cp. 1, 1, 16 and 56; 3, 72; 4, 14; 10, 8, 16 and 68; 2, 1, 24, 54 and 78; 4, 46; 5, 66 and 98; 6, 24 and 38; 4, 7, 8 (Sulpicia).

15. **flava**: a natural epithet of Ceres, goddess of the harvest, Verg. *G.* 1, 56; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 10, 3; cp. the ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ of *Iliad*, 5, 500, etc. *flava coma* or *caesaries* is a favourite colour for gods, heroes, and beautiful women, 1, 5, 44; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 13, 2; 1, 15, 35; 1, 1, 7; *Met.* 2, 749; 8, 275; Hor. *Od.* 3, 9, 19, etc. Esp. in the Greek poets, Bacchyl. 12, 136, Blass; Pindar, *Nem.* 10, 12; *frag.* 34, Christ; Hesiod, *Theog.* 947; Eurip. *Medea*, 834, etc.

17–18. **Priapus**: is here described in one of his principal functions, *i.e.*, as the scarecrow in gardens, cp. Introd. to 1, 4; Verg. *G.* 4, 110–111.

17. **ruber**: so often of Priapos. On the ceremonial use of red (*minium*, etc.) to paint the faces of the gods on holidays and on other special occasions, see Pliny, *H.N.* 33, 111; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 98; Arnob. 6, 10; Verg. *E.* 6, 22, and Serv. on Verg. *E.* 10, 27. For its use in triumphs, see 1, 7, 5–8 n. and (the early actors) 2, 1, 55 n. Cp. Nestle, *Philologus*, 50, 501 ff. ('Griechische Göttermasken').

18. **saeva falce**: *saeva* here is mock-heroic, *Priap.* 11, 2, 'saeva nec incurva vulnera falce dabo'; 30, 1, 'falce minax — Priape'; Verg. *A.* 1, 138, 'non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem.' On Priapos, cp. Introd. to 1, 4, below.

20. **Lares**: sc. *compitales*, guardians and protectors of the fields (*custodes agri*) bordering on the *compita* and also of the dwellings situated in those fields. The worship of the Lares Familiares is a development from that of the Compitales (Wissowa); cp. 1, 10, 21 ff.

21–22. Probably the Ambarvalia is referred to; cp. Introd. to 2, 1.

21. Mustard notes Sannazaro, *Eleg.* 1, 2, 36 —

ictus ad innumeras expiet agnus oves.

— **tunc**: Tibullus prefers this form to *tum*, cp. 1, 4, 7 n.; 1, 6, 21 n.

22. **agna**: the lamb is the poor man's sacrifice, Hor. *Od.* 2, 17, 32; Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 10, 43–44. As a sacrifice, however, *vitula* is not extravagant, Hor. *Od.* 4, 3, 54, etc. Note the distinction between *exigui* and *parva*.

23. **agna**: anaphora in its various forms is characteristic of the elegy and especially of Tibullus. With or without connective particles — 1, 4, 17; 1, 8, 19; 1, 4, 63; 2, 3, 31; 2, 3, 68; 1, 2, 7; 2, 6, 44; 1, 9, 7; 1, 3, 4; 1, 8, 43; 1, 10, 27; 1, 10, 45; 4, 4, 1; 2, 3, 36; 2, 1, 37; 2, 6, 25; 1, 7, 10. Especially common with adjectives, pronouns, prepositions, particles — 1, 5,

61; 1, 2, 51; 1, 1, 59; 1, 4, 11; 1, 2, 44; 1, 6, 81; 1, 5, 27; 1, 8, 13; 1, 2, 27; 1, 2, 29; 1, 3, 41; 1, 5, 25; 2, 1, 5; 2, 1, 17. With connectives, 2, 5, 100; 1, 4, 82; 1, 1, 78; 2, 5, 105; 2, 6, 9, etc. see 39 n. below, and for the figure in Verg. and Ovid, L. Otto, *De Anaphora*, Diss. Marburg, 1 ff. 1907. — **quam circum**: postposition with *circum*, *praeter*, *propter*, and, of course, *coram* is invariable in Tib. So *ante* once (2, 5, 66) and *ad* (2, 1, 74), see 2, 5, 66, note. Postposition of both prep. and attribute is seen in 1, 4, 26. Separation of the preposition from its case beyond the distance allowable in prose is seen in *ad*, 1, 2, 32; *circum*, 1, 5, 51; *contra*, 1, 6, 30; *post*, 1, 9, 44; *sine*, 4, 14, 3.

24. clamet: the shift of tenses is characteristic, cp. 1, 1, 61–62; 1, 5, 29; 1, 7, 8; 2, 4, 46; 2, 6, 4; 4, 2, 10–12; 4, 3, 17–18; 4, 13, 5. — **bona**: probably to be taken with *messes* as well as with *vina*, see 1, 1, 75 n.

25–26. 'Now, if only now, I may live on my little in peace,' etc. The poet's wish is fervent but the hardships of former years prompt him to put it in the form of a proviso. For emphatic *iam iam* separated by an intervening word Schulze cites Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 1, 44, 'hausurum iugulo iam puto iamque meo'; Verg. *A.* 12, 179, 'iam melior iam, diva, precor.'

25. modo: *dum modo*, as in 1, 2, 31; 1, 6, 64; 2, 5, 106. See R. Methner, 'Dum, dum modo und modo,' *Glotta*, 1, 245–261.

26. Supply *opus sit* or the like as suggested by *possim*, in 25. So *e.g.* Juv. 6, 17, 'cum furem nemo timeret | caulibus aut pomis et aperto viveret horto'; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 1, 1–3; Cic. *De Orat.* 3, 52. — **longae viae**: here put for campaigning in general as the greatest hardship of it. The Roman soldier carried a heavy burden (Verg. *G.* 3, 347) and to reach the frontiers of the Empire meant a transcontinental march. The touch is characteristic of Tibullus and of the elegy, 1, 1, 52; 1, 3, 14 and 36; 2, 6, 3; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 9, 9, 'militis officium longa est via'; 2, 16, 16; *Ars Amat.* 2, 235. Cp. also Hor. *Od.* 2, 6, 7, 'sit modus lasso maris et viarum | militiaeque'; *Epist.* 1, 11, 6; Mart. 6, 43, 8; 9, 30, 4; 10, 36, 4; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 395; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2, 14. — **deditus esse**: the only case in Tib. of attraction of the predicate into the nom. — except of course with passive verbs of saying, etc., *dici*, 1, 2, 51; 1, 3, 10; 1, 5, 10; 1, 9, 59; 2, 1, 68; 2, 3, 18; 2, 5, 20; 4, 7, 6; *videri*, 1, 3, 90; 4, 12, 2; *argui*, 4, 3, 16; *ferri*, 1, 2, 81; 1, 8, 73; 2, 1, 41; 4, 7, 10. The regular preference for the personal construction is shown in every case except 2, 3, 29, where the shift is due to the impers. *puduisse*.

27–28. *Anth. Pal.* 16, 227, 5, χὠ ποιμὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι μεσαμβρινὸν ἀγχόθι παγᾶς | συρίσδων, λασίας θάμνῳ ὕπο πλατάνου· | καῦμα δ'ὀπωρινοῖο φυγὼν κυνὸς ἄλσος ἀμείψεις | αὔριον. Horace's picture of 'Nature — deep-lulled in noon' (*Od.* 3, 29, 17–24); Thomson's 'drowsy shepherd as he lies reclined | With

half-shut eyes, beneath the floating shade | Of willows grey, close-crowding on the brook,' Gray's *Elegy*, 101 f. (cp. Lucret. 2, 29) and often.

The intense and supposedly baleful heat of the dog-days and the idea still entertained that the dog-star has an influence upon it are referred to again and again, *e.g.* Homer, *Il.* 22, 26–31; Verg. *A.* 10, 273; *G.* 2, 353; 4, 425; Archil. 58, Crus.; Hor. *Od.* 3, 13, 9; 1, 17, 17; Tib. 1, 4, 6 and 42; 1, 7, 21; 3, 5, 2 (Lygd.); Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 231, etc.

27. **ortus**: see note on *somnos*, 4. The plural begins with Homer, cp. *Odyss.* 12, 4, ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο. The plural, as already explained, is distributive. Note too that, given the primitive habit of applying the singular to one concrete instance, we must use the plural if we wish to generalize.

28. **rivos**: see 4 n. A running stream gives the impression of a plurality of streams. So *rivi* in Juv. 6, 430; Hor. *Od.* 3, 13, 7, cp. *loquaces lymphae*, 15; *rivi sanguinis*, Verg. *A.* 11, 668; 9, 456; Schulze cites Homer, *Il.* 16, 229, ὕδατος ῥοαί; *Odyss.* 6, 216, ῥοαὶ ποταμοῖο. So we say regularly 'floods' of rain, 'streams' of blood, 'banks,' 'shores,' 'seas,' 'woods,' 'waters,' etc.

29–32. Note *tenuisse* and *increpuisse* beside *referre* instead of *rettulisse*. With impersonal verbs as here the present infin. is normal throughout the language. Replacement of it by the perfect infin. is a notable characteristic of the Augustan poets (all learned in Greek) and especially of the elegy. The Latin analogy was the old legal use with *velle*, cp. below, but the influence of the Greek aorist can hardly be doubted; cp. *e.g.* Hor. *A.P.* 98, 'si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querella.' In fact the Latin perfect really had absorbed the form and the functions of the aorist. These forms occur most frequently in the second half of the pentameter where their metrical convenience is obvious; but in many cases the distinction is quite clear, and in dealing with the remainder it is unsafe to urge mere metrical convenience as the sole excuse, even when as here (cp. also 45 below, etc.), both perf. and pres. occur side by side in the same sentence.

In Tib. the exx. of the perf. infin. as a subject are—with *pudet*, 1, 1, 29; 1, 10, 17; 1, 2, 94; 1, 9, 29; *iuvat*, 1, 1, 46 and 74; 4, 7, 9; *decet*, 1, 2, 28; *paenitet*, 1, 4, 47; *piget*, 1, 6, 52; 4, 4, 4; *prodest*, 1, 8, 9 and 70; *nocet*, 1, 8, 25; 2, 3, 70; *gloria est*, 1, 6, 4; *laus tribuetur*, 4, 4, 20; *sit fama*, 4, 7, 1; *sit satis*, 1, 10, 62; *sit*, 1, 6, 24; 4, 3, 3 (where see note).

The perf. infin. act. as an object is found more or less at all periods after *velle*, which seems to have been a legal usage, so 1, 4, 56; 1, 6, 64; 2, 5, 102 (where see note); 4, 6, 6 and 18. Otherwise mainly in the poets, *queat*, 1, 9, 64; 4, 5, 16; *audeat*, 2, 1, 9 (see note); *gestit*, 2, 1, 71; *optarim*, 1, 6, 74, where, however, the distinction between perf. and pres. is clear.

The perf. infin. with verbs of saying and thinking offers nothing unusual.

Here, as in 1, 3, 26, there is clearly a difference between the perfects and the present, *referre*, though not of such a nature ('ashamed of having held,' 'ashamed of holding') as to prevent metrical convenience from determining the poet's choice.

31–32. 2, 3, 17; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 13, 12, 'sic positum servabis onus ne forte sub ala | fasciculum portes librorum, ut rusticus agnum;' Calpurn. 5, 39, 'te quoque non pudeat cum serus ovilia vises, | si qua iacebit ovis partu resoluta recenti, | hanc umeris portare tuis natosque patenti | ferre sinu tremulos et nondum stare paratos.'

31. **ve . . . ve**: doubled as in 2, 6, 52. For variation of disjunctive particles cp. *aut . . . aut . . . ve*, 1, 3, 17; *nec . . . ve*, 1, 2, 93; *nec . . . ve . . . nec*, 2, 3, 12; *nec . . . aut . . . non . . . ve . . . ve*, 1, 1, 29.

32. **oblita matre**: this is familiar to every shepherd; cp. Verg. *E.* 1, 15.

33–34. For the thought see 4, 1, 187. The naïve tone of this prayer to Pales (2, 5, 87–90 and note) is characteristic of paganism — and of humanity; *Priap.* 86, 19, 'quare hinc, o pueri, malas abstinete rapinas. | vicinus prope dives est negligensque Priapus: | inde sumite, semita haec deinde vos feret ipsa;' cp. the old German rhyme, 'Heiliger Sankt Florian, | Spar' dieses Haus, | Zünd' andres an!' and *Atharva Veda*, trans. by M. Bloomfield (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 42, p. 1 f.), etc.

33. **at**: 'introducing startling transitions, lively objections, remonstrances, questions, wishes,' is extremely common in Tibullus. He also uses it frequently in his favourite figure of anaphora to introduce transitions, 1, 3, 33–34 and note, to give new points in a single description, 1, 3, 67, to continue the narrative, etc. — **vos**: a large use of personal and demonstrative pronouns is encouraged both by the temper of the elegy and by the conditions of the distich. Even personal pronouns with the imperative (colloquial or solemn) are common, although, as here, they are usually separated from the verb by intervening words, so 1, 1, 37; 1, 1, 75; 1, 2, 15; 1, 2, 87; 1, 4, 75; 1, 5, 59; 1, 5, 69; 1, 6, 15; 1, 7, 63; 1, 8, 33 and 47; 2, 1, 18; 2, 1, 83; 2, 3, 64; 2, 5, 79 and 113; 4, 2, 3 and 21; 4, 3, 23; 4, 4, 16; 4, 5, 19; 4, 6, 7. As here again they are usually introduced by *at*. — **exiguo**: cp. *pauperis*, 19. — **que . . . que**: doubling of *que* as suggested by its Homeric pedigree was always more common in epic (Ennius, 2.3%, Vergil, 1.4%, Val. Flaccus, 1.15%, Statius, 1.4%) than in the distich (Tib. 0.23%, Propert. 0.25%, Ovid, 1.3%, which, however, includes the *Met.*); Martial, 1.53%, etc. The exx. in Tibullus are 1, 1, 33; 1, 2, 27; 1, 5, 35; 1, 9, 72; 1, 10, 65; 2, 6, 46; so too, [3, 3, 26; 4, 1, 11; 157; 188]. All but one, 4, 1, 11, acc. to the decided preference of the entire language, occur in the second half of the verse. Six, 1, 1, 33; 1, 2, 27; 1, 5, 35; 1, 10, 65; 4, 1, 157 and 188 close the hexameter.

Not found in the first half of the pentameter except in Propertius (only 2 exx.). Elision of either *que* is not found in the *Corpus Tibullianum*. The rule that substantives so paired shall be in the same case is rarely broken (only Verg. *A.* 7, 639; *G.* 3, 7; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 226; Sil. Ital. 9, 559; Hilarius, *Macc.* 313). Adjectives paired occur but 46 times, predicative adjectives only 1, 2, 27; Ovid, *Trist.* 5, 4, 43; *Fast.* 2, 758; Lucan, 1, 479; Stat. *Silv.* 2, 6, 52; Prisc. 1, 42. Verbs (176 times) are usually active and in the pres. indic. 3d sing., 2, 6, 46. Different tenses are very rare, different persons only in Ovid, *Met.* 3, 446. Adverbs, once only (3, 3, 26) in the *Corpus Tibullianum* (elsewhere 58 times). Similarity of endings makes assonance very common. Alliteration too is not infrequent, 1, 10, 65 (popular?). Many are more or less phraseological, *e.g. furesque lupique* here, cp. 4, 1, 188; *Eurusque Notusque*, 1, 5, 35 (see note) is Homeric, see Verg. *A.* 1, 85, otherwise only Stat. *Theb.* 6, 310; *Silv.* 3, 2, 45; *remque domumque*, 1, 9, 72; Ovid, *Her.* 17, 159; *itque reditque*, 2, 6, 46; Verg. *A.* 6, 122; Ovid, *Her.* 15, 118; *Trist.* 5, 7, 14; Val. Flaccus, 1, 725 (with Langen's note); 8, 331; Sil. Ital. 13, 561; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 102; 8, 49; *Anth. Lat.* 352, 4 R; Martial, 1, 8, 42, etc.

For doubling of *que* with intervening words (not reckoned in the above statistics) cp. 1, 2, 45; 5, 64; 6, 61 and 72; 7, 11; 9, 20; 10, 37; 2, 3, 25; 5, 53; 6, 9: 4, 5, 8. See Christensen, 'Que — que bei den Römischen Hexametrikern,' *Archiv f. Lat. Lexikographie*, 15, 165–211. — **lupi**: 2, 1, 20; Varro, *De Re Rustica*, 2, 9, 1, and often. The wolf still survives in both Greece and Italy.

34. **magno est**: for the synaloephe see Introd. p. 100.

35. **hic**: the adv. refers in a general way to the situation suggested by *exiguo pecori* above, so *hic* in 75. — **que . . . et**: 'rare in early Latin, never in Cicero, Caesar; begins with Sallust. Sallust and Tacitus (except twice) always add the *que* to the pronoun, Livy and later prose writers, as here, to the substantive.' *que . . . que . . . et*, 1, 2, 45; 2, 5, 53; *que . . . et*, 2, 4, 27; *que . . . et . . . et . . . que*, 1, 5, 53. Other exx. are of a different type; a favourite is illustrated by 1, 3, 25; 1, 5, 43; 1, 6, 49; 1, 9, 13 and 69; 1, 10, 43 and 67; 2, 1, 3 and 67; 2, 4, 3 and 6, 33. Frequency and variety in the use of connectives is characteristic of Tibullus and of poetry in general. — **lustrare**: 1, 2, 61; 1, 5, 11; Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 735; Verg. *G.* 1, 344; Cato, 141.

36. **placidam**: it seems better to explain not as proleptic but merely as a complimentary epithet. On the libation of milk see 1, 2, 48 and note. — **Palem**: an ancient pastoral divinity of the Roman people. Her festival, the Parilia or Palilia, April 21, was reckoned the birthday of Rome and her worship is a favourite motive in descriptions of Roman country life, 2, 5, 87; Propert. 4, 1, 19; 4, 4, 75; Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 721; Persius, 1, 72, etc.

37–38. The invitation to the gods to be present and take part is usual, and in the age of faith was literally meant, 1, 7, 49; 2, 2, 5; Verg. *G.* 1, 347; *A.* 5, 62: Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 305, etc. That the gods do not scorn the gifts *e paupere mensa* is the teaching of all ages (Hor. *Od.* 3, 23; the 'widow's mite,' etc.); that they actually prefer them is an exaggeration more characteristic of modern times.

37. **divi**: the form is archaic and poetic, 1, 4, 35; 3, 4, 5; 1, 8, 69; 1, 9, 2; 2, 5, 46 and 113; 4, 2, 5 and 6, 5. Similar archaic and poetic forms are *deum*, 2, 5, 77; *idem* for *iidem*, 1, 10, 15; *quis* for *quibus*, 1, 2, 53 and 1, 6, 13. These, however, are found in the poetry of all periods. The temper of the elegy does not allow any large usage of this sort; see Introd. p. 29. — **nec . . . nec**: 1, 1, 67 n.

38. **puris**: for antiquity cleanliness is not only next to godliness but (real and ceremonial) an indispensable requisite of it; see 1, 3, 25 n. — **fictilibus**: used in the early days (39–40) and retained in later times by ceremonial conservatism. The *locus classicus* is Pliny, 35, 158, speaking of certain clay figures of the gods, 'aurum enim et argentum ne diis quidem conficiebant. durant etiam nunc plerisque in locis talia simulacra; fastigia quidem templorum etiam in urbe crebra et municipiis, mira caelatura et arte suique firmitate, sanctiora auro, certe innocentiora. in sacris quidem etiam inter has opes hodie non murrinis crystallinisve, sed fictilibus prolibatur simpulis,' etc. So Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 310; Juv. 6, 342, etc. The phenomenon is characteristic of all religious rites, especially of those from which the ideas and the point of view of magic are descended. Hence, *e.g.*, the ceremonial and magic significance of bronze, of a flint ax for certain sacrifices, etc.

For the law of the iambic dissyllable at the close of the pentameter, see Introd. p. 98. According to Postgate's figures (Hultgren's are incorrect), Tibullus has 27 exceptions in 1, $6\frac{3}{4}\%$, 18 in 2, $8\frac{1}{3}\%$, 1 in 4, 2–6, $1\frac{4}{5}\%$, 1 in 4, 13, $8\frac{1}{3}\%$; Sulpicia, 5%; Catullus has 199, $61\frac{7}{10}\%$; Propertius in 1, 128, $36\frac{4}{5}\%$, but in 4, only 6, $1\frac{1}{4}\%$; Ovid has practically none except an occasional example in the poems of the exile. Trisyllables are 12 in bk. 1, 9 in bk. 2, quadrisyllables are 13 in bk. 1, 9 in bk. 2, pentasyllables are 2 (1, 4, 84; 1, 2, 42). Next to the dissyllable the quadrisyllable is on the whole preferred (Catull. 95; Propert. 87 in bk. 1).

39. **fictilia**: for the anaphora see 23 n. above. For a specific type with connectives, see 1, 1, 78 and note; for anaphora with change of ictus, 1, 8, 13 and note, in combination with cyclus vera, 2, 4, 51; *uror*, 4, 5, 5; *optare*, 4, 5, 17, in combination, as here, with a species of epanastrophe; *unda*, 3, 5, 1; *laurus*, 2, 5, 117; Ovid, *Met.* 6, 376, 'quamvis sint sub aqua, sub aqua maledicere temptant,' etc. Most common in the poets is the device, as here,

of repeating the last word of the line at the beginning of the next, 2, 3, 14 b; 3, 5, 1. So Homer, *Il.* 20, 371; 22, 127; Lucret. 5, 298, 950; Verg. *E.* 10, 72; *A.* 10, 180; Theokrit. 1, 29, etc.

40. **composuitque**: *i.e.* 'fictilia de . . . fecit composuitque.' This displacement (*traiectio*) of *que* or *ve* especially, as here, to the last dactyl of the pentameter is unusually frequent in Tibullus, *e.g.* 1, 3, 38; 1, 3, 56; 1, 6, 54 and 72; 1, 4, 2; 1, 7, 62; 1, 10, 54; 2, 3, 12; 2, 3, 54; 2, 5, 22; 2, 5, 72; 2, 5, 86 and 90; 2, 6, 16 and 52, all these with verbs; with a particle, 1, 1, 51; with an adjective, 2, 3, 38; with a noun, 2, 4, 54. Tibullus was the first to use this liberty. It is also common in Ovid, but there seem to be only 2 exx. in Propertius, 2, 20, 12; 3, 21, 16. Postponed with the second verb, as here, 1, 3, 14 and 38; 1, 6, 54 and 72; 1, 7, 62; 2, 3, 54; 2, 5, 70, 72 and 90; 2, 6, 52; 4, 7, 4; Propert. 2, 20, 12. Or *que* is attached to a single verb common to both words or expressions to be joined, 1, 3, 56; 1, 4, 2; 1, 10, 54; 2, 3, 38; 2, 5, 22 and 86; 2, 6, 16; 2, 3, 12; so occasionally in the hexameters of Horace. Or with some other word common to both, *potius*, 1, 1, 51; *propior*, 2, 3, 38, cp. *iuvenum*, 1, 6, 81. Somewhat similar are 2, 4, 54; 1, 10, 52; 1, 4, 25; 2, 5, 53. See E. Schünke, *De traiectione coniunctionum et pronominis relativi apud poetas Latinos*, Diss. Kiel, 1906.

41–42. The personal reference, see Introd. p. 32, springs naturally from the similar but general contrast between past and present in the preceding distich.

42. **avo**: I see no reason why *avus* here should not be given its literal meaning, *i.e.* the family fortune was still intact in his grandfather's time (see Ullman, *l.c.* in 1, 1, 2 n.). Usually, however, *avo* is taken as a synonym of *patrum* in 41. For similar cases of singular for plural, *ore*, 1, 3, 71; 4, 1, 71; *compede*, 1, 7, 42; 2, 6, 25; *puer* and *iuvenis*, 1, 2, 95; *puella*, 1, 3, 87; *stipula*, 2, 5, 89; *miles*, 1, 7, 4; *Syrus*, 1, 7, 18; *caput*, 2, 1, 8 (note); *pussula*, 2, 3, 10. For adjectives of multitude like *multus*, *innumerus*, *densus* with a sing. noun, 1, 9, 68; 1, 3, 28; 2, 3, 42 and notes.

43. **satis est, satis est**: for chiasmus at the caesura see 2, 3, 58 and Introd. pp. 104–105.

44. The pentameter here is a rhetorical amplification of the hexameter, cp. Introd. p. 102; 1, 3, 71: 1, 6, 57; 1, 7, 13; 2, 1, 32; etc. *toro* and *lecto* (ablat. instrum., cp. 1, 1 n.) therefore are really equivalents and *solito* may be taken, though not necessarily, with both.

'No bed so comfortable as one's own.' A homely touch characteristic of the Roman poets, Catullus, 31, 7, 'o quid solutis est beatius curis, | cum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino | labore fessi venimus larem ad nostrum | desideratoque acquiescimus lecto. | hoc est quod unum est pro laboribus tantis;' Ovid

in exile complains of his bed, *Trist.* 1, 11, 38; 3, 3, 39. The soldier of 1-4 slept on the ground as a matter of course, 'terra requiescit,' but in antiquity even the peaceful traveller had to carry his own bed if he desired to sleep comfortably.

45-46. 1, 2, 73-76; Ovid, *Her.* 19, 79 (Hero to Leander), 'hic, puto, deprensus nil quod querereris haberes, | meque tibi amplexo nulla noceret hiems. | certe ego tum ventos audirem laeta sonantis | et numquam placidas esse precarer aquas'; *Frag. Com. Graec. Adesp.* 282, Kock, *ἐξὸν καθεύδειν τὴν ἐρωμένην ἔχων.* Schulze cites Goethe's imitation in his *Röm. Eleg.*, 'So erfreuen wir uns der langen Nächte, wir lauschen, | Busen an Busen gedrängt, Stürmen und Regen und Guss.' These verses of Tibullus (together with 1, 2, 73-74) were also the probable inspiration of Évariste Parny, 'Ma Retraite' (*Poésies-Érotiques*, 3) —

Je ne repose point sous un dais de rubis;
Mon lit n'est qu'un simple feuillage.
Qu' importe ? le sommeil est-il moins consolant ?
Les rêves qu'il nous donne en sont-ils moins aimables ?
Le baiser d'une amante en est-il moins brûlant,
Et les voluptés moins durables ?
Pendant la nuit, lorsque je peux
Entendre dégoutter la pluie,
Et les fils bruyans d'Orythie
Ébranler mon toît dans leurs jeux;
Alors si mes bras amoureux
Entourent ma craintive amie,
Puis-je encor former d'autres voeux ?
Qu' irais-je demander aux dieux,
À qui mon bonheur fait envie ?

For a graceful poem founded on a combination of these lines of Tibullus with the passage on Elysium (1, 3, 57-66) see Bertin, *Amours*, 1, 13, 'À Eucharis.' In Sedley's poem, *The Happy Pair*, the passage beginning, 'When clamorous storms and pitchy tempests rise, Cheek clings to cheek,' etc. is perhaps an echo of our lines.

45. **audire . . . continuisse**: see 29-32 n. The present *audire* is the steady unbroken accompaniment so to speak of the perfect *continuisse*, while the action of the perfect, as is suggested by the meaning of the word and by the situation, is interrupted and resumed at intervals. Cp. the Gk. use with 'verbs of gesture, expression, and the like, *δεδραγμένος*, grimly gripping, *κέχηνα*, I am all agape, *πεποτήαται* (*Il.* 2, 90), they are all a-flutter, etc.' (Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Class. Greek*, par. 232).

46. dominam: a recognition of 'Tyrannick Love' or, as Krafft-Ebing would term it, of 'Masochismus,' which is found the world over. *domina* is a slave's word for 'the mistress' (hence the force of 2, 3, 79; 2, 4, 1; Propert. 1, 7, 6 and often in the elegy); it is also used of goddesses (*δέσποινα, πότνια*, 'Our Lady'), then of the Empress (Julia Domna, etc.), then, as a polite form of address, of any woman, and emerges as such in *donna, dame, madame*, and other Romance derivatives. As here used it appears first in Catullus (68, 68 and 156) and then frequently in the elegy. The term was always a compliment in classical times because the original associations of it were still kept alive. That it was usual for girls to return the compliment in addressing their lovers is shown by Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 11, 'et mihi blanditias dixit dominumque vocavit, | et quae praeterea publica verba iuvant' ("Yea, and she soothed me up, and called me 'Sir,'"—Marlowe), cp. *Ars Amat.* 1, 314, 'et dixit domino cur placet ista meo?' The affectation of Greek in this sphere was especially distasteful. Martial, 10, 68, 5, *e.g.*, chides plain Roman Laelia with, '*Κύριέ μου, μέλι μου, ψυχή μου* congeris usque, | pro pudor, Hersiliae civis et Egeriae. | lectulus has voces, nec lectulus audiat omnis, | sed quem lascivo stravit amica viro.'

47–48. With this distich (really a variation on the preceding) which for more than one reader has evoked memories of childhood, cp. Soph. *frag.* 579 N., *φεῦ φεῦ, τί τούτου χάρμα μεῖζον ἂν λάβοις | τοῦ γῆς ἐπιψαύσαντα κᾆθ' ὑπὸ στέγῃ | πυκνῆς ἀκοῦσαι ψακάδος εὑδούσῃ φρενί*; where present comfort and safety are heightened by the memory of past danger and exposure. See also 1, 2, 78 n. That Tibullus, like Sophokles, was also thinking of the sea is shown by the following distich, to which this, in fact, serves as a natural transition. Johnson translates Tib. in the *Rambler*, No. 117.

47. fuderit: fut. perf. because the 'gelidae aquae' did not fall and were not heard until after Auster had poured them out. For the figure, Ovid, *Pont.* 2, 1, 25, 'tu mihi narrasti, cum multis lucibus ante | fuderit assiduas nubilus Auster aquas'; indeed on the Temple of the Winds at Athens, Notus (the Greek equivalent of Auster) is represented with an urn, as if in the act of pouring. The personification of Auster, as of all winds, is usual in antiquity. Auster is usually spoken of as rainy or violent; but all winds are cold at times, so *frigidus Auster*, Verg. *G.* 4, 261; Propert. 2, 26, 36; *praefrigidus*, Ovid, *Pont.* 4, 12, 35.

48. somnos sequi: 'pursue one's slumbers,' 'go on sleeping,' cp. Soph. quoted above, *πυκνῆς ἀκοῦσαι ψακάδος εὑδούσῃ φρενί*. For the plur. *somnos*, 4 n.

49–50. The poet again returns to his theme (see Introd. p. 93), and adds to it the perils of the deep. For this favourite motive of antique poetry, see 1,

3, 37–40 n. Here, however, as the next distich shows, Tib. was not thinking of the foolhardy trader who takes his life in his hand merely for greed of gain, but of another source of danger and fatigue to the soldier. After the conquests of Caesar and Pompey, campaigning included long journeys by sea as well as by land. Hence 53 and *vias* in 52.

49. **hoc mihi contingat**: for similar transitions, 1, 10, 43; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 2, 9, etc.

50. **tristes**: see 1, 5, 50 n.

51–58. The inspiration of Parny's 'Le Voyage Manqué,' *Poésies Érotiques*, *Liv.* 3, 'Abjurant ma douce paresse, | J'allais voyager avec toi; | Mais mon cœur reprend sa faiblesse; | Adieu, tu partiras sans moi,' etc.

51–52. Professor Mustard finds an echo of this distich in Joannes Secundus, *Eleg.* 3, 2 —

> Crede mihi, non est armorum gloria tanti
> ut fleat ulla tuas maesta puella vias.

51. **quantum est auri**: as an emphatic expression of totality, is confined in Tib. to this passage. Not found at all in Propertius, nor have I been able to discover it in any other Roman poet except Catullus, 3, 2 and 9, 10. Note, however, Terence, *Phorm.* 853, 'o omnium, quantumst qui vivont, homo hominum ornatissume,' and cp. Plaut. *Aul.* 785; *Bacch.* 1170; *Capt.* 836; *Poen.* 90; *Pseud.* 351; *Rud.* 706. Quite common, on the contrary, is the similar use with *quid*, *quidquid*, and *quodcumque*, Tibullus, 1, 6, 3; 2, 2, 15; 2, 3, 14; 2, 4, 55 and 56; 4, 4, 7. — **auri . . . smaragdi**: this contrast to the conventional division of possessions in 1, 1–2, suggested to the Romans quite as clearly as it does to us 'The wealth of Ormus and of Ind | Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand | Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,' so 2, 2, 15; 3, 3, 11; 4, 2, 19; Propert. 1, 8, 39; 1, 14, 11; 3, 4, 1; Seneca, *Thyestes*, 371; etc. In this way, of course, an Eastern campaign is suggested, and we are thus prepared for the following distich. These preliminary hints are characteristic of Tibullus. — **potiusque**: see note on *composuitque*, 1, 40. *que* really connects *auri* and *smaragdi*.

52. The thought is a commonplace of the elegy and of all erotic poetry, 1, 2, 65–78 n.; Propert. 3, 20, 1–4, 'durus qui lucro potuit mutare puellam! | tantine ut lacrimes Africa tota fuit?' Hence the parting scene here suggested is another regular theme of the elegy, 1, 3, 9 f.; Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 213 f., etc. — **vias**: refers, as shown by 49–50, to journeys by sea as well as by land. On *nostras* for *meas* see 1, 2, 11 n.

53–54. New motive, war for fame, with which Messalla is naturally and gracefully associated, rather than with war for gain.

53. **te**: as opposed to *me* in 55. Both are emphatic, cp. note on *me* in 5. — **Messalla**: see Introd. p. 34.

54. **exuvias**: trophies and memorials of this sort were regularly placed in the vestibulum, which was often very large. The custom is frequently referred to; *e.g.* Cicero, *Phil.* 2, 68; Verg. *A.* 2, 504; Propert. 3, 9, 26; Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 1, 33; Sueton. *Nero*, 38; Sil. Ital. 6, 434; Juv. 7, 125. All such things could be kept in the family only so long as it retained possession of the house in which they had been set up, Pliny, *H. N.* 3, 7.

This first complimentary reference to his friend and patron is particularly tactful, not only because M. was himself distinguished and had a long line of distinguished ancestors, but also because he is known to have been unusually proud of his pedigree, and especially interested in such matters. Pliny says, *l.c.*, 'exstat Messallae oratoris indignatio quae prohibuit inseri genti suae Laevinorum alienam imaginem,' etc.

Observe the three successive pentameters ending in *pluvias*, *vias*, *exuvias*. The homoeoteleuton, however, is not sufficiently complete here to deserve the modern name of rhyme. So far as the Roman elegiac distich of the classical period is concerned examples of what we should term 'rhyming' pentameters are very rare, cp. Catullus, 83, 3 —

> mule, nihil sentis: si nostri oblita taceret,
> sana esset: nunc quod gannit et *obloquitur*,
> non solum meminit, sed, quae multo acrior est res,
> irata est: hoc est, uritur et *loquitur*,

and the famous pentameters attributed to Vergil (Donatus, *Vita Vergilii*, 70) —

> sic vos non vobis vellera fertis *oves*.
> sic vos non vobis fertis aratra *boves*.
> sic vos non vobis mellificatis *apes*.
> sic vos non vobis nidificatis *aves*,

with each of which the introductory hexameter, 'hos ego versiculos feci: tulit alter honorem,' was to be repeated. Terminal rhymes, though always rare in the classical poets, are most frequent in the hexameter. The most striking cases are Cicero, *De Consulatu*, 50 (see *Div.* 1, 11, 2) and Modestinus (3d cent. A.D.), *Anth. Lat.* 273, 5–11, Riese. Elsewhere, this type is for the most part confined to 'couplets,' *e.g.* Lucret. 1, 265; 1, 664; 1, 734; 1, 961; 1, 1088; 2, 417; 2, 581; 2, 626; 5, 370; 5, 960; 6, 998; Verg. *E.* 4, 50; 9, 11; *G.* 2, 500; *A.* 3, 656; 4, 256; 4, 331; 5, 385; 9, 182; 10, 804; 11, 886; Ovid, *Met.* 2, 830; 7, 677; 8, 360; *Dirae*, 20; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 1, 78; *Epist.* 2, 1, 41; 2, 3, 99; Juv. 7, 195; Martial (Phalaecians), 4, 43, 7; 10, 72, 8; Seneca (senarii), *Phaed.* 469; 508; Ennius, *Trag.* 97, V. More common, though

not found in Tibullus, is the type represented by Ovid's well-known line (*Ars Amat.* 1, 59) —

quot caelum *stellas*, tot habet tua Roma *puellas*.

This type foreshadows the leonine verses of the Middle Ages, cp. also Introd. p. 104. The Roman tradition of rhyme is very ancient; it takes us back at once to charms, saws, and old said sooth; hence, when used deliberately by the classical poets it not infrequently echoes more or less faithfully the antique and popular sphere in which it had been rooted from time immemorial, cp. Varro, *De Re Rust.* 1, 2, 27 (old charm), 'terra pestem *teneto*, salus hic *maneto*'; Verg. *E.* 8, 80, 'limus ut hic *durescit* et haec ut cera *liquescit*,' etc., etc. Note, however, that rhyme was merely a rhetorical figure, and like any other rhetorical figure, to be used occasionally in either poetry or prose; not until after the loss of feeling for quantity does it become either a characteristic or a determinant of poetic art as such. See Pietro Rasi, 'Omeoteleuto Latino,' *Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia di Padova*, vol. 7 (1891); E. Wölffin, *ALL.* 1, 350–389; especially, E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, 2, 810–883, with references.

55–56. Third, last, and (rhetorically) principal reason for staying at home, 'I am in love and therefore cannot go.' The pentameter is a rhetorical amplification of the hexameter, see 44 n.

55. **formosae vincla puellae**: another recognition of the tyranny of love (cp. *dominam*, 46 n.) which is often found, 1, 9, 79; 2, 4, 1–6; 4, 5, 14; Ovid, *Her.* 20, 85, 'sed neque compedibus nec me compesce catenis: | servabor firmo vinctus amore tui'; *Rem. Amor.* 213; *Fast.* 4, 224; Verg. *A.* 8, 394; Catull. 61, 33; Hor. *Od.* 1, 33, 14; etc. 'And thy white arms shall be as bands to me | Wherein are mighty lordships forfeited.' — Chapman.

56. **sedeo**: of waiting at a door, 1, 3, 30; cp. 1, 5, 71 and 4, 4, 18. — **duras**: *i.e.* hard-hearted, unfeeling, because the door will not open and let him in. Personification of the house door is regular in this connection. — **ianitor**: under the Republic the doorkeeper (always a slave) was chained to his place, cp. Sueton. *De Rhet.* 3, 'L. Voltacilius Pilutus servisse dicitur atque etiam ostiarius vetere more in catena fuisse'; so Ovid addresses him, *Amor.* 1, 6, 1, 'Ianitor, indignum, dura religate catena, | difficilem moto cardine pande forem'; hence, the reference here in *vincla* (55) and the point of the poet's half-humorous description of his parlous state. The lover haunts the closed door of his mistress (Introd. p. 45), as a matter of course.

57. **laudari**: *i.e.* as a soldier. He is thinking of Messalla in 53–54. — **Delia**: Introd. p. 44. Note especially the arrangement and development of the thought in the four distichs, 51–58. The poet works up to the mention

of Delia by way of a graceful compliment to Messalla in such natural and unstudied fashion that we hardly realize the surpassing art upon which it all rests.

59–68. Partly owing to Ovid's use of them in his famous elegy on the poet's death (*Amor.* 3, 9, see p. 175) these were among the best-known lines of Tibullus in later times. The poet looks forward to his own death and pictures the scene. A typical motive of the elegy, cp. 1, 3, 4–8; 53–56; 3, 2, 10–30; Propert. 1, 17, 11; 2, 13, 17; 3, 16, 23, etc. Equally typical is the undesirable death as we find it, for example, in the address to the lena, cp. 1, 5, 49 f. n.

These lines were imitated by Baptista Mantuanus, *Eclog.* 3, 103–108 and were the inspiration of Voltaire's verses to Madame du Deffant (written at the age of 80). See also Parny, 'Ma Mort,' *Poésies Érotiques*, *Liv.* 3.

59–60. The pathos is, as it should be, elegiac, not that which we feel, *e.g.* in the words of the heart-broken Andromache, *Il.* 24, 743, *οὐ γάρ μοι θνῄσκων λεχέων ἐκ χεῖρας ὄρεξας, | οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὗ τέ κεν αἰεὶ | μεμνῄμην νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα δάκρυ χέουσα.* Cp. *Il.* 22, 426; Verg. *A.* 9, 483; Stat. *Silv.* 5, 1, 140.

59. Ovid, *Met.* 7, 859, 'dumque aliquid spectare potest me spectat, et in me | infelicem animam nostroque exhalat in ore;' Stat. *Silv.* 2, 1, 148 (with Vollmer's note).

60. Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9, 58; so Theano, who died in her husband's absence (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 735), says to him, *ὡς ὄφελόν γε | χειρὶ φίλην τὴν σὴν χεῖρα λαβοῦσα θανεῖν.* The characteristic comment of Voltaire, *l.c.* is—

Je veux dans mes derniers adieux,
Disait Tibulle à son amante,
Attacher mes yeux sur tes yeux,
Te presser de ma main mourante.

Mais quand on sent qu'on va passer;
Quand l'ame fuit avec la vie,
A-t-on des yeux pour voir Délie
Et des mains pour la caresser?

Dans ces momens chacun oublie
Tout ce qu'il a fait en santé:
Quel mortel s'est jamais flatté
D'un rendez-vous à l'agonie?

Délie elle-même à son tour
S'en va dans la nuit éternelle,
En oubliant qu'elle fut belle,
Et qu'elle a vécu pour l'amour.

61–62. In the poet's lively fancy the wish of the preceding distich is now a certainty, hence he shifts to the indicative with *flebis*, etc. For other exx. see 1, 1, 24 n.

61. flebis . . . me : for the accus. with verbs of emotion, 1, 3, 14 n. — **positum . . . lecto**: *lecto* is used for *feretro*, as often in poetry and later prose. Elsewhere in Tib. *ponere* and verbs of placing follow the usual rule of *in* with the ablat.; for *deponere in sinum*, 4, 7, 4, see the note. The omission of prepositions with the ablat. of the place where is generally phraseological (*e.g. terra marique* as above) or characteristic of poetry. That here it is sometimes a matter of convenience is suggested, *e.g.*, by *nostra domo*, 2, 3, 34, but *in tota domo*, 1, 5, 30; *templis tuis*, 1, 3, 28; *in exigua aede*, 1, 10, 20; *in Iovis arce*, 2, 5, 26; *secretis silvis*, 4, 13, 9; *olentibus arvis*, 4, 2, 17; *Arretino agro*, 4, 8, 4, but *desertus in agris*, 1, 1, 11; *mensae in orbe ducere*, 1, 6, 20, but *aestivo orbe convocare*, 1, 2, 50 (though here time as well as place might be considered); *quibus in terris occulere*, 1, 7, 24, but *abdere tristibus agris*, 2, 3, 66, where, however, the force of the old instrumental was felt for the moment, so *pleno pinguia musta lacu*, 1, 1, 10, but *plenis in lintribus uvas*, 1, 5, 23; *in nocte profunda*, 1, 3, 67; *in tenebris*, 1, 10, 50; *pendere in arbore*, 2, 5, 29.

63–64. The combination of steel and flint in this figurative use is proverbial in both Greek and Latin, cp. 1, 10, 59. Mustard cites Sannazaro, *Eleg.* 1, 9, 7–8 —

> non mihi circumstat solidum praecordia ferrum,
> nec riget in nostro pectore dura silex.

63. flebis : on the anaphora, 23 n.

64. stat : perhaps suggests the idea of permanence, of resistance to outside pressure, already seen in 'duro praecordia ferro vincta,' cp. 2, 4, 8–10. The kinship of *stare* and *esse* is shown, for instance, by the fact that when the new system of perfects developed in the Romance languages the missing participle of *esse* was supplied by *stare*. Note too that in Spanish *estar* (*stare*) is used with the gerundive to make the progressive forms of the active verb, as *estoy hablando*, 'I am speaking.' So also in Italian, *e.g.* '*sto parlando*.' But in cases like the one before us, where *esse* might have been used, the best general statement of the difference between the two seems to be that *esse* is colourless, *stare* gives the picture. Cp. 1, 6, 49; 2, 4, 9; Verg. *E.* 7, 53, 'stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae'; *A.* 3, 210, 'Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae'; *A.* 2, 333; *G.* 4, 209; Hor. *Od.* 1, 9, 1; Lucret. 5, 199, 'tanta stat praedita culpa (natura)'; 1, 564; 1, 747; our 'he is acquitted,' or 'he stands acquitted,' etc.

65–66. Note the artistic arrangement of the sentence. Professor Mustard

notes an evident echo of these lines in the *Cortegiano* of Baldessar Castiglione, bk. 3, 'tra quali non fu alcuno, che a casa riportasse gli occhi senza lacrime.'

Underlying these verses is the popular idea that tears are a comfort to the dead, therefore a tribute, an offering, to which they are entitled, cp. Ovid, *Her.* 11, 115, 'non mihi te licuit lacrimis perfundere iustis,' the ancient custom of hired mourners at funerals, etc., etc. Doubtless this belief was the original motive of our old saying, 'Blessed are the dead the rain rains on.' See Rohde, *Psyche*, 1, p. 223, n. 2; Leir, *Philologus*, 63, p. 55. Exx. are collected by Pirrone, *Epicedio di Cornelia*, 1904 (cp. Schulze, *Wochenschr. f. Klass. Philologie*, 21, p. 1396).

67–68. But while the dead desire and expect all proper and appropriate attention (cp. the dream of Achilles, *Il.* 23, 65; Propert. 4, 7, etc.), they are pained by immoderate grief, Propert. 4, 11, 1; Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 505; Stat. *Silv.* 2, 6, 96; 5, 1, 179; Plato, *Menex.* 248 B, etc. 'Moderate lamentation is the right of the dead,' says Shakespeare, 'excessive grief the enemy to the living.'

67. ne: with the imperative *ne* was old-fashioned and popular. It occurs but once in Livy (3, 2, 9) and never in Caesar, Cicero, and Sallust. It was revived by the Augustan poets and their imitators, esp. Seneca in his tragedies, the intention being (as was recognized by Servius on Verg. *A.* 6, 544) to give a touch of the antique and solemn, cp. 1, 2, 15; 1, 9, 17; the continuation is *neve* or *neu*, 1, 2, 35; 1, 8, 49; 4, 4, 11, but *nec* or *neque* sometimes is found, 1, 1, 37; 1, 4, 21. *non* however with the imperative is cited only for Ovid, and there it has been explained (Schmalz, p. 333) as a negative of the entire sentence rather than of the verb alone. — **solutis crinibus**: the regular custom at funerals, 1, 3, 8, and often. In his famous story of the 'Widow of Ephesus' Petronius (111) says that she was 'non contenta vulgari more funus passis prosequi crinibus aut nudatum, pectus in conspectu frequentiae plangere,' etc. See 1, 3, 31 n.

In *parce*, etc., Tib. alludes to the custom of scratching the face and of cutting off the hair or else of pulling it out, in proportion to the violence of one's grief at the time. This sacrifice of beauty was an offering to the dead, Petron., *l.c.*, 'at illa ignota consolatione percussa laceravit pectus ruptosque crines super corpus iacentis imposuit.' Sappho, *Anth. Pal.* 7, 489 —

Τιμάδος ἅδε κόνις, τὰν δὴ πρὸ γάμοιο θανοῦσαν
δέξατο Φερσεφόνας κυάνεος θάλαμος,
ἆς καὶ ἀποφθιμένας πᾶσαι νεοθᾶγι σιδάρῳ
ἅλικες ἱμερτὰν κρατὸς ἔθεντο κόμαν.

εἴδετε παρ' ἄκρας ὡς ἀπέθρισεν τρίχας, | σῴζουσα κάλλος; ἔστι δ' ἡ πάλαι γυνή says Elektra (Eurip. *Orest.* 128) when her keen eyes observe that Aunt Helen

has offered her hair in this way at the tomb of Agamemnon. Helen, however, was then old enough, perhaps, to have her reasons for being conservative.

Tibullus would have Delia spare her beauty, cp. 1, 5, 43. The touch of tenderness is characteristic of him — and of the elegy.

69–74. 'Gather ye rosebuds while ye may!' The dominant note in the music of Mimnermos which lingers in the elegy and finds a responsive echo in the heart of age — and of the ages, cp. 1, 4, 27 f. and notes; Propert. 2, 15, 23; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 669: Catullus, 5; Varro, *Sat. Men.* 87 B; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 11; etc.

69–70. Cp. Carducci, 'A Neera' (*Juvenilia*, 31) —

> E noi, Neera, il canto
> De' morti udrem; noi sederem tra' fiori
> De l'asfodelo. Intanto
> Mesciamo i dolci e fuggitivi amori.

69. **iungamus amores**: 4, 13, 2; Catull. 64, 372; Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 536; etc., *i.e.* the plural *amores* here is reciprocal, 'let us love each other,' cp. 'our loves,' a favourite phrase of the Elizabethan poets, and the Ovidian *iungere oscula*. For the plural of *amores* in another sense, 1, 3, 81 and note.

70. **tenebris Mors adoperta caput**: Ovid, *Met.* 2, 790, describes *Invidia* as 'adoperta . . . nubibus atris'; Verg. *A.* 6, 866, 'sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra' (cp. *Odyss.* 20, 351), but I find no complete parallel for this curiously impressive phrase. 'Death that shroudeth his head in darkness' is suggestive of some work of art or possibly, even, of the stage tradition of Thanatos (as *e.g.* in the *Alkestis*). Perhaps the poet was thinking of the Homeric Ἄιδος κυνέη, the famous 'Cap of Darkness' which Hesiod, *Scut.* 227, describes as, νυκτὸς ζόφον αἰνὸν ἔχουσα. Cyllenius (Venice, 1487) explains as 'a nullo conspecta et a nemine intellecta.' Death is unseen and always a surprise, cp. *Frag. Trag. Graec. Adesp.* 127, ἄφνω δ' ἄφαντος προσέβα | μακρὰς ἀφαιρούμενος ἐλπίδας | θνατῶν πολύμοχθος Ἅιδας. Like the ghost of Banquo in *Macbeth*, Death is invisible for all except the one to whom he comes, cp. *e.g.* the *Alkestis*, 259 ff. Nor have I found any echo of this Tibullian phrase in the modern languages. The Humanists, however, were impressed by it. Mustard cites, *e.g.*, Pontanus, *Amores*, bk. 2 ('magica ad depellendum amorem') —

> tuque nigram tenebris Nox adoperta comam.

Joannes Secundus usually echoes Catullus. No less, however, than three times he comes back to this line, cp. his *Funera*, 1, 10 —

> Nox tenebris incincta caput nigrantibus adsit.

Eleg. 1, 5 —

tali vernantem satiemus amore iuventam;
Mors venit aeterna cincta caput nebula.

Eleg. Solenn. 1 —

canaque subrepet taciturnis passibus aetas
Morsque tenebrosa nube revincta caput.

For a modern picture of Death which is suggestive of the Tibullian conception, cp. the *Fliegende Blätter*, No. 3201, p. 254.—**caput**: the accusative of respect is frequent in Tibullus, cp. 1, 2, 3; 1, 3, 31; 1, 3, 69; 1, 3, 91; 1, 6, 18; 1, 6, 49; 1, 7, 6; 1, 8, 5; 1, 10, 28; 1, 10, 55: 2, 1, 16; 2, 5, 5; indefinite, 1, 4, 40; 1, 6, 7, 16 and 71; 1, 9, 69; 2, 4, 51.

71. **subrepet**: the 'stealing steps' of age are proverbial; Juv. 9, 128, 'dum bibimus, dum serta unguenta puellas | poscimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus'; Seneca, *Dial.* 10, 9, 4, 'subito in illam inciderunt: accidere eam cotidie non sentiebant.'—**nec amare decebit**: 'turpe senilis amor,' 'no fool like an old fool' (1, 2, 89 f. and notes), is a well-worn theme in all departments of literature. Maximianus, 1, 180 says of the old, 'o miseri, quorum gaudia crimen habent.'

72. Cp. 1, 2, 91, where the aged lover, one of the *seri studiorum* in this art, rehearses his *blanditiae* beforehand. Greek was fashionable in this connection, Lucret. 4, 1160–9; Martial, 10, 68; Juv. 6, 194. As an adjunct of love-making (1, 4, 71; 9, 77; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 11, etc.) the importance of *blanditiae* was naturally emphasized by the observant and humorous Ovid, *e.g.* as a (traditional) method of flirtation at the dinner-table, *Ars Amat.* 1, 571, 'blanditiasque leves tenui perscribere vino | ut dominam in mensa se legat illa tuam' (1, 6, 19 n.).—**cano capite**: for the ablat. see *hoste* in 3 and note; Plaut. *Merc.* 305, 'tun capite cano amas, senex nequissume?'

73. **levis**: a favourite word in the amatory poets and used in a variety of meanings. Here the insouciant gaiety of love (*Venus* often = love, cp. 4, 13, 2, etc.) is connoted, hence 'blithesome,' cp. 1, 7, 44; Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 100, 'si levis absit amor.'—**frangere postes**: *i.e.* by the exclusus amator or else in mere wantonness, Introd. p. 45. A commonplace of antique literature, 1, 10, 53–54 n.; Ter. *Adel.* 102; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 567; *Amor.* 1, 9, 20; Hor. *Od.* 3, 26, 6; Aristoph. *Ekkles.* 977; Theokrit. 2, 127; Herondas, 2, 65; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 252, etc., etc.

74. **rixas**: not the 'rixae rivalium ante fores' of Propert. 1, 16, 5; 2, 19, 5, nor the strenuous attentions of Propert. 2, 15, 5, etc. but lovers' quarrels, 'rixae amantium,' the literary (and practical) value of which has always been appreciated, Ter. *And.* 555, 'amantium irae amoris integratiost'; Ovid, *Amor.*

1, 8, 95, 'non bene, si tollas proelia, durat amor,' etc. On the lovers' quarrel as a theme of the elegy see 1, 6, 73–74 and 2, 5, 101–4 with notes. — **inseruisse**: 'intersperse.' So Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 7; Livy, 35, 17, 2; Tac. *Hist.* 1, 23, etc.

75. **hic**: 'here,' *i.e.* on the field of love, 35 n. — **dux milesque bonus**: a military phrase often repeated in various forms, indicating the highest efficiency in a soldier, cp. the Homeric ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής and *e.g.* in epitaphs, as *Carm. Epig.* 1525, 2, B., 'miles bonus, o dea, duxque hic idem fuit,' perhaps a reminiscence of this line. — **bonus**: agrees with the nearest of its two nouns, so 1, 1, 24; 1, 5, 36 (see n.); plural in 1, 4, 37. Cp. 1, 3, 2 n.

77–78. Cp. Petrarch's allusion (*Eclog.* 9, 206) to Tibullus as —

paupertas quem tuta iuvet, quem Delius ardor.

The line might have been suggested either by this distich or possibly by 5–6 above. Unfortunately, however, both distichs are contained in the *Florilegia* (Introd. p. 89). It is therefore still uncertain whether Petrarch ever saw a complete MS. of our poet (Introd. p. 63).

77. **acervo**: for this meaning of the word, Hor. *Od.* 2, 2, 24; *Epist.* 1, 6, 35; Juv. 8, 100, etc.

78. Perhaps Horace, *Epist.* 1, 4, 11, had this line in his mind. See Introd. p. 32. Pohlenz, p. 100 (*l.c.* in Introd. to 1, 1, above), cites Theognis, 559; Kallimach. vol. 2, p. 182, Schn.

The type of anaphora — so also 1, 4, 82; 1, 7, 64; 2, 5, 100 and 105; 2, 6, 9; Ovid, *Her.* 4, 112, etc. — echoes what appears to have been a favourite rhetorical device of the Alexandrian poets. So Theokrit. 1, 132 (with Fritzsche's note); 7, 35; 9, 17; 15, 5, etc.

I, 2

THIS elegy, with which the contributions of Propertius (1, 16) and Ovid (*Amores*, 1, 6) to the same type should be compared, is an artistic variation upon the old conventional motive of the παρακλαυσίθυρον; see 7–14, below and note. For the setting, see Introd. p. 45.

Imitated by Loyson and Parny.

'Fetch me more wine. I would sleep and forget my woes. My love is closely watched and the heartless door is locked and barred. Thou churlish door, may curses light upon thee! Nay, I spoke in my haste, I prithee forgive me. Thou shouldst remember the many wreaths I have hung upon thee in other days. You too, Delia, evade your guards and fear not. Venus favours the fearless. She shows young men and maids the path to happiness and

speeds them on the way. But not the faint-hearted, not such as fear to rise by night. I wander whither I will in the dead of night, yet Venus protects me from harm. Lovers are sacrosanct, they should never be dismayed. But Venus also will have it that her stolen sweets remain concealed. He that stumbles on a lover had best see no one, hear no one, remember nothing. The blabber will find to his cost that Venus sprang from blood and the furious sea. But your husband will not believe the man. I am assured of it by a witch to whom all the feats of magic are but as child's play. She has given me a charm by which you could escape. Chant it thrice, spit thrice, and no one can make him suspect us at all, nay, he would not believe his own eyes even if he saw us together. Note however that the charm will not work for any one but me.

'What am I to believe? The woman said she could charm me out of love. I did not ask that; I asked that your love might equal mine. To be happy without you, such a wish I could never entertain. Surely that fellow was an unfeeling fool who when he might have you preferred war and plunder. Well, he is welcome to fame and fortune. For me a humble shepherd's life, a sylvan couch, and you, would be wealth untold. What is life without happy love? He has no one but himself to blame. But pray what have I done to be so miserable? Have I sinned against the gods in word or deed? If so, I will shrink from no penance however severe.

'But as for you (suddenly turning on one of his unfeeling auditors) who make a mock of my misfortunes, look to yourself anon! 'Tis a long lane that has no turning. I once knew a man that had always made merry over the misfortunes of lovers. In his age he became the abject thrall of a young jade's caprice and furnished a pitiable illustration of "Pride goeth before a fall."

'But do thou spare me, Venus; I have ever been thy devoted servant. Why destroy that which is thine?'

1–25. The inspiration of Bertin, *Amours*, 1, 6.

1–6. The poet adopts the time-honoured custom (3, 6, 2; Propert. 3, 17, 1; Hor. *Epod.* 11; Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 805; *Her.* 16, 231; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 49; Alkiphron, 1, 35; etc.) not always successful (cp. 1, 5, 37) of drowning his troubles in drink so that he may fall asleep and forget them. The sooner the better, hence he calls for *merum;* otherwise he would have been content with the usual proportion of water (the rules are given by Alkaios, 44 Crus. — an illustrious drinker — see, too, Athen. 10, 430); cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 4, 51, 'vir bibat usque roga; precibus tamen oscula desint, | dumque bibit furtim si potes adde merum.'

1. **adde**: the regular word used in asking the boy to fill one's glass, Mart. 14, 170, 2, 'decies adde Falerna, puer'; 9, 93, 1; 10, 98, 1; etc.

2. **lumina**: *i.e. oculos.* Tibullus is fond of this use, cp. 1, 1, 66; 1, 2, 33; 1, 8, 68.

3–4. The adaptation of what seems to have been a proverbial saying, cp. Theognis, 469–470, μηδ' εὕδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδη, ὅντιν' ἂν ἡμέων | θωρηχθέντ' οἴνῳ μαλθακὸς ὕπνος ἕλῃ.

3. **percussum**: the strength of the metaphor reflects the intentions of 1–2. Cp. too in the same connection *percussit*, Plaut. *Cas.* 640; *quassa*, Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 146; *ictus*, Hor. *Sat.* 2, 1, 24; *saucius;* and in Greek such words as τιτρώσκω (Homer, *Odyss.* 21, 293; Eurip. *Kykl.* 422), οἰνοπλήξ (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 323, 5), συγκεραυνωθεὶς (Archil. 74 Crus.). The more usual metaphor, cp. 1, 7, 50, is some verb of pouring and hence an early emendation *perfusum* is adopted here by some modern editors.

4. Cp. Ibykos, *frag.* 1, 6 Crus., ἐμοὶ δ' ἔρος | οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος ὥραν, etc.

5–6. The exclusus amator ('at lacrimans exclusus amator limina saepe | floribus et sertis operit postisque superbos | unguit amaracino et foribus miser oscula figit'—Lucret. 4, 1177) is a conventional figure of comedy, elegy, and epigram, and these two lines contain the usual burden of his song. References are too numerous to deserve specific quotation. Ovid does not recommend the despairing attitude of Tibullus, cp. *Ars Amat.* 2, 243, 'si tibi per tutum planumque negabitur ire, | atque erit opposita ianua fulta sera, | at tu per praeceps tecto delabere aperto, | det quoque furtivas alta fenestra vias.'

7–14. Tibullus's version of the παρακλαυσίθυρον, cp. above. The earliest and most beautiful example of the lover's woeful ballad at the closed door of his mistress, obdurate or otherwise, is Aristoph. *Ekkles.* 952 f. Others still surviving are Plaut. *Curc.* 147 (cp. *Merc.* 408; *Persa*, 569); Theokrit. 3; 23; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 23; 145; 164; 189; 191; 281; Hor. *Od.* 1, 25; 3, 10. References to the practice are frequent but the name itself is found only in Plutarch, *Amat.* 8.

Alternating abuse and flattery of the door, as here, is of course to be expected in this situation and is rarely missing.

7. **difficilis domini**: perhaps this is the *coniunx* of 1, 6, 15, but see Introd. p. 47. On the trials of these elegiac 'husbands' see 1, 6; Ovid. *Ars Amat.* 3, 611 f.

8. **imperio**: for the meaning and construction, cp. Verg. *A.* 5, 726, 'imperio Iovis huc venio,' with 747, 'et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis edocet.'

9. **pateas**: the pres. subj. 2d sing. (as an imperative), when used as here of a definite person, is largely poetic. So 1, 3, 4; 1, 6, 75; 1, 7, 53; 1, 8, 29 and 67; 2, 6, 28 (see n.).

10. **cardine**: the antique *cardo*, στροφεύς, unlike our hinges, usually turned

in sockets set into the threshold and lintel respectively. As it was generally of hard wood (Pliny, 16, 210), the ability to pass through the door without the accompaniment of a vociferous squeak (Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 6, 49) was something of an accomplishment, cp. 1, 6, 12; 1, 8, 60. Water was a common remedy in antiquity, Aristoph. *Thesm.* 487; Plaut. *Curc.* 160; in the time of Elizabeth, Tourneur speaks of 'here a dame, | Cunning, nails leather hinges to a door | To avoid proclamation.'

11. **dementia nostra**: this type of metonymy (abstract for concrete) is not especially common in Tibullus, and is confined to such words as *cura*, 1, 9, 34; *custodia*, 1, 8, 55; 2, 4, 33; *fabula*, 2, 3, 31; *fetus*, 2, 5, 91; *forma*, 1, 9, 17; *progenies*, 1, 10, 52; *pubes*, 1, 7, 27; 1, 7, 5; 1, 1, 23; 2, 5, 95; *sanguis*, 1, 6, 66; *senecta*, 1, 8, 42; *turba*, 1, 10, 38; 2, 1, 16 and 85; 2, 2, 22; 2, 3, 22; 2, 5, 119. Bolder and more frequent in Propertius. — **nostra**: *i.e. mea.* The first plural instead of the first singular, the 'plural of modesty,' of worthiness, reserve, shyness, as the case may be, appeared first in Cicero. It was rooted in the language, but the extensive use of it in literature is due to rhetoric. It is therefore very common in the elegy, where rhetoric plays such an important part. Undoubtedly metrical convenience is also a factor to be considered. The plural may lie in the pronoun as here or in the verb. The use of the plural pronoun instead of the singular, *i.e.* of *nos* and *noster* instead of *ego* and *meus*, is extremely common in the elegy. Even in Tibullus, with whom this is less frequent than with the more rhetorical Ovid and Propertius, we have exx. in 1, 1, 15; 52; 1, 2, 5; 1, 3, 14; 1, 4, 78; 1, 6, 53; 1, 9, 43; 75; 1, 10, 14; 25; 2, 1, 35; 2, 3, 34; 2, 4, 52; 4, 3, 24; 4, 5, 6; 4, 5, 17; 4, 7, 4; 4, 10, 5; 4, 11, 6; 4, 14, 1 and 3. In some of these exx. there is a distinction, *e.g.* 1, 1, 15 (the family); 1, 1, 52; 1, 3, 14 (the army); 2, 1, 35 (the company); 2, 3, 34 (the family); 4, 10, 5 (you and me), but the fact that elsewhere in Tibullus and often in Ovid and Propertius no distinction can be set up, suggests that even here we must avoid seeing too much. Sometimes the sing. and plural pronoun are used side by side with no appreciable difference in meaning; so here, in 2, 4, 51; 4, 5, 6; 4, 7, 4; 4, 11, 6; and 4, 14, 1, and often in Ovid and Propertius.

The verb as an indicator of the plural of modesty, so far as the elegy is concerned, is far less common; in Tib. only 1, 3, 53; 1, 5, 67; 2, 4, 5 and without the distinctive shade of meaning more often felt by Ovid and Propertius than in the case of pronouns. Indeed the use of sing. and plur. verb side by side without any distinction of meaning, as in 2, 4, 5, must be very rare. I have noted only Ovid, *Her.* 17, 141. Note that shift from plural to singular in the same sentence is not uncommon in prose of the Silver Age.

12. **capiti . . . meo**: *ἐς κεφαλὴν σοί*, Aristoph. *Pax*, 1063; *εἰς κεφαλὴν σοί*

ἐρρέ, old amulet; 'be it upon thine own head!' 'omnis in vile hoc caput | abeat procella,' Seneca, *Thyest.* 996, and often. The origin of this imprecation, common in all languages, seems to come from the idea of something falling or cast down from above.

14. **serta**: when the lover is refused admittance, he takes the garlands from his head and leaves them at the door where they may be seen the next morning; references are numerous, *e.g.* Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 6, 67; *Ars Amat.* 2, 528; 3, 72; *Rem. Amor.* 32; *Met.* 14, 708; Catull. 63, 66; Propert. 1, 16, 7; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 92; 145; 191; 281; Ephippos, *frag.* 3, Kock; Antiphanes, 2, 199, Kock, etc. The use of perfumes, cp. Lucret. 4, 1177, is an Eastern custom (P. Haupt, *The Song of Songs*, Chicago, 1902, p. 37, n. 18).

16. **fortes . . . Venus**: an elegiac variation of the old alliterative proverb, 'fortes fortuna adiuvat,' 'Fortune favours the brave' (Terence, *Phorm.* 203, and often elsewhere). So Ovid, *Her.* 19, 159, 'quod timeas non est: auso Venus ipsa favebit'; *Ars Amat.* 1, 608, 'audentem Forsque Venusque iuvat.' Mustard cites Lugo y Dávila, *Teatro Popular*, *Novela* 7 (Madrid, 1622), 'no gusta de cobardes Venus; antes ayuda los valerosos, como sintió Tibulo "Venus los fuertes ayuda."' See also Mario Equicola, *Di Natura d'Amore*, Venice, 1626, p. 300 b., 'Aiuta la fortuna gli audaci, e Venere discaccia, e ha in odio i timidi.'

17. **nova**: *i.e.* 'strange,' 'unfamiliar' (hence *temptat*), and therefore involving greater risk.

18. We see by the houses in Pompeii that the street doors still generally opened outward as late as the first century. The bar (*sera*, 6) by which the door was fastened at night could not be removed nor the door opened even by people inside without a key (*fixo dente*). This key was often kept by the *ianitor* (Apuleius, *Met.* 9, 20, etc.) Hence *falso* for *fixo* in one late MS. of Tibullus perhaps reflects the *adultera clavis* for instance of Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 643; *i.e.* the girl unbolts the door with a duplicate key of her own.

19–20. For these accomplishments cp. 2, 1, 75–78; 1, 8, 57; 1, 9, 43; 4, 6, 11; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 6, 7; 3, 1, 49–52; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 294, etc. Maximianus, 3, 27, says, 'atque superciliis luminibusque loqui, | fallere sollicitos, suspensos ponere gressus | et muta nullo currere nocte sono,' the only passage that might be called an echo of Tibullus. The thought, however, is an elegiac commonplace, and the matter is rendered still more uncertain by the fact that the same sort of thing is found in Ovid, with whom Maximianus was evidently very familiar. Hence, though Maximianus had doubtless read Tibullus, no certain evidence for it can be derived from his works. See Introd. p. 61–2.

21–22. These two details of an intrigue, cp. 1, 6, 19; 1, 8, 1, are often

mentioned together as here; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 137; *Amor.* 1, 4, 17–20; 3, 11, 23; Propert., 3, 8, 25; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 262, 1. So Naevius (75, R.) says of a flirt, 'quase in choro ludens datatim dat se et communem facit. | alii adnutat, alii adnictat, alium amat, alium tenet. | alibi manus est occupata, alii percellit pedem, | anulum dat alii spectandum, a labris alium invocat, | cum alio cantat, at tamen alii suo dat digito litteras'; as the old play says, 'A lady that will wring one by the finger, | Whilst on another's toes she treads, and cries | "By gad, I love but one and you are he."'

22. That is, conversing by a code of signals prearranged or easily understood, cp. the exx. just noted; Ovid, *Her.* 17, 75 f.; *Ars Amat.* 1, 569 f. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 4, 23, suggests a few details for use at a dinner, 'siquid erit de me tacita quod mente queraris, | pendeat extrema mollis ab aure manus; | cum tibi quae faciam, mea lux, dicamve placebunt, | versetur digitis anulus usque tuis! | tange manu mensam tangunt quo more precantes, | optabis merito cum mala multa viro.'

25. tenebris: 'in the dark,' an old and popular word for night which appears in all styles, *e.g.* Petron. 37 where the freedman gives the old proverb as 'mero meridie si dixerit illi tenebras esse, credet'; Titinius, 100 R., 'noctem facere possit de die,' etc. For this ablat. of time without an attribute cp. 1, 6, 59; 2, 1, 76. The remaining exx. in Tibullus are *pace*, 1, 10, 49; *bisque die*, 1, 3, 31 (where we should expect *in*, see n.). With an attribute, 24, etc. Note that in 1, 3, 67, *in nocte profunda* (where see note), and in 1, 10, 50, *in tenebris*, the preposition (which appears only here with these words) indicates that these two exx. were felt to be ablatives of place, 1, 1, 61 n., instead of time. The same seems to be the case in the old proverb describing an honest man as one, 'quicum in tenebris mices' (Cic. *Off.* 3, 77; *Fin.* 2, 52; Petron. 44; etc.) where *in* is never omitted. This distinction however, barring such exceptions as *in iuventute*, *in hoc tempore*, and their like, holds good only for the classical period. The general idea of the missing pentameter is doubtless very well represented by any one of various lines composed by the early Humanists, *e.g.* Aurispa, 'securum in tenebris me facit esse Venus'; Seneca, 'praesidio noctis sentio adesse deam'; Pontanus, 'ille deus certe dat mihi signa viae,' or, 'usque meum custos ad latus haeret amor.'

25a–26. For these nocturnal perils to the lover, Propertius, 3, 16, 5–20 (a passage having much in common with this); Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 6, 9; *Eleg. in Maec.* 1, 29, 'nocte sub obscura quis te spoliavit amantem? | quis tetigit ferro, durior ipse latus?' Hor. *Sat.* 1, 2, 42; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 25; 213, 3; Plaut. *Amphit.* 154.

For the dangers of the Roman streets after nightfall, Sueton. *Nero*, 26; Tacitus, *Ann.* 13, 25; esp. Juv. 3, 302.

25a. sinit occurrat: with the imperative of *sino* the complementary final subjunctive without *ut* is common; with the finite forms of *sino*, as here and in 1, 4, 25, it is rare and generally poetic, *e.g.* Ovid, *Met.* 3, 377; no exx. in Propertius. After verbs of willing or demanding the subjunctive regularly takes *ut*. In Tibullus however, this use of *ut* is found only after *imperare*, 2, 3, 34 (*ne*, 4, 2, 4 and 4, 10, 6; *qui*, 4, 6, 15). But if, as here, the idea of wishing is emphatic, the simple subjunctive is used; so after *orare*, 1, 2, 64; *velle*, 1, 9, 49; *persuadere*, 1, 9, 70 (very rare, see n.); *rogare*, 1, 9, 84; 4, 5, 8; *malle*, 2, 3, 32; *vetare*, 2, 6, 36; *precari*, 1, 2, 12; 1, 9, 40; 1, 3, 5, 83 and 93; 1, 6, 56, like *docere*, 1, 6, 67, may be explained as parenthetical. If the verb of willing and wishing is used as a verb of saying and thinking, as is often the case, the infinitive must of course be used. On the one example of a simple subjunctive (complementary consecutive) after *facio*, see 1, 3, 54, n. — **corpora**: the plural is generic.

26. This type of footpad (Gk. λωποδύτης) is often mentioned; cp. the references under 25a–26 above, and Alexis, *frag.* 107, K.; Soph. *frag. Eleg.* 3 Crus. The old Latin name for him was *praemiator*; Naevius, 17, R., 'nam in scaena vos nocturnos coepit praemiatores tollere.' He snatched the garments and afterwards sold them for whatever price (*praemium*) he could get — generally near nightfall and naturally to a class by whom no inconvenient questions were likely to be asked. For such a scene see esp. Petron. 14. The weekly market at Rome in the Campo dei Fiori used to be somewhat of this character.

27–28. Mustard cites Pontanus, *Amores*, bk. 2 (speaking of *Amor*) —

> ille per oppositas secreto limite turmas
> ducit, et hostiles praeterit insidias.
> ille iter in tenebris explorat et obvia monstrat,
> hoc duce per Syrtes fit via tuta mihi.

On the legal and religious associations of *sacer*, see the lexicons. The lover is a devotee of Venus; he is therefore not only safe but sacrosanct; cp. 1, 6, 51–54; 4, 4, 14–15; Propert. 3, 16, 11–14; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 6, 9–14; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 25; 5, 213, etc. A slight extension of the primitive and persistent idea also frequently met in the amatory poets and elsewhere, that poets, prophets, lunatics, or any persons subject to the ecstatic state are possessed by some god and therefore beings set apart, 2, 5, 113–114 n.

27. Note that the caesura is trochaic and that, unlike 35 for example, it is not accompanied by 'conflict' in the first hemistich. Owing to the familiar and invariable laws of Latin accent already established in Cicero's time the law of 'conflict,' *i.e.* the avoidance of coincidence between metrical ictus and regular word accent in the first four feet of the hexameter (usual in three or

two feet, demanded in at least one) is of great importance in the development of this verse by the Roman poets. The observance of this law—the effect and, therefore, the real artistic reason for which was to preserve, if Zielinski is correct, the regular pronunciation of the period when artistic poetry and prose were first developed—is seen especially in the doctrine of the caesura, above all of the secondary (masculine) caesuras, the real object of which must have been to produce that 'conflict' by which they are always accompanied.

The favourite caesura, therefore, is the semiquinaria (*i.e.* $\frac{5}{2}$, also known as the penthemimeral and 'masculine' caesura), thus—

Divitias | alius || fulvo | sibi congerat auro.

Of the more than 200,000 Roman hexameters still surviving over 80% have this caesura. The reasons for it are: 1, it is distinct; 2, it allows either a dactyl or a spondee in the third foot; 3, it always produces conflict at that point; 4, with it, conflict in the second and especially in the fourth foot is most easily obtained (*i.e.* by making the end of any word but a monosyllable coincide with the thesis (ictus) in each case, as in the example quoted). Usually, therefore, the semiquinaria is accompanied by one or both of these secondary caesuras (semiternaria, $\frac{3}{2}$, and semiseptenaria, $\frac{7}{2}$). Nearly 80% of Tibullus's hexameters have the semiquinaria; but large as it is, this proportion is smaller than that of Propertius, and still smaller than that of Ovid, whose fondness for this caesura is very marked. In the majority of cases the semiquinaria is accompanied by both secondary caesuras. Of the two secondary caesuras the semiternaria is the more easily dispensed with, *i.e.* (and this, too, is a general rule) agreement of ictus and regular word accent is more tolerable in the first than in the second hemistich. Agreement in the second hemistich is generally relieved by bucolic diaeresis, thus (1, 1, 7)—

ipse seram | teneras || maturo | tempore vites.

Still more is this the case when agreement extends to both hemistichs, thus (1, 1, 21)—

tunc vitula innumeros || lustrabat | caesa iuvencos.

The only exception seems to be 1, 9, 83—

hanc tibi fallaci || resolutus amore Tibullus.

The caesura κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον (the trochaic or 'feminine' caesura) was the favourite with Homer and in the later Greek poets, esp. Nonnos and his school, practically became universal. By the Roman poets, on the contrary, it was shunned for the same reasons that the semiquinaria was cultivated. It

should be added, too, that rare as it is, the Roman treatment of the feminine caesura is rarely the same as that of the Greeks. The general rule is that when the feminine caesura is used, it should be accompanied by both a semiternaria and a semiseptenaria, thus (1, 1, 11) —

nam veneror | seu stipes | habet | desertus in agris.

The result, it will be seen, is really a tripartite verse in which the feminine caesura in the middle is reduced, so to speak, to a minimum. Twenty per cent (140 odd exx.) of Tibullus's verses, an unusually large number for a Roman poet, have the feminine caesura. Nearly 81 % of this number (111 out of 137) are accompanied by the two secondary caesuras. Of the two secondary caesuras the semiternaria is preferred, *i.e.*, as before, agreement in the first hemistich is more tolerable than in the second. So in the example before us, of which there are 25 exx. in Tibullus —

quisquis amore tenetur | eat | tutusque sacerque

in which *eat*, *i.e.* an iambic word following the caesura, illustrates the only way in such circumstances of renewing conflict in the second hemistich. On the other hand, 1, 10, 39 —

quam potius | laudandus | hic est quem prole parata

is the only example in Tib. in which the semiseptenaria is obscured. A feminine caesura unsupported is never found in Tib. and is very rare elsewhere.

The caesura septenaria is very rare, and when it occurs it should be accompanied by a semiternaria, thus —

ferte et opes: | ego composito | securus acervo,

so 1, 6, 33; 2, 5, 1 and 17; 2, 6, 11; 4, 10, 5.

Trochaic word-end in the fourth foot is confined in the first book to 1, 9, 83. There are 6 cases, however, in bk. 2; and in Propertius — the same, too, is true of Ovid — we find a steady growth in this direction.

29–30. Suggested by the previous distich. Exposure to the elements is frequently mentioned, especially by the exclusus amator, Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 9, 15; Propert. 1, 16, 23; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 23; 167; 189; etc. The lover is expected to endure fatigue, privation, etc., 1, 4, 41 f.; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 9, 9 f.

29. **non mihi**: this type of anaphora is common (cp. 1, 1, 39), especially in enumerations, *illa*, 1, 2, 17; *non mihi*, as here; 1, 2, 49; 1, 2, 51; 1, 2, 83: 1, 3, 49; 1, 4, 5; etc. — **pigra**: 'numbing,' 1, 1, 8, *facili.* — **frigora**: the plural is concrete or distributive.

30. **aqua**: see *auro*, 1, 1, 1 n.

32. **digiti sonum**: for these signals, 1, 5, 74 n.

33. **parcite luminibus**: *i.e. nolite aspicere*, cp. Sueton. *Dom.* 11; Verg. *A.* 1, 257; *G.* 2, 339; Ovid, *Met.* 2, 127; etc.

34. **obvia**: see 1, 5, 36 n. — **celari . . . Venus**: for the idea — expanded in the following verses — Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 607; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 4, 3; etc. — **furta**: of intrigues, so often in the elegy; 4, 5, 7; Propert. 2, 2, 4; 2, 23, 22; 2, 30, 28; Ovid, *Her.* 18, 64; *Ars Amat.* 1, 33; 2, 617 and 640; *Trist.* 2, 347; 432; 440; *Fast.* 3, 22; etc. Mustard cites Andrea Navagero, *Ad Noctem* — 'ipse etiam sua celari vult furta Cupido: | saepius et poenas garrula lingua dedit.'

35. **neu . . . pedum**: *i.e.* as suggestive of approaching danger or discovery Soph. *frag.* 58, 3, N.; Apoll. Rhod. 3, 954; Verg. *A.* 2, 728. — **neu quaerite nomen**: for this and for the carrying of torches after nightfall, 1, 9, 42; Juv. 3, 283. On *neu*, 1, 1, 67 n.

39–40. The bitterness and cruelty of Venus when angered are proverbial, and are illustrated by many antique legends; the women of Lemnos, Cupid and Psyche, Hippolytos, etc. This is hinted at in the poet's sinister allusion to the familiar story of her birth. The suggestion of 'e sanguine natam' is of course clear, and *filius Neptuni* is a common Latin proverb of which Gellius says, 15, 21, 'ferocissimos et inmanes et alienos ab omni humanitate tamquam e mari genitos Neptuni filios dixerunt'; Homer, *Il.* 16, 34; Lygd. 3, 4, 85; Seneca, *Phaed.* 274; Sedley, 'Love still has something of the sea | From whence his mother rose.'

39. **loquax**: the most famous example in antiquity of those who talked too much was, perhaps, Anchises himself, Homer, *Hymn to Venus*, 281; Hygin. *Fab.* 94; Servius on Verg. *A.* 1, 617; 2, 649; *Graelent; Lanval* (Marie de France); Tantalos, and in the folklore of all nations. — **sanguine**: the ablat. of origin strictly speaking is found only here in Tibullus. The ablat. whence with *ex*, as in the next line, with *de*, as in 1, 1, 65, with *ab*, as in 1, 7, 32, or the ablat. of source without a preposition as here, 1, 3, 9, and often, is not infrequent.

40. **rapido**: *i.e.* 'fierce,' 'impetuous,' so often of the sea, Ovid, *Met.* 6, 399; *Her.* 7, 142; etc.

41. **huic**: *i.e. is* of 39. *is* (1, 2, 39 and 40; 1, 10, 66; 2, 3, 33; 4, 7, 8,) generally yields to *ille* in the dactylic hexameter, and *eius* is especially rare (cp. 1, 6, 25 and note). On the cadence, 1, 3, 5 n.

42. **pollicita est**: of the assurances of prophets, soothsayers, etc, *promitto* is more common. — **magico ministerio**: by the aid of magic, *i.e.* the charm described in 53–54. On the close of the pentameter, 1, 1, 38 and note. — **saga**: a familiar figure in the elegy and in the everyday life of antiquity. She was generally the lena, or go-between, a trade which, owing to the

superstitions of antiquity included as a matter of course the brewing of love potions and the practice of sorcery in all its branches. Lines 43–52 contain the catalogue of conventional feats frequently found in all departments of Roman poetry; cp. 1, 8, 17; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 5; 2, 1, 23; *Her.* 6, 83; Propert. 4, 5, 9; Lucan, 6, 431; Seneca, *Medea*, 675; Macbeth's address to the witches (4, 1, 52), etc. All these references to witchcraft in Tibullus, as well as in other Roman poets, are regularly cited as authority by the writers on magic, Remigius, Bodinus, de l'Ancre, le Loyer, Delrio, and others of their kind, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. The use of anaphora is notable and sounds like the woman's own advertisement; cp. 1, 2, 30 and 1, 1, 23, etc.

43–52. Imitated by Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, p. 168, ed. Scherillo (Milan, 1888).

43. The poet refers to 'drawing down the moon'; cp. 1, 8, 21, the most famous and picturesque charm in all antiquity. It is mentioned first by Aristoph. *Nubes*, 749, again and again by later writers, and still survives in modern Greece. Menander made use of it for literary purposes in his comedy the *Thettale* (Pliny, *H.N.* 30, 7), also Theokritos in his second *Idyll* and Vergil in his eighth *Eclogue*. See, too, Lukian, *Philopseudes*, 14, and the strange story in Apuleius, *Met.* 2, 32–3, 19. It was always a love charm and in its origin distinctly associated with Thessaly, a land of magic and magicians in the estimation of antiquity. Pindar says that Venus taught the charm to Jason. In the later tradition it is often associated with Medea. For a vase painting of the process, see Roscher's *Selene und Verwandtes*, plate 3, and for the charm in Theokritos and Vergil, M. Sutphen, *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, Baltimore, 1902, p. 315. — **ducentem**: for the participle with *vidi*, see 1, 4, 34.

44. Another stock illustration of the power of magic over the elements. As the Moon, even against her will, must come down from heaven to make the love charm work, so rivers can be made to run backwards (*vertit*). Cp. Propert. 1, 1, 23; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 6; 2, 1, 26; Verg. *A.* 4, 489; Apoll. Rhod. 3, 532, etc. The reason, however, for this particular feat is never given.

45–48. The magic ceremony mentioned here is nekyomantia, *i.e.* summoning the spirits of the dead in order to make them prophesy or answer questions. The locus classicus is Lucan, 6, 419–830. Among the most famous instances of its use as a literary motive are Homer, *Odyssey*, 11; Aischylos, *Persai* (Ghost of Dareios); Lucan, *l.c.* (Sextus Pompeius before Thapsus); 1 *Samuel*, 28, 7 (Witch of Endor); Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 4, 1. Laberius also wrote a mimus called *Necyomantia*. The subject was much discussed by cultivated people in Cicero's time. Among those who actually practised it may be mentioned Vatinius (Cicero, *Vat.* 14), Libo Drusus (Tacitus, *Ann.*

2, 28), Nero (Sueton. *Nero*, 34, 4), Caracalla (Herodian, 4, 12, 3); cp. also the horrible case of one Pollentianus in the fourth century, related by Ammianus Marcellinus, 29, 2, 17.

45. **finditque solum**: a detail often mentioned in this connection. The magician splits the ground so that the ghosts can hear his incantation (*i.e.* be reached and affected by it) and then can come straight up to him from Hades: cp., *e.g.*, Seneca, *Oedipus*, 571, '"audior" vates ait, | "rata verba fudi: rumpitur caecum chaos | iterque populis Ditis ad superos datur." | . . . subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu | laxata patuit — ipse torpentes lacus | vidi inter umbras, ipse pallentes deos | noctemque veram; gelidus in venis stetit | haesitque sanguis. saeva prosiluit cohors | et stetit in armis omne vipereum genus,' | etc.; Lucan, 6, 728, 'perque cavas terrae quas egit carmine rimas | manibus inlatrat regnique silentia rumpit,' etc. Amateurs and even professionals who had not fully mastered this interesting detail were usually content to perform the regular ceremonial (described at some length in Seneca, *l.c.* 560 f.; *Odyssey*, 11, 24, cp. Horace, *Sat.* 1, 8, 26, etc.) and to take the resulting convulsion of nature for granted.

46. **elicit**: the regular liturgical word; see dictt. and Ovid's story of *Iuppiter Elicius* (*Fast.* 3, 285). — **devocat**, etc.: she spirits away the bones of the corpse before the funeral pile is cold; cp. Lucan, 6, 533, 'fumantis iuvenum cineres ardentiaque ossa | e mediis rapit illa rogis ipsamque parentes | quam tenuere facem nigroque volantia fumo | feralis fragmenta tori vestesque fluentes | colligit in cineres et olentis membra favillas,' etc.; Claudian, *In Ruf.* 1, 154, 'saepius horrendos manes sacrisque litavi | nocturnis Hecaten, et condita funera traxi | carminibus victura meis,' etc.

Parts of the human body, above all when, as here, secured under exceptional circumstances, have always been much sought by the witches; cp. the folk tale told by Trimalchio in Petronius, 63; the strange story in Apuleius, *Met.* 2, 21, etc. This is one of the principal reasons why, in all ages, the corpse has been so carefully watched before burial. In this particular case the *ossa*, esp. when so secured, would doubtless be considered in themselves a charm of power. Here, however, the connection shows that the witch secures the *ossa* as a preliminary to securing the ghost of their late owner, *i.e.* in accordance with the doctrine of sympathy the part (hair, nails garments, or 'exuviae' of any sort), when aided by the appropriate ceremonial can always draw the whole to itself. To get back a recreant lover, for example, one needs first of all to possess something with which he has been intimately associated. This universal law of magic plays a prominent part in the love charm associated with 'drawing down the moon,' 43 n., 57–58 n.; cp. Theokritos, 2; Verg. *E.* 8; the ludicrous story in Apuleius, 2, 32–3, 19.

47. **tenet**: *i.e.* forcibly. Under normal conditions a ghost never returns from Hades. If he does so, it is either because he is disquieted by some condition on earth, cp. 1, 5, 51 n.; Pliny, *Epist.* 7, 27, 5; etc., or because he is constrained by a charm; cp. Statius, *Theb.* 3, 143, 'nocte subit campos versatque in sanguine functum | vulgus et explorat manis, cui plurima busto | imperet ad superos: animarum maesta queruntur | concilia, et nigri pater indignatur Averni'; 1 *Samuel*, 28, 15, 'And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?' etc.—**stridore**: apart from their general and obvious meaning, *stridor* and *stridere* are often used to describe the squeaking and gibbering of the dead, to which the ancients so often refer (Hor. *Sat.* 1, 8, 40, 'singula quid memorem, quo pacto alterna loquentes | umbrae cum Sagana resonarent triste et acutum'; Lucan, 6, 623, 'auribus incertum feralis strideat umbra'; Statius, *Theb.* 7, 770, 'strident animae currumque secuntur'; Sil. Ital. 13, 600; Petron. 122, 137, 'ecce inter tumulos atque ossa carentia bustis | umbrarum facies diro stridore minantur'; Claudian, *In Ruf.* 1, 126; Ovid, *Fast.* 5, 458; Verg. *A.* 6, 492; but esp. Homer, *Odyss.* 24, 5, ταὶ δὲ τρίζουσαι ἕποντο· | ὡς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῷ ἄντρου θεσπεσίοιο | τρίζουσαι ποτέονται· etc.). They are also regularly used, as here, to describe the powerful but inarticulate charms of the magicians (cp., indeed, *strix*, *striga*, Ital. *strega*). In such charms all the sounds of nature might be imitated; cp. Lucan, 6, 686 f. The genuine popular tradition, however, is probably seen most clearly in Petron. 63, 'strigae stridere coeperunt: putares canem leporem persequi.'

Among charms efficacious for holding ghosts may be mentioned the *synochitis*, Pliny, 37, 192. Unfortunately this precious stone is otherwise unknown.

48. **lacte**: on the use of milk to remove a ban in this charm, Statius, *Theb.* 4, 544, 'Argolicas magis huc appelle precando | Thebanasque animas; alias avertere gressus | lacte quater sparsas maestoque excedere luco, | nata iube'; Seneca, *Oed.* 562, 'decantat ore quidquid aut placat leves | aut cogit umbras; sanguinem libat focis | solidasque pecudes urit et multo specum | saturat cruore; libat et niveum insuper | lactis liquorem, fundit et Bacchum manu | laeva,' etc.

The use of milk in this connection, *i.e.* the offering by which the ghosts are placated, seems to be one of those survivals of primitive ritual characteristic of magic; cp. the offering of milk to Pales (1, 1, 36), a primitive rustic divinity; to Romulus, again primitive; cp. Pliny, 14, 88, 'Romulum lacte, non vino, libasse indicio sunt sacra ab eo instituta quae hodie custodiunt morem'; Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 369 (of Cybele), '"lacte mero veteres usi memorantur et herbis | sponte sua siquas terra ferebat," ait. | "candidus elisae miscetur caseus herbae, | cognoscat priscos ut dea prisca cibos,"' etc.

49–50. One of many references to the primitive belief — as characteristic of Africa or Australia as it was of Greece and Rome — that wizards can and do influence the weather. The classical prototype is the bag of winds that Aiolos gave to Odysseus (*Odyss.* 10, 20) and in the Middle Ages the same method was still pursued by the witches (esp. of Lapland and Ireland): cp. Webster, 'henceforward I will rather trust | The winds which Lapland witches sell to men'; Nashe, 'For, as in Ireland and in Denmark both, | Witches for gold will sell a man a wind, | Which in the corner of a napkin wrapped | Shall blow him safe unto what coast he will'; Shak. *Macbeth*, 1, 3; and often in the Elizabethan writers. References in the Roman poets, esp. in the conventional list of magic feats, as here, are frequent, *e.g.* Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 9, 'cum voluit, toto glomerantur nubila caelo; | cum voluit, puro fulget in orbe dies'; *Met.* 7, 201; 424; 14, 368; Lucan, 6, 461 f. (a good ex. of his characteristic exaggeration); Val. Flaccus, 8, 351, etc. In mediaeval Latin such persons were known as *tempestarii* (see Ducange, s.v.) and came under the ban of the law (so in the *Capitularia* of Charlemagne, 789 A.D., cp. *Codex Theodos.* 9, 16, 5; *Lex Rom. Visigoth*, 6, 2, 3, etc.). As early as the eighth century the matter attracted the attention of the Church (*Decret. Syn. Episc.* 799 A.D.; Burchardus, *Decret.* 10, 8, etc.) and in the witch trials which after the promulgation of Urban's famous bull of 1484, thanks to the activity of Sprenger and his successors, went on continuously for a century and a half, we hear much about this sort of magic.

50. The portent of snow in summer is seldom mentioned; see, however, Diod. Sic. 5, 55.

51. **malas herbas**: *malas* here means 'baleful' and is not uncommon in connection with magic, cp. the κακὰ φάρμακα of *Odyss.* 10, 213 (Circe) and elsewhere. — **Medeae**: a touch revealing the Medea of popular fancy, not the Medea of Euripides, Apollonios, Ovid, and Valerius Flaccus, but Medea παμφάρμακος (Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 233), the arch enchantress of all antiquity. In the time of the elegiac poets there were books purporting to contain her charms and spells, just as in these days dream books and the like are still published in which Osthanes, Zoroaster, etc., are the chief authorities quoted. Several of the Greek papyri found in Egypt during the last few years contain material of this sort; cp., too, Horace, *Epod.* 5, 61, 'cur dira barbarae minus | venena Medeae valent'; 17, 4, 'per atque libros carminum valentium | refixa caelo devocare sidera' (the moon charm, 43 n., was one of Medea's specialties); Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 101, 'non facient ut vivat amor Medeides herbae'; *Amor.* 1, 8, 5, 'illa (the witch) magas artes Aeaeaque carmina novit,' etc. The prominence of Thessaly as a land of magic and magicians was popularly ascribed (Aristides, 1, p. 76, Dindorf) to the fact that she emptied her box

of simples as she was flying over that country on her dragon after leaving Jason.

52. Hecatae: the Dea Triformis (Selene in heaven, Artemis on earth, Hekate in hell) was the great goddess of the magicians and was regularly invoked by them, esp. in the moon charm, *i.e.* the charm by which she herself as the moon goddess is forced to come down and do the magician's will, cp. 1, 8, 21–22 and notes. She is often called Trivia (see 1, 5, 16 n.), 'Diana of the Crossways,' because habitually worshipped at the *trivia*, cp. 1, 5, 54 n. Of all the old gods her cult was perhaps the most persistent and her memory the hardest to die. In the eleventh century Burchardus, Bishop of Worms (*Decreta*, 10, 1) observes that, 'quaedam sceleratae mulieres . . . credunt se et profitentur nocturnis horis cum Diana paganorum dea vel cum Herodiade et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias et multa terrarum spatia intempestae noctis silentio pertransire eiusque iussionibus velut dominae oboedire et certis noctibus ad eius servitium evocari,' etc. This is the witch ride which in connection with the witches' sabbath assumed such importance in the prosecutions of the witches during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The cross-roads are still uncanny. It is not so long since suicides were buried there and a stake driven through their remains (to prevent them from returning as vampires?), and to this day the fact that those who fear spirits prefer to avoid the cross-roads after dark shows that Trivia the queen of the ghosts is still to be reckoned with.

The whelps of Hekate are often mentioned. They always accompany her and herald her approach: Apollon. Rhod. 3, 1216, *ἀμφὶ δὲ τήνγε | ὀξείῃ ὑλακῇ χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο*; Theokritos, 2, 35; Verg. *A.* 6, 257; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 8, 35; Lucan, 6, 733; Seneca, *Oed.* 569; *Medea*, 840; *Thyest.* 675; Stat. *Theb.* 4, 429; etc. The basis of the idea is no doubt the well-known effect of moonlight on dogs. It was (and to a certain extent still is) felt that they perceive the approach of spirits and can see them better than we, cp. 1, 5, 54 n., and some ancient representations of Endymion in which the dog is highly excited by the approach of the goddess to his sleeping master.

Greek words are rare in Tibullus and for the most part proper names (exceptions are *e.g. smaragdus* 1, 1, 51; 2, 4, 27; *catasta*, 2, 3, 60; *hippomanes*, 2, 4, 58; *cometes*, 2, 5, 71).

According to our textual tradition the declension is now Greek, now Latin, *e.g.*—nom. sing., *Circe*, 2, 4, 55; *Delos*, 2, 3, 27; *Herophile*, 2, 5, 68; *Ilion*, 2, 5, 22; *Pholoe*, 1, 8, 69; *Tityos*, 1, 3, 75; *Tyros*, 1, 7, 20; 2, 3, 58; gen., *Hecatae*, 1, 2, 52; accus., *cometen*, 2, 5, 71; *Memphiten*, 1, 7, 28; *Pelea*, 1, 5, 45; *Nemesim*, 2, 3, 61; 5, 111; 6, 27; *Osirim*, 1, 7, 27; vocat., *Aenea*, 2, 5, 39; *Osiri*, 1, 7, 43: gen. plural, *Pieridum*, 1, 9, 48; *Cilicum*, 1, 2, 67;

accus., *Cilicas*, 1, 7 16; *Pieridas*, 1, 4, 61–62. On the subject in general see Housman, *Eng. Journ. of Philology*, 31, 236–266. — **perdomuisse**: a genuine perfect; note also the force of *per*.

53. Similar charms are mentioned by Propertius, 4, 5, 15, 'posset ut intentos astu caecare maritos, | cornicum immeritas eruit ungue genas,' where the actual blinding of the birds foreshadows the mental blinding of the *mariti* to take place as soon as the proper charm is repeated; Juv. 6, 610, 'hic magicos adfert cantus, hic Thessala vendit | philtra quibus valeat mentem vexare mariti | et solea pulsare natis.' The old Dutch traveller Linschoten (cited by Broukhusius) relates that the women of Portuguese India accomplish this result by means of the plant 'dutroa' (*i.e. dhattura*, see J. H. Van Linschoten, *Voyage to the East Indies*, London, 1885, vol. 1, p. 210, and vol. 2, p. 68). See 55–56 n. — **composuit**: the word reflects the universal idea that in all charms exact wording is a condition of efficacy. — **quis**: on the form, 1, 1, 37 n.

54. **ter**: triple repetition adds power. The qualities of the number three (first of the odd numbers) in all folklore are too well-known to require comment, cp. 1, 5, 14, etc. Anaphora of *ter* combined with asyndeton gives greater solemnity. The imperatives really form the protasis of a conditional sentence. — **despue**: the purpose of this charm is to avert something, hence probably the additional ceremonial of spitting, which, like crossing one's self in modern times, was habitually used in antiquity *averruncandi causa*. References are numerous, and in fact traces of the custom still survive, cp. 96 below; Pliny, 28, 35, 'despuimus comitiales morbos, hoc est contagia regerimus. simili modo et fascinationes repercutimus dextraeque clauditatis occursum. veniam quoque a deis spei alicuius audacioris petimus in sinum spuendo, et iam eadem ratione terna despuere precatione in omni medicina mos est atque ita effectus adiuvare, incipientes furunculos ter praesignare ieiuna saliva. mirum dicimus, sed experimento facile: si quem paeniteat ictus eminus comminusve inlati et statim expuat in mediam manum qua percussit, levatur ilico in percusso culpa,' etc.; Theophrast. *Charact.* 16 (28 Jebb); Theokrit. 2, 62; 6, 39; 7, 127; 20, 11; Petron. 131; Pers. 2, 33; Juv. 7, 112 (with Mayor's note); etc., etc. The subject is treated at length by Nicholson, 'The Saliva Superstition in Classical Literature,' *Harvard Studies*, 8, p. 23 f. — **carminibus**: the charm has a number of parts or verses, hence the plural, as often. On the close of the pentameter, 1, 1, 38 n.

55–56. The situation — a favourite in the folk tales of all nations (see esp. F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 135; G. Rua, *Novelle del Mambriano del Cieco di Ferrara*, Turin, 1888, p. 107 and n.) — is developed by Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 2, 51; 3, 14, 43, from a point of view suggesting

that of Tibullus himself in 4, 14. Bandello, *Parte* 2, *Novella* 28, ends with practically these words.

55. **nihil**: for the accus. of the inner object with neuter pronouns and adjectives, cp. *peccare*, 1, 6, 16 and 71; 2, 4, 5; *persuadere*, 1, 9, 69; *sonare*, 1, 3, 60; *canere*, 1, 4, 73, etc. For similar usage — always characteristic of poetry — see *sonare*, 2, 1, 33; *iurare* (of persons), 1, 4, 24; 4, 13, 15; (with object clause of the fact sworn to) 1, 9, 31; 2, 5, 104; 2, 6, 13; *suspirare*, 1, 6, 35 (see note); 4, 5, 11; *tacere*, 1, 7, 57; *suadere*, 2, 4, 25; *manere*, 1, 6, 61; 1, 8, 77; *tremere*, 1, 7, 4; *evigilare*, 1, 8, 64; *adflare*, 2, 4, 57; *frustrari*, 2, 5, 15; *vesci*, 2, 5, 64; *cogitare*, 4, 4, 17–18, etc.

57–58. The naïve warning impresses the modern reader as a touch of Tibullus's sly humour and it made the same impression on the cultivated reader in the Augustan Age. It derives its authority, however, from the cardinal principle of magic, and therefore of antique ritual, that a charm applies only to those who are specifically mentioned in it by name. In the antique and primitive conception — reflected *e.g.* in certain peculiar uses of the word *nomen* (cp. 2, 5, 57 n.) — a name is a reality, it has an actual connection with the thing it designates. Agreeably therefore to the doctrine of sympathy (see 46 n.) if we have nothing more than the name of a person, we can reach him with a charm or conversely protect him by means of one. Under such circumstances it follows, of course, that the charm will not work unless we have the right name. Hence the antique practice, especially in magic, of addressing the deity invoked by every name known to the invoker, with the idea, of course, that somewhere among them will be found the name of power to which the god must respond; cp. *e.g.* a magic hymn to Hekate in Abel's *Orphica*, p. 289; the cautious Roman usually added some general phrase intended to remedy any possible deficiency in this respect, *e.g.* in the old formula of *devotio* (Macrob. *Sat.* 3, 9, 10), 'Dis Pater Veiovis Manes, sive quo alio nomine fas est nominare,' etc.; Servius on Verg. *A.* 2, 351, 'et pontifices ita precabantur "Iuppiter optime maxime, sive quo alio nomine te appellari volueris,"' etc. Hence conversely, and this custom is found in some savage tribes, the reason for keeping our real name to ourselves and using an alias for the general public. To the same point of view is due the curious old tradition regarding the name of Rome; cp. *e.g.* Macrob. *Sat.* 3, 9, 2, 'constat enim omnes urbes in alicuius dei esse tutela, moremque Romanorum arcanum et multis ignotum fuisse ut, cum obsiderent urbem hostium eamque iam capi posse confiderent, certo carmine evocarent tutelares deos: quod aut aliter urbem capi posse non crederent, aut etiam, si posset, nefas aestimarent deos habere captivos. nam propterea ipsi Romani et deum in cuius tutela urbs Roma est et ipsius urbis Latinum nomen ignotum esse voluerunt. . . . ipsius

vero urbis nomen etiam doctissimis ignoratum est, caventibus Romanis ne quod saepe adversus urbes hostium fecisse se noverant idem ipsi quoque hostili evocatione paterentur, si tutelae suae nomen divulgaretur'; Pliny, 28, 18; 3, 65; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 61, p. 279 A; Servius on Verg. *A.* 1, 277; Solinus, 1; Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 4, 73.

58. **omnia**: for the strong emphasis on *omnia* due to its position both at the end of a clause and at the beginning of a verse cp. *e.g.* *incipiam* in Verg. *A.* 2, 13.

59–62. Love, esp. inordinate love, is due to magic (the primitive conception) and therefore may be removed by magic, cp. Verg. *A.* 4, 487; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 71; *Od.* 1, 27, 21; Nemes. 4, 62, and often. Removal of a charm was often accomplished by reversing the original ceremony wholly or in part and repeating it backwards, *e.g.* Ovid, *Met.* 14, 299 (Circe removing her charm on the companions of Ulysses) 'spargimur ignotae sucis melioribus herbae, | percutiturque caput conversae verbere virgae, | verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria verbis,' etc. So perhaps to a certain extent in this charm, which appears to be a removal of the moon charm. There the *rhombos, turbo*, or 'witches' wheel,' wound up the magic thread as it was twirled to the incantation (Theokrit. 2, 30); here the wheel is twirled in the opposite direction, *i.e.* the charm is unwound, cp. Hor. *Epod.* 17, 7, etc. See also note on *lustravit taedis* below.

59. The sudden doubt really amounts to another covert warning, *i.e.* 'perhaps you had better not try the charm at all. I am not so sure of the woman's infallibility for did she not promise me?' etc. The poet is still haunted by the unpleasant possibility suggested by 57. — **amores**: on the plural, 2, 2, 11 n.

60. **solvere**: the idea of binding or constraining is inherent in a charm, hence *solvere*, the opposite of *vincire*, is regularly used in this connection.

61. **lustravit taedis**: this method of removing the effects of magic is more fully described by Nemesianus, 4, 62, 'quid prodest quod me pagani mater Amyntae | ter vittis, ter fronde sacra, ter ture vaporo, | incendens vivo crepitantes sulphure lauros, | lustravit cineresque aversa effudit in amnem, | cum sic in Meroen totis miser ignibus urar?' On the use of sulphur here, Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 260, and Tib. 1, 5, 11-12 n. — **nocte serena**: the moon charm was tried only when the moon was full and visible, cp. Lukian, *Philops.* 14 (speaking of a magician about to work the charm), *ὁ δὲ αὐξομένην τηρήσας τὴν σελήνην — τότε γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὰ τοιαῦτα τελεσιουργεῖται·* Hor. *Epod.* 5, 51; Theokrit. 2, 10, etc.

62. **magicos deos**: the gods invoked by the magician are more especially the powers of darkness and of the underworld. The number and method vary according to the character or solemnity of the charm to be worked.

Among interesting examples are Verg. *A.* 4, 510; Ovid, *Met.* 7, 192; Seneca, *Med.* 740; Lucan, 6, 730. For a hymn to Hekate to be used in charms like this see Abel's *Orphica*, p. 289. — **hostia pulla**: the rule is, dark victims to the powers of darkness, light to the powers of light, *φαιδρὰ μὲν οὐρανίοις χθονίοις δ' ἐναλίγκια χροιῇ* (cp. Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 4, 9, 2). In this case a black lamb was usual, the blood to be allowed to run into a trench previously prepared, *e.g.* Ovid, *Met.* 7, 244, 'haud procul egesta scrobibus tellure duabus | sacra facit, cultrosque in guttura velleris atri | conicit et patulas perfundit sanguine fossas. | tum super invergens liquidi carchesia bacchi,' etc.; the prototype is Homer, *Odyss.* 11, 24, and from then until now the ritual has always been practically the same.

63–64. Cp. 4, 5, 5–6; 13–16; 4, 6, 7–9; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 23 (Glaucus to Circe in the same situation), 'nec medeare mihi sanesque haec vulnera mando, | fineque nil opus est: partem ferat illa caloris,' and often.

The touch of tenderness effects a skilful transition to the next point by bringing out more clearly the contrast between Delia's two lovers further developed in 65–78, cp. also Propertius, 3, 20.

63. On the caesura, etc., 27 and note.

64. **velim**: on the simple subjv. with *orabam*, 25a n.

65–78. The coarse perfidious dives amator — a conventional figure in elegy and comedy and always the poet's rival — whose greed is greater than his love, is contrasted with the poet, for whom love is above all things. A characteristic application of a favourite theme, the *aurea mediocritas* (*e.g.* as in 1, 1 and 10), the folly of pursuing wealth and fame at the expense of idyllic love.

65–74. The foundation of Bertin, *Amours*, 1, 12 (cp. 1, 1, 45–46 n.) and (together with 1, 6, 1–14 and 2, 6, 51–52) of *Amours*, 2, 4.

65–66. Cp. 1, 10, 1 ff.

66. **maluerit**: *qui* really gives the ground, hence the subjunctive.

67–68. Probably Tib. is thinking of Messalla's expedition to the East during which he subdued the turbulent Cilicians (1, 7, 16).

69–70. The rival's position present or expected is, of course, not referred to. The case is hypothetical. 'Though he win all the wealth and fame that war can give I envy him not,' etc.

69. Quoted by Montaigne, 1, chap. 42, 'A la première strette que luy donne la goutte, il a beau estre Sire & Majesté,

'"Totus et,"' etc.

— **totus contextus**: for this use of *totus*, Verg. *A.* 10, 539, 'totus conlucens veste atque insignibus albis'; 'C was a captain all covered with lace' (Old Rhyme); etc. *Antimeria*, the use of adjective for adverb, imparts colour and is a favourite device of the poets, *e.g.* *violentus*, 1, 6, 47; *taciturnus*, 1, 6,

60; *serus*, 1, 7, 62; 1, 9, 4; *sedulus*, 1, 5, 33 and 72; 2, 4, 42; *demens*, 1, 9, 78; *perfidus*, 1, 8, 63; *invitus*, 1, 8, 8, etc. — **contextus**: the transfer from the garments to the wearer is not infrequent in poetry, cp. Ovid, *Her.* 12, 152, 'adiunctos aureus urguet equos,' etc. So *flava Ceres*, 1, 1, 15, and often.

70. Martial, 9, 49, 4, 'in hac ibam conspiciendus eques,' is quoted as an echo; but cp. Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 114, 'conspiciendus eques.' — **conspiciendus**: 'the observed of all observers,' a poetic word, cp. 2, 3, 52. The gerundive as a predicate adjective with intransitive verbs is also found in 1, 2, 76; 2, 3, 52; 4, 6, 4; as a factitive predicate, 1, 6, 37; 1, 7, 40; 4, 3, 22; as carrying a brief appositional clause or merely as an attribute often, *e.g.* 1, 5, 14; 1, 6, 22; 1, 7, 56; etc. On the dative with *fatalis*, 2, 5, 57 n. Gerundive forms generally stand as here in the second half of the pentameter just before the final dissyllable (of the 21 exx. in Tib. 16 are of this sort and the same predilection is seen in Ovid).

71–78. Poverty with happiness (71–74) is set over against wealth with misery. A favourite theme in antiquity. Most frequently the moral is enforced by comparing the past with the present, cp. 1, 3, 35–48 n. Propertius, 1, 14, 15 f., however, deserves special consideration in connection with Tib. here, 'nam quis divitiis adverso gaudet Amore? | nulla mihi tristi praemia sint Venere! | illa potest magnas heroum infringere vires, | illa etiam duris mentibus esse dolor: | illa neque Arabium metuit transcendere limen, | nec timet ostrino, Tulle, subire toro, | et miserum toto iuvenem versare cubili: | quid relevant variis serica textilibus? | quae mihi dum placata aderit, non ulla verebor | regna vel Alcinoi munera despicere.' For the same contrast treated from the point of view of the philosophers, see esp. Seneca, *Epist.* 90, 41 ff.

71. **ipse**: see 1, 1, 7 n. — **si**: 60 cases of a monosyllable before the masc. caesura are found in Tibullus, 20 of them are *est* in synaloephe, see 1, 4, 77 n., 4 are elided with the preceding word (*haec*, 1, 2, 59: *e*, 1, 9, 69; *et*, 2, 4, 21; 4, 6, 19), 10 are parts of *esse* (5 of which are preceded by another monosyllable), and of the 26 remaining all but 5 (*si*, 1, 2, 71; *quas*, 1, 6, 55; *mors*, 2, 4, 43; *ad*, 4, 3, 17; *lux*, 4, 12, 1) are preceded by another monosyllable. In other words, in Tibullian usage, apart from *est* in synaloephe which comes under another head, two monosyllables instead of one before a masculine caesura are preferred in the hexameter (75 %) and are invariable in the pentameter.

72. **iungere et**: *et* elides and acts as a final consonant between *iungere* and *in*. This is most frequent in Propertius, but it is never common and with an infinitive as here is very rare; only Lygdamus, 3, 2, 4; Propert. 1, 5, 20; 1, 17, 18; 2, 8, 32; 2, 29, 24; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 9, 22; *Ars Amat.* 3, 784, all as here, in the first foot; never in the second foot; in the fourth foot,

only Propert. 1, 3, 16; never in the third or fifth (the Ovidian distichs of the exile were not examined). For *que* used in the same way, 1, 3, 34 and note.

Next to Catullus the most notable of the elegiac poets for the number, variety, and freedom of his elisions is Propertius. Tibullus is particularly strict and hardly less sparing even than Ovid. But elision is only slightly less frequent in Ovid's *Carmina Amatoria* than in Tibullus: the growing dislike of elision is also seen in the fact that Ovid shows a tendency to confine it more to certain fixed phrases and combinations. The percentage of lines in which elision occurs is about as follows: Catullus, 39.5%; Propertius, 23%; Tibullus, (1 and 2), 10.4%; Ovid, 8.9%. Of these the percentage of lines containing two elisions is Catullus, 5.2%; Propertius, 1.8%; Tibullus, 0.47% (1, 5, 39; 2, 1, 61, 65, and 67; 4, 5, 5; 4, 13, 16); Ovid, 0.35%, with a steady though small diminution from the *Amores* to the *Rem. Amor.* (about 20 years). 6 lines with three elisions are found in Propertius and 2 in Catullus; with 4 elisions only one each in Propertius and Catullus. On the whole, elision is always freest in the first half of the verse. In the second hemistich of the pentameter elision is most frequent (though still not common) in the end of the last dactyl, but elision in the fifth thesis, occasional in Propertius and growing considerably in Ovid, is never found in Tibullus. Elision is increasingly more frequent in the hex. than in the pent., but the difference is never very large.

As regards the quantity of the vowels concerned, the freest and most common is a short before a short. This must occur, of course, in the arsis of a dactyl; when in the first syllable of the arsis Tibullus usually confines it to the first foot and as a rule to such extra light words as *atque*, *saepe*, *que*, *ille*, etc.; not as common in the second syllable, and except in the first foot with a tendency to drop off in the second book. Elision of a short before a long generally occurs before a monosyllable (independent or in composition), and as a rule, ictus and word accent agree. Elision of a long before a long is also subject to the same preference for the monosyllable, but in this case conflict at the thesis is the rule. Only in Book 1 do we find elisions so abnormal for Tibullus as 1, 2, 58, 'de me uno,' and 1, 4, 56, 'se implicuisse.' Elision of a long before a short is harsh and generally found only in old, popular, or inexperienced poets. The only exx. in Tib. *vidi ego*, 1, 2, 89, and *illi etiam*, 2, 1, 41, both in the first short of the first dactyl. These, however, had already become phraseological. We find them regularly in Ovid, and always in the same place in the verse, *e.g.* *vidi ego*, *Amor.* 1, 2, 11,; 2, 2, 47; 2, 12, 25; 3, 4, 13, etc. So too *aequo animo*, *Amor.* 2, 7, 12; *certe ego*, *Her.* 1, 115, and the like, which we never find in Tibullus. — **solito**: for the touch, 1, 1, 43.

75. For the theme, 1, 8, 39–46 ff. and note. Mustard quotes Sannazaro, *Eleg.* 1, 1, 61 —

> quidve torus prodest pluma spectandus et ostro,
> si non est gremio cara puella mea?
> si trahere infelix inter suspiria noctem
> cogor et aeternos esse negare deos?

Cp. also Joannes Secundus, *Eleg.* 1, 2 —

> quid Tyrius sine amore torus?

— **Tyrio toro**: *i.e.* covered with Tyrian purple. Further details are suggested by 77.

76. **vigilanda venit**: see 70 n. on *conspiciendus*. The use of *venire* as here, instead of *esse* or *fieri*, is surprisingly limited in classical Latin considering the frequency of such constructions in the Romance languages (*viene toccando*, etc.). Tibullus himself goes back to the colourless *esse* in 1, 8, 64, 'est mihi nox multis evigilanda malis.' But Propertius again, 3, 15, 2, 'nec veniat sine te nox vigilanda mihi'; Ovid, *Her.* 5, 8, 'quae venit indigno poena, dolenda venit'; *Amor.* 1, 10, 30, 'sola locat noctes, sola locanda venit'; *Fast.* 3, 794, 'haec illa nocte videnda venit'; Plautus, *Miles Glor.* 891, 'ergo istuc metuo quom venit vobis faciundum utrumque'; Seneca, *Thyest.* 7, 'lapis gestandus umeris lubricus nostris venit'; *Dial.* 2, 19, 2, 'ex quo solo sibi gaudenda veniant,' cp. 1, 8, 15; 4, 2, 12, etc. Inability to sleep is a regular affliction of the unhappy lover, cp. 2, 4, 11 n.; Propertius, 1, 1, 33, 'in me nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras'; 1, 11, 5, 'nostri cura subit memores ah ducere noctes?' Cp. Shakespeare's 'as true a lover | As ever sigh'd upon a midnight pillow.' It is also in itself a sign of love, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 2, 1, 'esse quid hoc dicam, quod tam mihi dura videntur | strata neque in lecto pallia nostra sedent, | et vacuus somno noctem, quam longa, peregi, | lassaque versati corporis ossa dolent? | nam puto sentirem siquo temptarer amore. | an subit et tecta callidus arte nocet? | sic erit: haeserunt tenues in corde sagittae, | et possessa ferus pectora versat Amor.'

77. **neque**: elsewhere Tibullus always uses *nec*, cp. 1, 6, 21 n. — **plumae**: *i.e.* 'feather pillows,' cp. Propert. 3, 7, 50, 'et fultum pluma versicolore caput,' and often. A conventional attribute of luxury, Mart. 12, 17, 7, 'circumfusa rosis et nigra recumbit amomo, | dormit et in pluma purpureoque toro'; Juv. 10, 362, 'et venere et cenis et pluma Sardanapalli'; Pliny, 10, 54 (speaking of the white geese of Germany), 'pretium plumae eorum in libras denarii quini. et inde crimina plerumque auxiliorum praefectis a vigili statione ad haec aucupia dimissis cohortibus totis: eoque deliciae processere ut sine hoc instrumento durare iam ne virorum quidem cervices possint'; so the

freedman picturing the wealth and extravagance of his friend Trimalchio (Petron. 38), 'vides tot culcitas: nulla non aut conchyliatum aut coccineum habet, tanta est animi beatitudo,' etc. — **stragula picta**: another conventional attribute of luxury which is often referred to, *e.g.* Clemens Alexandrinus, *Paed.* 2, 9, p. 216, says that slumber is not dependent on τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῶν ὑποστρωννυμένων, τὰς χρυσοπάστους ταπίδας, etc. Frequent mention is made of bedclothing of precious stuffs embroidered like tapestries with all sorts of designs and pictures, cp. the desertion of Ariadne as feigned by Catullus, 64, etc. As now the sick are sometimes troubled by a florid design in wall paper, so in antiquity the physicians discouraged the use of these *stragulae* for the same reason, cp. Lucret. 2, 34, 'nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres, | textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti | iacteris, quam si in plebeia veste cubandum est.'

78. **sonitus aquae**: the lullaby sung by running water was so thoroughly appreciated by the Romans — a nation, it would appear, of poor sleepers — that they often caused small streams to be passed through their sleeping rooms, cp. Seneca, *Epist.* 100, 6, 'desit sane varietas marmorum et concisura aquarum cubiculis interfluentium'; *Dial.* 1, 3, 10, 'feliciorem ergo tu Maecenatem putas, cui amoribus anxio et morosae uxoris cotidiana repudia deflenti somnus per symphoniarum cantum ex longinquo lene resonantium (cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 1, 21 f.) quaeritur? mero se licet sopiat et aquarum fragoribus avocet, et mille voluptatibus mentem anxiam fallat, tam vigilabit in pluma quam ille (*i.e.* Regulus) in cruce'; *N. Q.* 3, 17, 2, 'quanto incredibiliora sunt opera luxuriae? quotiens naturam aut mentitur aut vincit? in cubili natant pisces,' etc.; Statius, *Silv.* 1, 3, 37, 'miser an emissas per cuncta cubilia lymphas?' Celsus, 3, 18 (of the care of the insane), 'confert etiam aliquid ad somnum silanus iuxta cadens,' etc.

79–94. These lines, 1, 5, 19–36, and 1, 10, 64, are the foundation of Bertin, *Amours*, 2, 1.

79–86. Tibullus wonders whether his misfortunes are due to the fact that in some way he has incurred the anger of the gods. The thought is characteristic of the naïve idyllic type, as of course it was intended to be, cp. 1, 3, 51; 2, 6, 17; 4, 4, 14; 3, 4, 15.

'Have I offended Venus in word (79–80); have I offended the gods in deed (81–82)? If so I will atone (83–86).'

79. **verbo**: *i.e.* some blasphemous expression provoked by his misfortunes in love, cp. 2, 6, 17. 1, 2, 39–40 is not referred to. For a similar naïve fear of verbal offence, see 1, 2, 7–14; 2, 6, 18 and note.

81. **feror adiisse**: *i.e.* 'am I reported to,' etc. *fertur* in this meaning is common in all styles; the first person, as here, seems to be poetic and very

rare; so 4, 7, 10; Ovid, *Her.* 6, 114; Verg. *A.* 10, 631.—**incestus**: *i.e.* either morally or ceremonially, 2, 1, 9–14 and notes.

82. **deripuisse**: the regular word for the removal of offerings from a temple, and the opposite of *suspendere*, *i.e.* ex-votos then as now were regularly hung up.

The lover steals garlands which have been offered at a shrine in order to give them to his mistress. This habit, fostered by motives of poverty or of economy as the case may be, is best illustrated by 2, 4, 21–26.

83–84. Both acts are frequently mentioned, *e.g.* Propertius, 3, 8, 11, 'quae mulier rabida iactat convicia lingua | et Veneris magnae volvitur ante pedes'; Statius, *Silv.* 5, 1, 162, 'nunc anxius omnibus aris | illacrimat, signatque fores, et pectore terget | limina'; Arnob. 1, 49, 'cum per omnia supplices irent templa, cum deorum ante ora prostrati limina ipsa converrerent osculis,' etc.

83. **procumbere templis**: *ad templa* would have been the form in prose; so too in poetry, cp. 1, 9, 30; 2, 1, 74; 4, 13, 23, *i.e.* *ad*= 'at,' as also in 1, 1, 28; 1, 10, 38; 2, 5, 54; 2, 6, 4. The dative, however, is the most personal of all the cases, and lends itself with peculiar readiness to the needs of a figurative style. The large extension, therefore, especially in the various types under the general category of the dative of personal interest (*e.g.* the dative with transitive and intransitive verbs, the dative of agent, the ethical dative, the dative of reference, the dative of advantage and disadvantage, the dativus energicus) is characteristic of the Augustan poets, and especially of Tibullus. In fact one of the most striking peculiarities of Tibullus's style is his extensive and picturesque use of the dative. Here for instance the dative all but personifies for the moment the grim structures before which the suppliant is grovelling.

So too of his large use of the dativus energicus instead of a genitive or a possessive pronoun, cp. *e.g.* 1, 2, 96; 1, 1, 64; 1, 3, 31; 1, 4, 4; 1, 8, 47; 1, 8, 31; 1, 6, 40; 1, 10, 56; 2, 1, 78; 2, 2, 6; 2, 4, 4; 2, 5, 31 and 121; 2, 6, 38; 1, 4, 13; 4, 2, 4; 4, 9, 1.

85–86. These lines remind us of the mediaeval penance; in the poet's time they suggested the worship of Isis, cp. 1, 3, 23–24 and notes; Seneca, *Dial.* 7, 26, 8, 'cum sistrum aliquis concutiens ex imperio mentitur . . . cum aliquis genibus per viam repens ululat,' etc.; Juv. 6, 524 (of a superstitious woman), 'inde superbi | totum regis agrum nuda ac tremibunda cruentis | erepet genibus'; Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 1, 51, etc.; Cassius Dio, 43, 21, 2.

86. **tundere poste caput**: Cicero does not approve of this drastic method of exhibiting sorrow or repentance, cp. *Tusc. Disput.* 3, 62, 'illa varia et detestabilia genera lugendi, paedores, muliebres lacerationes genarum, pec-

toris, feminum, capitis percussiones,' but it was not at all uncommon, cp. Augustus himself after the defeat of Varus, Sueton. *Aug.* 23, 'adeo denique consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summisso caput interdum foribus illideret vociferans "Quintili Vare, legiones redde."' The best description of this orgiastic stage of mourning is perhaps Lukian, *De Luctu*, 12, *οἰμωγαὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κωκυτὸς γυναικῶν καὶ παρὰ πάντων δάκρυα καὶ στέρνα τυπτόμενα καὶ σπαραττομένη κόμη καὶ φοινισσόμεναι παρειαί· καί που καὶ ἐσθὴς καταρρήγνυται καὶ κόνις ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πάττεται καὶ οἱ ζῶντες οἰκτρότεροι τοῦ νεκροῦ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χαμαὶ κυλινδοῦνται πολλάκις καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀράττουσι πρὸς τὸ ἔδαφος, ὁ δὲ εὐσχήμων καὶ καλὸς καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐστεφανωμένος ὑψηλὸς πρόκειται καὶ μετέωρος ὥσπερ ἐς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένος.*

87–88. Here the poet turns suddenly on some unfeeling scoffer in his audience (*laetus*, 'he jests at scars that never felt a wound') and takes refuge in the universal folk doctrine of Nemesis or balance reflected in numerous popular sayings, ''Tis a long lane that has no turning,' 'Pride goeth before a fall,' etc., and appearing again and again in antique authors, cp. 1, 5, 5–6 n.; 1, 5, 69–70 n.; Soph. *Elektra*, 915, *ἀλλ' ὦ φίλη, θάρσυνε· τοῖς αὐτοῖσί τοι | οὐχ αὑτὸς αἰεὶ δαιμόνων παραστατεῖ*, etc., cp. 2, 6, 19–20 n.

87. at: 1, 1, 33 n. — **caveto**: so *timeto*, 1, 5, 69; *esto*, 1, 8, 50; *servato* and *caveto*, 1, 6, 16 f.; *caveto*, 4, 2, 3; *faveto*, 4, 5, 9. The second imperative outside of certain verbs is more or less old-fashioned and solemn, and is therefore not infrequent in the poets. Sometimes the distinction can be felt but not always; *e.g. faveto*, 4, 5, 9, is immediately preceded by *cape*.

88. uni: for the (rare and poetic) dative with *saevire* cp. Ovid, *Her.* 4, 148 and 83 n. on *templis*. — **usque**: *i.e. semper*. This use of *usque* as an independent adverb is characteristic of the folk speech (hence abundant in Plautus and Terence) and of the poets, esp. of the elegy and of Martial; every one remembers Catullus's 'Egnatius qui candidos habet dentes | renidet usque quaque.' The use of *usque* thus in Livy is a mark of his poetical style. Elsewhere in classical prose it is very rare, and only in certain phrases like *usque adeo*, *dum*, *donec*, etc. In the elegiac poets this use of *usque* is especially common in the pentameter, and in over 80% of the cases it begins the last dactyl as here. Eleven, for example, are found in Tibullus (8 of them in the pentameter), and all in the last dactyl (1, 2, 88; 3, 16; 5, 74; 6, 8; 8, 36; 9, 38; 2, 4, 14; 2, 5, 32). Hence the tendency of certain cadences to become fixed, *e.g. usque moras*, 1, 3, 16; Ovid, *Fast.* 3, 686; *usque fores*, 1, 5, 74; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 4, 62; *usque manu*, 2, 4, 14; Ovid, *Fast.* 3, 872; *Ibis*, 424, etc.

In the hexameter the usual position of *usque* (though never so in Tibullus, cp. 2, 5, 63 and 111; 2, 6, 35) is at the beginning of the fifth foot.

89–96. The application of this law of Nemesis to love runs all through

antique erotic poetry, see Introd. p. 46, and is the real basis of a number of constantly recurring motives. The general substrate of the argument is, Love cannot be avoided, at least the chances against it are infinitesimal. Postponement invites heavier punishment (Menander, 235 K. *εἶτ' οὐ μέγιστός ἐστι τῶν θεῶν Ἔρως | καὶ τιμιώτατός γε τῶν πάντων πολύ; | οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶ φειδωλὸς σφόδρα | ἄνθρωπος οὐδ' οὕτως ἀκριβὴς τοὺς τρόπους, | ὃς οὐχὶ τούτῳ μερίδα τῷ θεῷ νέμει | τῆς οὐσίας· ὅσοις μὲν οὖν πράως ἔχει, | νέοις ἔτ' οὖσι τοῦτο προστάττει ποιεῖν· | οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀναβολὰς ποιούμενοι, | οὗτοι προσαποτίνουσι τοῦ χρόνου τόκους*; Propertius, 1 7, 26, 'saepe venit magno faenore tardus Amor'; Ovid, *Her.* 4, 19, 'venit amor gravius quo serius,' etc.). Above all the bitter dregs of the cup are reserved by the angry gods for the scoffer and the proud (1, 8, 71; Propert. 1, 9 and 1, 7; *Anth. Pal.* 12. 23, etc.). Youth is the time for love — and youth is fleeting (1, 1, 69–74 and notes). Conversely, 'turpe senilis amor'; *γέρων ἐραστὴς ἐσχάτη κακὴ τυχή·* Menander, 509 K., *οὐκ ἂν γένοιτ' ἐρῶντος ἀθλιώτερον | οὐδὲν γέροντος πλὴν ἕτερος γέρων ἐρῶν.* Hence, to illustrate his law of Nemesis here the poet paints a favourite figure of comedy and of erotic poetry, the aged lover (1, 1, 71 n.); cp. also *Anth. Pal.* 5, 234, etc.

89–90. Cp. Thomas Lodge, *Rosalynde*, London, 1902, p. 139, 'Such (my faire shepheardesse) as disdaine in youth desire in age . . . Love while thou art young, least thou be disdained when thou art olde.'

89. **vidi ego**: for the elision, 72 n. and for the naïve touch of quasi-personal experience, 1, 4, 33–34 n.

90. **senem**: for the emphatic position, 2, 5, 93.

91. **blanditias componere**: see 1, 1, 72 n., and cp. *Twelfth Night*, 2, 5, 'He (Malvolio) has been yonder i' the sun practising behaviour to his own shadow this half hour.'

92. **fingere**: 'arrange,' cp. Propert. 3, 10, 14, 'et nitidas presso pollice finge comas,' and often. — **velle**: 'willing to,' 'ready to,' cp. 1, 9, 32; 2, 6, 4: 4, 3, 8; Lucret. 2, 558, etc.

93–97. A realistic picture eminently suggestive of the comedy.

93. **stare . . . puduit . . . detinuisse**: the present emphasizes continuance (1, 1, 45 n.), 'stand and wait,' for the perfect, 1, 1, 29–32 n.

95. **hunc . . . hunc**: on the anaphora, 1, 1, 39 n. — **puer . . . iuvenis**: on the singular, 1, 1, 42 n. — **circumterit**: the compound is confined to this one passage and may perhaps be considered merely a temporary union. I have so written it, however, in conformity with the MS. tradition and with the law of agreement in the last two feet which Tibullus rarely breaks, see 1, 3, 5 n. On the other hand, Tibullus is undeniably fond of using prepositions as adverbs, and verbal compounds with *circum* are often so loose that it is a fair

question whether they should be written as such, hence some modern editors, notably Haupt-Vahlen, give *circum terit* here instead of *circumterit*.

96. **despuit**: 54 n. *despuere in sinum* was a regular ceremonial at the sight of lunatics or epileptics, cp. Pliny, *l.c.*, in 54 n.; Theophrast. *Charact.* 16 μαινόμενόν τε ἰδὼν ἢ ἐπίληπτον φρίξας εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι.

The poor old soul is such a pitiable example of mad folly that the crowd cross themselves, as it were, at the sight of him.—**et**: for the position, 1, 3, 82; 4, 4, 26, etc.

97-98. Cp. 79 ff. and for the characteristically pagan (and human) ending, Catullus, 63, 91, 'dea, magna dea, Cybebe, dea, domina Dindymi, | procul a mea tuus sit furor omnis, era, domo: | alios age incitatos, alios age rabidos'; Propert. 3, 7, 71-72; Tib. 1, 1, 33-34 n.

98. **quid messes**, etc: proverbial; perhaps a variation of a saying more nearly represented by Horace, *Epist.* 2, 1, 220, 'ut vineta egomet caedam mea'; the Greek has it (*Frag. Com. Graec. Adesp.* 564 K.) τὴν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ γὰρ θύραν κρούει λίθῳ, which seems to come near in meaning to our own expression, 'Why cut off your nose to spite your face?'

1, 3

Messalla, called to the East by affairs of state, had invited Tibullus to accompany him as a member of his staff. The invitation was accepted, and the poet proceeded as far as Corcyra. There, however, he fell sick and was obliged to remain behind. For artistic reasons he represents himself as still there and still in danger of death. The expedition to which he refers is usually dated in the fall of 31 B.C., *i.e.* soon after the battle of Actium, when Octavianus sent out Messalla to settle the disturbed affairs of the Orient. The date, however, has been disputed, and is by no means certain. See Introd. p. 35. At any rate, the poem was written not long after the sickness.

Imitated by Loyson; Lygdamus, 3, 5; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9 (see p. 175). The piece is a *propemptikon*, like Propert. 1, 8; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 11 and 12; Horace, *Epod.* 1; Theokrit. 7, 52 ff. etc.

'You will go on your way without me, Messalla. I am sore sick in Phaeacia, a stranger in a strange land. Mother and sister are not here to perform the last rites. Delia, too, is far away. Every omen favoured my departure, yet she was ever loath to let me go, and I, too, made every excuse to linger. Let my fate be a warning to all that would leave their lovers against the will of Cupid.

'May Isis, the great goddess of healing, whom you worship, Delia, succour me in my need, and bring me home safe and sound. How well men lived in

the golden days of good King Saturn! Then there was no seafaring and no war, but continual ease and abundance, idyllic innocence and perfect peace. In these days of Jove we have war and carnage and bloodshed without end, the sea, and a thousand other short cuts to an untimely grave. Spare me, father; I have done the gods no injury in word or deed. But if it so be that my time has come, place a stone at my grave, and let it record that Tibullus died while following Messalla over land and sea.

'And when I am dead Venus herself will lead me to the Elysian Fields. In that paradise of eternal joy dwell the souls of all those who, like myself, have been faithful lovers in life and willing servants of the goddess. Deep down in the nethermost gloom lies the abode of the wicked, and black and thunderous rivers encircle it. There Tisiphone forever drives before her a throng of sinners, scuttling this way and that before her cruel scourge, and the monster watching at the gate never sleeps. There are found Ixion, and Tantalos, and Tityos, and the daughters of Danaos, traitors to love — may they be joined by those who wrong me in my love and pray for my long absence!

'I beseech you, Delia, be true, and remain modestly at home. Let me appear unexpected and unannounced as though I had dropped from heaven. Run then to my arms just as you are, with bare feet and your hair all unbound. That is my prayer, and may Lucifer, son of the morning, bring that joyous day to me!'

1. **ibitis, Messalla**: plural of the party (*i.e.* 'ipse cohorsque'), singular of the most notable person in it (*Messalla*), cp. Vergil, *A.* 9, 525, 'vos, o Calliope, precor, adspirate canenti'; Homer, *Odyss.* 2, 310, and often.

2. **o utinam**: occurs here (acc. to Blase) for the first time, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 1, 363; Val. Flaccus, 1, 113; 7, 135; 8, 439. *o si* is more common, but does not begin until Verg. *A.* 11, 415. *si* alone, as *e.g.* in Petron. 8, 'si scires quae mihi acciderunt,' is very rare, and the use of this optative subjunctive with no particle at all seems to be found only in Catull. 2, 9, 'tecum ludere possem,' and Ovid, *Her.* 8, 34, 'posset avus.' *utinam* alone, as in 2, 2, 17, and 6, 15, is common in all styles and periods. For omission of the verb as here (occasional in Cicero, cp. Ter. *Adel.* 518; Stat. *Silv.* 4, 6, 17; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 58; etc.) see 43 n., and for *atque utinam*, 4, 13, 5 n. — **memores**: the plural is afterward particularized and explained by *ipse cohorsque*, cp. 1, 5, 36 n. — **cohors**: *i.e.* the *cohors praetoria*, the group of friends, generally young men of distinguished family, taken along by the proconsul or propraetor when he went to his province, or by the general on his campaign. The practice of inviting poets and other literary men dates from Ennius, who accompanied Fulvius Nobilior on his campaign against

the Aetolians. Cp. also Catull. 10, 13; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 3, 6, and for the *cohors* of imperial times (hence, *corte, cour*, 'court'), Nero's *cohors amicorum;* Sueton. *Tib.* 46, etc.

3–9. Imitated by Lygdamus, 3, 2, 9 ff. The poet dreads death in a strange land as opposed to death at home and among kindred, the fitting close of a life of happiness and peace, as in 1, 1, 59–68. The touching passage of Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 3, 37 ff., 'tam procul ignotis igitur moriemur in oris,' etc., was probably suggested by these lines. The feeling, however, is shared by all humanity, cp. *e.g.* Propert. 3, 7, 8 ff. and 63 ff. (to Paetus); Vergil, *A.* 9, 485 ff.; Homer, *Odyss.* 24, 290 ff. and esp. Sophokles, *Elekt.* 1136 ff. (cp. 869). Epiktetos, 1, 27, 5, says, *ἀκούεις τῶν ἰδιωτῶν λεγόντων 'τάλας ἐκεῖνος, ἀπέθανεν· ἀπώλετο ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μήτηρ· ἐξεκόπη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄωρος καὶ ἐπὶ ξένης.'*

Lines 3–4 are alluded to by Ovid in his elegy on the death of Tibullus (*Amor.* 3, 9, 47), 'sed tamen hoc melius, quam si Phaeacia tellus | ignotum vili supposuisset humo.'

3. **ignotis terris**: 1, 1, 8 n.; 1, 3, 39. Cp. Theokrit. *Epig.* 11, 3, *εὖ μιν ἔθαψαν ἑταῖροι ἐπὶ ξείνης ξένον ὄντα* — 'a stranger in a strange land' — though the original of our expression is the less poetic words of *Exod.* 2, 22, *πάροικος . . . ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ.* — **Phaeacia**: *Σχερία*, Homer's land of the Phaeacians, was identified with the island of Corcyra (*Κερκύρα*, Herod., Thuk. and now; *Κορκύρα*, early inscript., coins, Strabo; Corfù, the mediaeval name, is from the Byz. *Κορυφαί*, the 'twin cliffs' upon it).

4. Greedy death (cp. 65) who lays violent hands on his victim is a popular conception, cp. 'auferet Orcus,' 'abstulit cita Mors,' 'rapuit Fatum,' and similar expressions common in the epitaphs. So too, Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9, 19, 'scilicet omne sacrum mors importuna profanat, | omnibus obscuras inicit illa manus'; Kallimach. *Epig.* 2, 5; etc. — **Mors atra**: *ater*, which as opposed to *niger* is symbolic as well as literal, is a common epithet of *mors*, see Appendix.

5–8. The ashes of the dead were gathered up, sprinkled with wine and milk, mixed with perfumes, and placed in an urn. The duty belonged to the chief mourner, cp. the epitaph (*Carm. Epig.* 1149, 3, Buech.), 'flevit praesentem mater, flevere sodales, | et mater tepido condedit ossa rogo'; Propert., for his father (4, 1, 127), and he requests Cynthia to do the same for him (2, 24, 49), reminding her, 'noli nobilibus noli conferre beatis: | vix venit extremo qui legat ossa die | hi tibi nos erimus.' See also Propert. 2, 9, 9 ff.; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9, 49 ff.; Lygd. 3, 2, 17; Lucan, 9, 60; etc.

5. **abstineas**, etc.: 1, 2, 9 n. The epanalepsis serves here as the transition, as in 2, 4, 20. — **hic mihi mater**: it is a universal law of metrical art

that whatever liberties we may take with the beginning of a verse the type of it must be clearly marked at the close. For this as well as for other reasons the law of 'conflict' (1, 2, 27 n.) in the first four feet of the hexameter yields to the law of 'agreement' in the last two. In that case (irrespective of spondaic lines which as they do not occur in Tib. need not be considered here) the verse must end in a dissyllable or a trisyllable preceded by a single word beginning not later than the fifth thesis nor earlier than the fourth arsis, thus, 9, 'mitteret urbe'; 13, 'deterrita numquam'; 7, 'dedat odores'; 15, 'mandata dedissem'; 1, 'Messalla, per undas'; 25, 'pureque lavari'; 61, 'totosque per agros'; 47, 'bella, nec ensem'; 77, 'stagna: sed acrem.' More than 90% of all the Roman hexameters surviving conform to this rule. The possible cadences remaining all involve some 'conflict' and are all exceptional. Agreeably therefore to the laws of chronology and of department (see Introd. p. 96) they are most common in the early poets and the satire, least common in the elegy. Of these exceptional cadences, 'hic mihi mater,' *i.e.* a monosyllable followed by two dissyllables (where the monosyllable softens as much as possible the objectionable conflict in the fifth foot) is decidedly the favourite with Tibullus (1, 2, 95, see n.; 1, 2, 41; 3, 5; 3, 23; 6, 33; 6, 57; 9, 11; 9, 21; 9, 75; 10, 5; 2, 4, 51; 5, 61; 6, 3; 6, 7; 6, 27; 4, 3, 15; 5, 1), less so with Propertius (14 exx.), still less with Ovid who reduces all exceptional usage to a minimum (only three exx. in the *Amores*, 1, 4, 67; 2, 13, 5; 2, 17, 21). As a rule, the first dissyllable is like *mihi* here, more or less enclitic or proclitic in its nature. On the contrary, in five cases (1, 6, 1; 6, 63; 2, 4, 45; 4, 59; 5, 111 — not mentioned above) Tib. neglects the law of the monosyllable (only once, 2, 23, 15, in Propertius, never in Ovid, *Amores*).

To end the hexameter with a monosyllable was always bad. It was least objectionable, however, when the last foot was filled out with another monosyllable, thus, 1, 4, 63, 'carmina ni sint' (the only ex. in Tib.); cp. Sulpicia, 4, 11, 5, and only four times in Ovid, *Amores* (1, 15, 5; 2, 4, 13; 3, 4, 5; 7, 55). With Propertius, however, this is the decided favourite among exceptional cadences (25 exx.).

The cadence represented by 'exhibitura puellis' occurs 19 times in Propertius, 11 times in Ovid, *Amores*, but only 3 times in Tibullus, all in the second book (1, 61; 3, 73; 5, 93). The following exceptional cadences occur in Propertius, but not in Tibullus nor Ovid — 2, 3, 45, 'aut mihi si quis' (cp. Sulpicia, 4, 10, 1); 2, 24, 51, 'potius precor ut me'; 2, 27, 11; 3, 1, 9; 3, 8, 3; 3, 9, 59; 4, 5, 17; 'sub limine amor qui,' 2, 25, 17 (cp. the Vergilian 'praeruptus aquae mons'); 'mercede hyacinthos,' 4, 7, 33; 'Oricia terebintho' (cp. the Vergilian 'nitens elephanto'); 'fors et in hora,' 2, 9, 1; 3, 4, 19; 'increpitarent,' 2, 26, 15; 1, 8, 35 (characteristic of Lucretius and the early poets).

6. **maestos sinus**: possibly hypallage (cp. Verg. *A.* 11, 35, 'et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae'), no doubt, too, with a suggestion of *nigra vestis*, the mourning garb — though this is not proved by Lygdamus's imitation, 3, 2, 17. For hypallage in Tib. see 1, 4, 10 n.

7. **Assyrios**: *i.e. Syrios* as in Catullus, 66, 12; Vergil, *E.* 4, 25; Horace, *Od.* 2, 11, 16, and often. Perfumes were habitually known as Syrian because the products of the East came overland by caravan and were shipped to Greece and Rome from Syrian ports, more especially Petra and Gaza. Most of the *odores* really came from Arabia, as Tibullus (cp. 2, 2, 3) was himself aware. — **odores**: the use of perfumes and unguents for this purpose is often mentioned, cp. Aisch. *Agam.* 1311; Bion, 1, 70; Propert. 2, 13, 30; 3, 16, 23, etc. Their use for the funeral fire itself — a vast expense much discussed and criticized by the thinkers of antiquity — is another matter.

8. **fleat**: 1, 1, 65–66 n. — **effusis comis**: 1, 1, 67 n. — **sepulcra**: for the plural the analogy of *manes* (1, 1, 67) is quoted. The plural, however, may be indefinite or because the poet for the moment saw not only his own tomb, but those of his kindred around it, cp. 1, 1, 4 n. Perhaps too *sepulcra* is partly due to the analogy of *funera*, as in Propert. 2, 1, 56, 'ex hac ducentur funera nostra domo,' and often, cp. 'Come, therefore, and to Thasos send his body: | His funerals shall not be in our camp.' — Shak.

9. **non usquam**: corresponds to and emphasizes the *non hic* of 5, cp. Hor. *Sat.* 1, 6, 14; Livy, 8, 1, 7, etc. — **mitteret**: Catull. 66, 29, 'sed tum maesta virum mittens quae verba locuta es'; Verg. *A.* 11, 47, 'me conplexus euntem mitteret in magnum imperium,' etc.

10. **ante**: adverbial.

11–12. Divination by *sortes* (cp. also 1, 8, 3; 2, 5, 13) was widespread in Italy and prevalent from the earliest times. Their use was general in the various temples (the most famous being the temple of Fortuna at Praeneste, cp. also the famous *sortes Vergilianae* of a later date); but *sortilegi* also plied their trade in the Circus and other crowded parts of the city (Hor. *Sat.* 1, 6, 114; 1, 9, 30; Cicero, *Div.* 1, 132; Juv. 6, 583, etc.). The *sortes* were pieces of wood or other material inscribed with some conveniently indefinite statement. These were placed in an urn (*situla*, Plautus, *Casina*, 359 ff., etc.) and shuffled. Then one, or one at a time, was drawn out and its meaning interpreted by the *sortilegus* (cp. the amusing passage in Apuleius, *Met.* 9, 8). The two lines before us describe Delia's method of consulting the *sortes* to find whether it will be safe for Tib. to go with Messalla. The process is not clear in the traditional text and no emendation (if emendation is needed) is entirely satisfactory. Adopting Muretus's *trinis* for the traditional *triviis*, the plain meaning is that Delia herself drew a lot three times (for luck) in

succession and that in each case the boy drew a favourable conclusion from the inscription. To a certain extent this reverses the regular procedure so far as we know it from other sources. It was not usual for the person interested to draw the lot (unless Juv. 6, 583 is a case in point). Thanks to a world-wide belief in the divining powers of little children, a small boy was, and still is, preferred for that purpose; so Cicero, *Div.* 2, 86, of the temple at Praeneste, 'quid igitur in his potest esse certi quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscentur atque ducuntur?' That the same was true in the Middle Ages is shown, *e.g.*, by Boiardo, *Orl. Innam.* 1, 1, 57; Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 30, 24. The same method is pursued to-day in selecting the winning numbers in the Italian lottery, and with us in apportioning public lands under the homestead law. In short, except in the passage before us, the boy does not interpret the lot, he draws it, and the interpretation is given by some one else, or perhaps left to the ingenuity of the person interested.

11. **ter**: 1, 2, 54 n. — **sustulit**: the technical word for 'drawing' lots.

13. **dabant**: *i.e.* 'foretold,' 'promised'; so of oracles and the like, cp. Lucan, 5, 108, 'dedit ille minas impellere belli,' etc. — **reditus**: 1, 1, 4 n. The plural is distributive, *i.e.* the reply to each of Delia's inquiries (all summed up in *cuncta*) was 'reditŭs.' So often in the poets, *e.g.* Ovid, *Fast.* 1, 279, 'ut populo reditus pateant ad bella profecto'; *Her.* 10, 103, 'nec tibi quae reditus monstrarent fila dedissem'; Hor. *Epod.* 16, 35, etc. So of *signa* in 20 below. — **est deterrita**: *i.e.* 'prevented,' 'dissuaded,' hence the const. with *quin* after the analogy of *prohibeo*, etc. So Plaut. *Amphit.* 560; *Miles Glor.* 332; etc.

14. **fleret vias**: for this accus. with verbs of emotion (often in the Augustan poets) cp. 1, 1, 61; 1, 10, 56; 2, 4, 46; 1, 9, 54; 1, 2, 87; 1, 4, 84; 1, 7, 27; 2, 5, 61. — **respiceret**: the traditional reading seems fully warranted by such passages as Hirtius, *B. G.* 8, 27, 2, 'si tempore eodem coactus esset et externum sustinere hostem et respicere ac timere oppidanos'; Caesar, *B.C.* 1, 5, 2, 'post octo denique menses variarum actionum respicere ac timere consuerant'; Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 656, 'sed non strictos respicit enses'; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 31, 'nec apud trepidas militum auris, alios validiores exercitus respicientium,' lit. 'look behind one,' *i.e.* 'view closely with alarm or anxiety.' — **vias**: 1, 1, 26 n.

15–20. On these lover's excuses for tarrying see esp. Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 214, 'tu tantum, quamvis firmis retinebere vinclis, | i procul et longas carpere perge vias! | flebis, et occurret desertae nomen amicae, | stabit et in media pes tibi saepe via; | sed quanto minus ire voles, magis ire memento: | perfer et invitos currere coge pedes! | nec pluvias opta, nec te peregrina morentur | sabbata nec damnis Allia nota suis; | nec quot transieris, sed quot tibi, quaere, supersint | milia, nec, maneas ut prope, finge moras; | tempora nec numera nec crebro respice Romam, | sed fuge'; *Her.* 5, 49, etc.

15. **solator**: the formation and use of agent nouns of this type is characteristic of the Roman poets, especially of the epic poets of the first century who furnish a number of rarities of this sort. The small number of them in Tibullus is quite in harmony with the studied simplicity of his style. *solator* is distinctly poetic and was doubtless rare, so also *consitor* (2, 3, 63), but otherwise we find only *amator*, *auctor*, *cultor*, *ianitor*, *pastor*, *praedator*, *textrix*, and *victor* — all in common use.

16. **tardas**: active, cp. 1, 1, 8 n. — **usque**: 1, 2, 88 n.

17. **aut**: introduces the alternative of the preceding line, *i.e.* 'quaerebam . . . moras;' aut 'ego sum causatus,' etc. — **causatus**: for the shift from direct statement ('aves dant omina dira') to indirect statement ('me tenuisse,' etc.) in the next line, cp. 2, 5, 71–78, and notes. Not uncommon, for instance, in the speeches of Livy (23, 45, 7; 26, 13, 3; 26, 22, 8; 27, 40, 8, etc.). — **aves**: omens good and bad from this source are constantly referred to, *e.g.* Val. Max. 1, 4, 2, 'Ti. Gracchus tribunatum adepturus pullarium domi consuluit ab eoque ire in campum prohibitus est. sed cum pertinaciter pergeret, sic illisit mox extra ianuam pedem, ut eius excuteretur articulus (cp. 19–20 below). deinde tres corvi prodeunti ei cum vocibus adversis involaverunt et compugnantes tegulam ante pedes eius deiecerunt'; Theophrast. *Charact.* 16 (28 Jebb); etc.

18. **Saturni diem**: this happens to be the earliest literary reference now surviving in Latin to the ancestor of our modern name Saturday. On the Greek side, however, we learn from Cassius Dio that this name for the Jewish Sabbath had already been in use for some years. In 49, 22, 4, writing of the year 36 B.C. he says, *ἑάλωσαν μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ὠνομασμένῃ*, cp. 37, 17, 3; 66, 7, 2 (Vespasian's capture of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.); Frontin. *Strateg.* 2, 1, 17, 'Divus Augustus Vespasianus Iudaeos Saturni die, quo eis nefas est quicquam seriae rei agere adortus superavit.'

Why the Jewish Sabbath was called *Saturni dies* was a matter of doubt to the investigators of the first century, cp. Tacitus, *Hist.* 5, 4, 'septimo die otium placuisse ferunt, quia is finem laborum tulerit; dein blandiente inertia septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum. alii honorem eum Saturno haberi, seu principia religionis tradentibus Idaeis quos cum Saturno pulsos et conditores gentis accepimus, seu quod de septem sideribus quis mortales reguntur, altissimo orbe et praecipua potentia stella Saturni feratur ac pleraque caelestium viam suam et cursus septenos per numeros compleant.'

The Jews began to make themselves felt in Rome soon after the eastern conquests of Pompey in 63 B.C. By the time of Tibullus and Horace their strict observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest was doubtless one of the

reasons why some of the more superstitious Romans were led to consider it a *dies nefastus*, a day upon which it was unlucky to begin any important undertaking, cp. Horace, *Sat.* 1, 9, 69; Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 220; *Ars Amat.* 1, 415; Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 160 (written in the first century B.C.); Pers. 5, 184; Juv. 14, 105; etc. Opposition, however, to sabbatarianism was steady and consistent until the very fall of the Western Empire, cp. Tacitus and Juvenal, *l.c.*; Rutil. Namat. 1, 381; etc. The genuine Roman objected to it as a foreign superstition, still more because it introduced so many days of idleness.

Tibullus was undoubtedly acquainted with our modern week of seven days, each named for and under the sway of one of the seven planets. An inscription found at Pompeii in 1901 (*CIL.* IV, 6779) has SATVRNI SOLIS LUNAII MARTIS≡IOVIS VIINIIRIS, *i.e.* 'Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, (Wednesday is illegible), Thursday, Friday.' The presence in it of QVI, *i.e. Quintilis*, the old name for July, suggests a date before or not long after 44 B.C. At any rate this is the oldest contemporary reference to the matter as yet discovered on Italian soil. The origin and growth of our modern week has been much discussed (the best and most recent authority is E. Maass, *Tagesgötter*, Berlin, 1902). Cassius Dio, 37, 18 (and many modern authorities follow him), says that our week originated in Egypt. The statement is supported by the fact that the seven planets themselves are so intimately associated with astrology and that the beginnings of astrology, so far as we can now trace them, take us back to Egypt of the Ptolemies. Maass, however, makes a strong plea for a somewhat different theory of origin. His conclusions briefly stated are:

'The seven-day week without the planets is Jewish.'

'The seven planets as gods governing the destinies of mankind are Assyrian.'

'The combination of these two ideas, *i.e.* the formation of our modern week, is due to the Hellenistic Orient, starting from Ionian Asia Minor.'

'It is impossible as yet to name a date.'

'The week of seven days is thus really a product of cosmopolitan Hellenism which, starting in the Greek East, spread over the entire Roman Empire and was finally adopted by the Christians.'

The earliest references to it on Italian ground are all confined to southern Italy, cp. *CIL. l.c.*; I^2, p. 218 (found at Posillipo, now at the Johns Hopkins Univ., early Empire, see H. L. Wilson, *A. J. P.* 31, 261), etc. A similar seven-day calendar belonging to Trimalchio is described by Petron. 30. Official recognition (statues of the seven gods, etc. in Rome) begins as early, perhaps, as Trajan. Soon after it appears in Gaul, and Cassius Dio, *l.c.*, writing in the time of Septimius Severus, says that the practice of naming the

days after the planets was then general throughout the world, especially at Rome itself. Maass points out that the Germanic days of the week go back to at least as early as 300 A.D. The peculiarity of the Hellenistic week, as seen from the Pompeian inscription quoted above, is that it began on Saturday. The change to Sunday was made by the Christians and is a return to the old Jewish system. For the various objections of both Christians and Pagans to this rival of the old Roman week of nine days, see especially Maass, *l.c.* with notes and references.

— **săcrām**: elsewhere, Tibullus scans this word either as săcră or săcrā, and if we adopt Saturnive săcrām, the emended reading generally accepted since Broukhusius, even this one exception is removed; hence Wölfflin's conclusion (cp. *Archiv f. Lat. Lexikographie*, 8, 420; *Wiener Stud.* 7, 164) that this was actually a rule of Tibullian usage. Rasi, however, in his searching examination of this aspect of our poet's art ('De positione debili quae vocatur seu de syllabae ancipitis ante mutam cum liquida usu apud Tibullum,' *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardico*, 40, 653, cp. Tollkiehn, *Berlin. Philologische Wochenschrift*, 32, p. 394; cp. also, G. Lupi, *Bollettino di Filologia Classica*, 9, 231), has shown that Tibullus's usage here was a matter of accident not design. There is no reason in the world why he should not have availed himself of the freedom which his friends, Vergil and Horace, allowed themselves in the use of this word (cp. *e.g.* *Sat.* 1, 9, 1; 1, 5, 99; *Od.* 2, 13, 29; *Carm. Saec.* 4; Verg. *G.* 3, 334; *A.* 2, 525; 3, 1; 10, 538; 11, 533, etc.). The text of the Ambrosianus in this distich is clear and satisfactory as it stands, and I have not hesitated to follow Vahlen (*Tibullus*, Haupt-Vahlen, 6th edit. ff.) in adopting it. — **tenuisse**: for *retinuisse*, see 44 n. But this is not uncommon in Livy's prose, cp. 3, 2, 1, with H. J. Müller's note.

19–20. Stumbling has always been an evil omen, especially at the beginning of anything (*ingressus iter*) and above all, on the threshold (*in porta*). Ovid, *Met.* 10, 452 (of Myrrha), 'ter pedis offensi signo est revocata, ter omen | funereus bubo letali carmine fecit'; *Amor.* 1, 12, 3; *Her.* 13, 88; *Trist.* 1. 3, 55; Val. Max. 1, 4, 2 (quoted above); Verg. *A.* 2, 242 (with Forbiger's note); Pliny, *H. N.* 2, 24, etc. Hence to prevent the possibility of stumbling, the Roman bride was lifted over the threshold of her new home; see Catull. 61, 159 (with the notes of Riese and Ellis), and cp. Plaut. *Cas.* 815 (with a comic application) 'sensim super attolle limen pedes, nova nupta; | sospes iter incipe hoc, uti viro tuo | semper sis superstes,' etc.

21–22. A general truth serving as the conclusion of lines 9–20. Delia's real reason for anxiety (13–14) was love. Tibullus's real reason for lingering — the others were merely alleged (*causatus*) — was love. Love alone was plainly against a journey during which, as it turns out, the poet has fallen dan-

gerously ill. Love, then, was the real omen which both should have observed and obeyed. Therefore, 'audeat invito ne quis,' etc. Another characteristic illustration of the power of love, cp. 1, 2, 89–96, 1, 5, 1–6, and 1, 6, 29–30, with notes.

23–24. The poet calls upon Isis for help, although, in spite of her obligations to Delia (23–26), he certainly has received none so far. If, however, she will help — and her ability to help is well attested — Delia will do further service. The naïve combination of doubt and fervent prayer accompanied by flattery and ending with a bribe is characteristic.

The worship of Isis began to assume prominence in Rome as early as the time of Sulla, and in spite of occasional opposition from the state continued to thrive and spread until, by the third century A.D., it had penetrated to all parts of the empire. In the time of Augustus it was especially popular with women of Delia's class (hence *tua*, 23), which accounts for the frequent reference to it in the elegiac poets. A century later the worship was recruited from all ranks, and for many generations it was a most formidable rival of Christianity. In fact, it has often been observed that in its ideas and symbols, its ascetic regulations (cp. 1, 2, 85–86 n.) and ritual, it has much in common with Christianity. The worship involved a complicated ritual, all sorts of symbolic observances, fasting, mortification of the flesh, etc. (cp. 25 below). Through strict observance of these the neophyte might rise to a better knowledge of the secrets of the goddess. In return she promised her protection in this world and a life of service in the world to come.

There was a regular morning and evening service (cp. 31) and also certain yearly festivals, esp. the *Isidis Navigium*, which began March 5, and about Nov. 1 a great festival, during which was enacted the well-known story of the goddess — ending with εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν, etc. (Schol. on Juv. 8, 29; Sen. *Apocol.* 13, etc.), the cry of joy given by the worshippers at the discovery of the lost Sarapis-Osiris (Minuc. Fel. 22, 1, etc.).

24. aera: *i.e.* the *sistrum* or rattle which from time immemorial was associated with the cult of Isis. The use of it was in itself an act of worship and devotees regularly employed it (as here) during the long hours of prayer and meditation in the temple, which was so characteristic of the worship of this goddess that Florus, in the second century, speaks (p. 185, Rossb.) of taking a journey to Egypt, 'ut ora Nili viderem et populum semper in templis otiosum peregrinae deae sistra pulsantem.' Such hours were in addition to the regular services and were, of course, undertaken for some special purpose. Here Delia is supposed to have been praying for her lover, cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9, 33 (on the death of Tib.), 'quid vos sacra iuvant, quid nunc Aegyptia prosunt | sistra, quid in vacuo secubuisse toro?'

The *sistrum* was shaken, not struck, hence *repulsa* here shows an extension of use similar — though less violent — to that of *pulsa* in 1, 1, 4 (cp. note). But *repulsa* here is justified by the fact that with the more usual metonymy of *aera*, *i.e.* cymbals, it is the proper word (as *e.g.* in 1, 8, 22). Moreover, though the *sistrum* was shaken, the sound so produced is more suggestive of striking. For the evidently iterative sense of *repulsa* cp. Ovid, *Met.* 3, 533, etc.

25. **quidve**: supply *prodest* (from *prosunt* above) and construe *lavari* and *secubuisse* with it. *memini* is parenthetical. For the combination of perf. and pres. infin. 1, 1, 29–32 n. — **lavari . . . secubuisse**: these observances, one or both, are immemorial in religious ritual, cp. Homer, *Odyss.* 17, 58, *ἡ δ' ὑδρηναμένη, καθαρὰ χροῒ εἵμαθ' ἑλοῦσα, | εὔχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι* · 4, 750; Tib. 2, 1, 11–14; Propert. 3, 10, 13; Livy 5, 22, 4; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 291; Cic. *Leg.* 2, 24; Pers. 2, 15; etc. In the worship of Isis they were especially prominent. Ceremonial bathing was very frequent (cp. Juv. 6, 522, etc.) and was often accompanied by sprinkling with water from the Nile (Juv. *l.c.*) or its representative (Servius on Verg. *A.* 2, 116, etc.). The *secubitus*, which is often mentioned by the elegiac poets (1, 6, 11; Propert. 2, 33, 1; 4, 5, 34; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 74; 2, 19, 42; 3, 9, 34; Juv. 6, 536; Apul. *Met.* 11, 23; etc.), lasted ten days (Propert. 2, 33, 2, cp. the *neuvaines* of the modern church), and the devotee usually went into retreat in the temple during this period (Propert. *l.c.*, etc.). They were a preparation for the 'sacri observandique dies' (Juv. 6, 536), the festivals or special seasons devoted to the goddess and her worship.

Isis is here addressed as the goddess of healing, one of the most important of her many functions and frequently mentioned. The numerous ex-votos in her temple, each the thank-offering of one who has been cured by her, are so many testimonials to her power as a healer. Ex-votos of this class often consisted of models of the diseased part and many have been found in the temple of Isis at Pompeii and elsewhere. Paintings, however, *pictae tabellae*, were habitually used for ex-votos of all sorts, but especially by those who had escaped the perils of the sea, cp. Cicero, *N. D.* 3, 89; Hor. *A. P.* 20; etc.; hence, often in connection with Isis as the goddess of seafarers, *e.g.* Juv. 12, 28, 'pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?'

27. **posse**: supply *te*, cp. 1, 5, 73 n.; 2, 6, 13 n. The parenthetical excuse, as it were, for the prayer is frequent and characteristic, cp. 51; Verg. *A.* 6, 117; Homer, *Odyss.* 4, 237, etc.

28. **multa**: 'many a' (so 2, 3, 42; 2, 5, 72) is a use characteristic of poetry and post-Augustan prose, cp. 1, 1, 42 and 1, 9, 68 with notes.

29. **ut**: consecutive, *i.e.* Tib. promises that 'if Isis cures him Delia shall,'

etc. — **voces**: *i.e.* 'prayers' (cp. Hor. *Epist.* 1, 1, 34) or perhaps the *laudes* of 31.

30. As a rule, the antique worshipper stood up. But the worshippers of Isis, agreeably to their habits (cp. note on *aera*, 24), were provided with seats. These benches (so in the temple of Isis at Pompeii) or *cathedrae* (Mart. 2, 14, 8) were set before the altar (*ante focos*, Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 1, 52) where the occupants could contemplate the image of the goddess when the sanctuary was opened (*fores*). Delia is for the time to become a devotee of Isis, taking her place among the regular worshippers, *lino tecta*, 'dressed in linen,' the wearing of which at all times was incumbent on the priests, cp. Herod. 2, 37, and often.

31. **bisque die**, etc.: the two regular services of the day are here referred to. The first — matins — was before sunrise and began with the *apertio templi*, cp. Apuleius, *Met.* 11, 20, 'templi matutinas apertiones opperiebar. ac dum, velis candentibus reductis in diversum, deae venerabilem conspectum adprecamur et per dispositas aras circumiens sacerdos, rem divinam procurans supplicamentis sollemnibus, de penetrali fontem petitum spondeo libat: rebus iam rite consummatis inchoatae lucis salutationibus religiosi primam nuntiantes horam perstrepunt.' The second service — vespers — began at two o'clock, Mart. 10, 48, 1, 'nuntiat octavam Phariae sua turba iuvencae.' Details of the ritual are not certain. — **resoluta comas**: *i.e.* because she is taking part in the service to a god, cp. 2, 5, 66, hence the sorceress during her incantation is always thus; Ovid, *e.g.*, speaking of Medea (*Met.* 7, 180), says 'postquam plenissima fulsit | ac solida terras spectavit imagine luna, | egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas, | nuda pedem, nudis humeris infusa capillis.' So, too, when a woman mourns for the dead (1, 1, 67 n.), because this is really a sacrifice to the *manes*. The reason according to Servius on Verg. *A.* 4, 518 (cp. 2, 134 and 6, 48) is because, 'in sacris nihil solet esse religatum.' See J. Heckenbach, 'De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis,' *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, *Band 9*, *Heft 3*, Giessen, 1911.

32. **insignis**: because of her beauty, also because she would be 'comata inter calvos.' The priests of Isis shaved their heads, cp. Juv. 6, 533; Herod. 2, 37, etc. — **Pharia**: *i.e.* Alexandrian, so Ovid (of the worship of Isis), *Ars Amat.* 3, 635; *Pont.* 1, 1, 38. The island, now Farillo, stands at the entrance of the harbour and has always been famous for the lighthouse built upon it by Ptolemy II.

33–34. Transition to the next topic is introduced by our poet's favourite *at*, so 1, 3, 67; 83; 87; 1, 2, 87; 1, 4, 27; 59; 67; 1, 5, 19; 59; 69; 1, 6, 15; 23; etc. For the Romans all the associations of our word home were in these lines, cp. Catull. 31, 8, 'ac peregrino | labore fessi venimus Larem ad nostrum'; 9, 3, 'venistine domum ad tuos Penates,' etc.

33. **celebrare**: 'often approach,' *i.e.* 'may it be my lot to return home and live long to enjoy it,' cp. 1, 6, 17 n.

34. For this sacrifice cp. *e.g.* Cato, *De Agri Cult.* 143, 2, 'kalendis, idibus, nonis, festus dies cum erit, coronam in focum indat, per eosdemque dies Lari familiari pro copia supplicet'; Propert. 4, 3, 53, 'omnia surda tacent, rarisque assueta kalendis | vix aperit clausos una puella Lares,' etc. The Lares were thus honoured (with *tura, serta, uva, vinum,* etc. — 'pro copia,' as Cato says) not only on regular days and feast days as mentioned above, but on special family occasions such as births, marriages, when some member of the family left or returned home, upon moving into a new house, attainment of majority, death, etc. — **reddere**: for which the simple *dare* sometimes occurs, is regularly used of offerings to the gods (cp. Verg. *E.* 5, 75, etc.), so in Greek ἀποδιδόναι, *i.e.* 'we return thanks,' 'reddimus quia debentur' (Servius on Verg. *G.* 2, 194), cp. 'render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.' — **reddereque**: a dactylic infinitive with *que* preventing elision appears to be very rare. I have noted no other case in Tib., Propertius, or the *Carmina Amatoria* of Ovid. Other dactylic words so used are 1, 6, 48; 1, 10, 26; 4, 3, 10; Lygd. 3, 2, 10; Propertius, 25 exx.; Ovid, *Carm. Amat.* 24 exx.

35–48. The Golden Age (cp. 1, 10, 1; 2, 3, 71; esp. Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 8, 35) was a favourite theme of antique literature. It is the antithesis of present discomfort, the vision of unfulfilled desire reflected on the screen of the past. As such the description of it, though remarkably conservative, varies with the times, the department, and the setting of the episode. The earliest and most famous version is Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 109 ff. The idea was much developed and elaborated by the Mystics of the sixth century B.C. and again, at the second revival of Mysticism before and during Vergil's time (Orphic, Sibylline, and magic books, etc.). Not only poets (Theognis, 1135, poets of the Old comedy such as Kratinos and Teleklides, esp. Aratos, 105, etc.) develop the theme, but historians and romancers (Dikaiarchos, *F. H. G.* vol. II, p. 233; Dionys. Hal. 1, 36; Diod. Sic. 5, 66, etc.) and esp. philosophers (Empedokles, 128, Diels; Plato, *Polit.* 271 E; Posidonius, in Seneca, *Epist.* 90, etc.) who use it as an exponent of their ideals and theories. On the Roman side some of the most notable references to the Golden Age or to its analogues in this world or the next (the Hyperboreans, Elysium, the Isles of the Blest, etc.) are Vergil, *E.* 4, 9; *G.* 1, 125; 2, 538; Hor. *Epod.* 16, 41; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 89; 15, 96; Seneca, *Phaedra*, 525; *Medea*, 309; *Octavia*, 395; Juvenal, 6, 1; Claudian, *In Ruf.* 1, 380; *De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 19; Boethius, *Cons. Phil.* 2, met. 5; etc. Lucretius, 5, 925 ff., a famous passage often imitated by later writers, is the most important presentation of the opposing view of those evolutionists of antiquity, the Epicureans. For a more extensive discussion see my 'Ages of

the World (Greek and Roman)' in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1908, vol. I, pp. 192–200, with ref. Especially notable here for the Alexandrian tradition of this theme as developed by Tibullus is the fragment of an elegy found in Egypt (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XIV). I give the text of H. Weil, *Révue des Études Grecques*, 11, 241 —

> [Τοῖος ἔην θνητοῖσι νόος, ῥῆστον βίον εὖτε
> ἠλλάξαντ' αἰν]ῆς ἀντὶ γεωτομίης,
> [οἷος ἔην Γλαύ]κῳ Λυκίῳ, ὅτε σιφλὸς ἔπειγε
> [ἀνθ ἑκατομβοί]ων ἐννεάβοια λαβεῖν.
> [πρὶν δ' οὔτις σ]μινύην, πέλεκυν π[αχὺν οὔτε δίκελλαν
> χάλκευεν θη]κτὴν ἀμφοτέρῳ στόμα[τι,
> ὄφρα δίκην σκαπα]νῆος ὀρειτύπου ἐργάζηται
> [ἀμπολέων γα]ίης ὀκρυόειν ἔδαφος,
> [αὔλακι δ' οὐ βάλλε]σκεν ἔνι σπόρον οὔτε ν[έαινεν,
> ἀλλ' ἤνει Κρο]νίδου δῶρα κυθηγενέος·
> [πᾶσιν ἄτερθε πόνοι]ο σαρωνίδας οὔδας ἔνε[γκε
> καὶ βαλάνους μερόπω]ν δαῖτα παλαιοτάτην.

Tibullus's description is brief and simple after his usual manner and as befits its purely episodic character. The particular emphasis on idyllic simplicity and peace belongs to the tradition of his department. It is also in harmony with his temperament besides being the artistic justification of the digression at this point. The motives which he selects are all traditional, and as usual no sign of any one specific model is to be detected. For an interesting imitation (combined with motives from Ovid) see Luigi Alamanni, *l. c.* in Introd. to 1, 1.

35. **Saturno rege**: Saturnus = Kronos was an early equation in the Hellenization of Italic mythology. One of the most notable features of the legend of the Ages was the association of it with the great dynastic change of Olympos. The Golden Age was under the sway of Kronos. Since then his son Zeus has ruled the world in his stead. This primitive association of Kronos-Saturnus with the Golden Age persisted until a late date, not only in the genuine folk tradition to which it really belongs, but also to a large extent in the literature, hence the frequency of such designations for it as ἡ Κρόνου βασιλεία (Plato, *Polit.* 276 A), *Saturno rege*, as here, *Saturnia regna* (Verg. *E.* 4, 6), cp. *aureus Saturnus* (Verg. *G.* 2, 538), etc.

36. He is probably thinking of long marches in particular. The characteristic touch is new in this connection and suggestive of his present state, cp. 1, 1, 26 n.

37–40. One of the most conspicuous factors in the further development of the legend of the Golden Age, especially after the time of Aratos, was the

idea, largely due to the Cynics and Stoics, that the downfall of man has been accomplished largely by his own discoveries and inventions. The favourite examples are those chosen by Aratos. They are the first sword (cp. 1, 10, 1 f., esp. 47 f. below and notes) and the first ship. Even outside, however, of its use in this connection the diatribe on navigation was already fully developed in the poetry of Hesiod, it was a conventional theme of the Greek epigram at all periods, a regular motive in the poetry of the Augustan age, and by the first century of our era a mere rhetorical commonplace; cp. Stobaios, 57, and, among extended passages, Sophokles, *Antigone*, 332; Seneca, *Medea*, 301; 607; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 11, 1; Propert. 1, 17, 13; 3, 7, 29; Statius, *Theb.* 6, 19; *Achill.* 1, 62; Claudian, *De Rapt. Pros.* 1, *Praefat.* The argument ultimately rests, for the most part, on the axiom that the gods created man to live on the solid earth. 'Terrestre animal homo,' says Columella, 1, *Praefat.* 8 (cp. Propert. 3, 7, 34; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 11, 30; Statius, *Silv.* 3, 2, 62; Sil. Ital. 11, 470; Lucan, 6, 401, etc.). In his natural state, therefore, *i.e.* in the Golden Age, he remained on shore. Hence, as the poet says in this passage (cp. 2, 3, 39), there was no seafaring in the Golden Age (Hesiod, *W. and D.* 236; Aratos, 110; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 94; Propert. 3, 7, 31; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 8, 43 and 49; Seneca, *Phaed.* 530; *Medea*, 329; *N. Q.* 5, 18, 11; Verg. *G.* 1, 130; *E.* 4, 32; Hor. *Od.* 1, 3, 21; *Epod.* 16, 59; Manilius, 1, 77, etc.). Seafaring, then, violates the law of nature and of the gods (Hor. *Od.* 1, 3, 23; Propert. 1, 17, 13; Columella, 1, *Praefat.* 8; Seneca, *Medea*, 328, etc.), and is therefore impious (Seneca, *Medea*, 340; 605; 668; Lucan, 3, 193; Val. Flaccus, 1, 605; 627; 800; Claudian, *In Ruf.* 1, 219; Hor. *l.c.*; etc.). Every ship is in itself an insult to the sea, a deliberate challenge to an almighty power; cp. *contempserat* in 37 heightened by the equally foolhardy act of 38; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 141, etc. Further, the motive of seafaring is greed of gain (39–40; 1, 9, 9; 2, 3, 39; Eurip. *Iphig. Taur.* 410; Kallimach. *frag.* 111, Schn.; Sen. *Med.* 361; *N. Q.* 5, 18, 14; etc.), an unworthy motive. So one sin begot another, and this is the moral of Propert. 3, 7. Not only then is death by the sea an unnatural death, being brought upon man by his own device (50; Propert. 3, 7, 29; Seneca, *N. Q.* 5, 18, 8; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 8, 45; Verg. *E.* 4, 38; Pliny, *H. N.* 19, 5; etc.), but it is a punishment — often exacted by the sea itself (Propert. 3, 7, 22 and 33). Indeed, the sea deliberately seeks to entrap men through their sinful desires, 'natura insidians pontem substravit avaris,' says Propert. 3, 7, 37 (after Lucretius, 2, 557; cp. 5, 1004), etc. The sea is greedy to destroy (Hor. *Od.* 1, 28, 18; 3, 29, 61; Propert. 3, 7, 14 and 18) and utterly without mercy (Homer, *Iliad*, 16, 34, γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα | πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής· Lucretius, 2, 1155; Lygd. 3, 4, 85). It is proverbially perilous (a favourite

theme of the *Greek Anthology*, cp. 7, 267; 271–274; 278; 10, 65; etc.), treacherous, variable, violent. All the sons of Poseidon have the temper and the morals of Polyphemos, and the Roman proverb for a liar, a perjurer, and a man of wrath is *Neptuni filius* (cp. Gellius, 15, 21; Lucilius in Cicero, *N. D.* 1, 63; etc.). Hence the Argo marked a new era and one full of trouble for men (Eurip. *Iphig. Taur.* 420; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 11, 1; Lucan, 3, 193; Seneca, *Medea*, 365; 605; Val. Flaccus, 1, 800; Sil. Ital. 11, 470; etc.). The seafarer is foolhardy, he tempts an almost certain fate, and is a warning to land-lubbers (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 131; 133; 7, 264; 266; Soph. *Antig.* 333; Propert. 3, 7, 37; Manil. 1, 77, etc.). Therefore remain on land, learn to be content, and die a natural death (Propert. 3, 7, 43; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 11, 16; 30; etc.).

38. **praebueratque**: on the position of *que*, see 1, 1, 40 n.

39–40. Expands and completes the statement of 37–38, *i.e.* the *navita* (= *mercator*) invented navigation, and his motive was greed (*compendia repetens*); cp. 1, 9, 9; Manilius, 1, 87 (describing the growth of civilization), 'et vagus in caecum penetravit navita pontum | fecit et ignotis itiner commercia terris.' The Graeco-Roman *mercator*, like his Phoenician prototype, literally did roam the seas and push beyond the bounds of the known world in search of gain (cp. Manil. 4, 167). He is, therefore, a familiar and a picturesque figure in the poets, moralists, and rhetoricians, a representative type (Hor. *Sat.* 1, 1, 15; *A. P.* 117; Verg. *G.* 2, 503; etc.), the stock illustration of the perils of seafaring (Hor. *Od.* 1, 1, 15; Juv. 14, 265; 12, 17), the personification of restless energy, 'indocilis pauperiem pati,' and prepared to endure any hardship, exposure, or peril in order to avoid poverty (Hor. *Od.* 1, 1, 15; 1, 31, 13; 3, 24, 35; *Sat.* 1, 4, 29; *Epist.* 1, 16, 71; Pers. 5, 132; etc.), the characteristic embodiment of modern civilization; and as such the antipodes of the home-loving husbandman (Hor. *Od.* 1, 3, 13; Propert. 3, 7, 43; Plato, *Anth. Pal.* 7, 265, etc.) and primaeval simplicity. Hence, the Golden Age knew nothing of him. On the traditional contrast between the farmer and the trader, see 1, 9, 7–10 n.

39. **compendia**: *i.e. lucra* (1, 9, 9), for this meaning, cp. Manil. 4, 19, 'damna et compendia rerum'; 4, 175 (of the *mercator*), 'ingenium sollers, suaque in compendia pugnax.'

40. **externa merce**: foreign wares, with the same associations as in modern times. The *mercator* is at once the slave and the purveyor of the luxuries of life, cp. 2, 3, 39; Manil. 4, 167, 'merce peregrina fortunam ferre per urbes | et gravia annonae speculantem incendia ventis | credere opes orbisque orbi bona vendere posse | totque per ignotas commercia iungere terras | atque alio sub sole novas exquirere praedas | et rerum pretio subitos componere census'; cp. Aratos, 111.

41. That is, no ploughing was done. Agriculture was unknown and unnecessary. A detail often mentioned in the development of this topic, cp. 2, 1, 41 n.; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 101; *Amor.* 3, 8, 41, etc. Our poet (cp. 1, 9, 7) pairs agriculture with navigation as an invention of greed and therefore counts it as a curse, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.' It was merely a step in the natural process of evolution, acc. to the Epicureans, who did not believe in a Golden Age at all; cp. Lucretius, 5, 933, etc. According to the Cynics and Stoics, for whom the Golden Age of the past was the ideal simple life of the past, men subsisted by agriculture alone, *i.e.* lived a natural life. Hence, in the version of Aratos, which is a revision of Hesiod under the influence of Stoic doctrine, the element of marvel has disappeared, and men are described as peaceful tillers of the soil with no knowledge of civil strife or of the vexations of the law. Moreover, they were far removed from the perils of the sea; in those days there were no ships to bring the luxuries of life from abroad. This version was especially welcome to the Romans, not only on account of their temperamental Stoicism, but because it agreed more nearly with their own tradition of early times and with the character and attributes of Saturn (a god of agriculture and the reputed inventor of the plough, cp. Macrob. 1, 7, 21; 1, 10, 19; etc.) before he was identified with the Greek Kronos; cp. 1, 10, 7 f.; Propert. 3, 13, 25; Hor. *Epod.* 2, 2 f.; etc. Important here is Verg. *G.* 1, 121. The primary purpose of this version was to enhance the dignity of labour. The history of mankind is divided into two periods — the Age of Saturn and the Age of Jove. The Golden Age, when good old Saturn was king, agrees entirely with Hesiod. The second period, however, is not an age of degeneration, but an age of reform. Jupiter, the divine father of our race and of all our higher aspirations, purposely did away with the *far niente* of the old régime, 'curis acuens mortalia corda, | nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno,' being well aware that unless men have difficulties to meet and overcome they can never grow strong in any sense. In this characteristically noble conception Vergil has succeeded to a remarkable extent in meeting the demands of contemporary thought without sacrificing the traditional account of the Golden Age so dear to the poets.

42. That is, people lived naturally and therefore when they moved about used 'Shanks his mare,' 'nullus adhuc erat usus equi: se quisque ferebat,' as Ovid says, *Fast.* 2, 297. — **frenos momordit**: 'champed the bit,' so Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 28; Lucan, 6, 398; Incerti *Carm. Bucol.* 37 (*PLM.* III, p. 64, Baehr.); Sidonius, *Epist.* 9, 6, 2. Elsewhere, as in Greek, 'take the bit in one's teeth' (either lit. or met.), cp. *e.g.* Cic. *Fam.* 11, 23, 2, 'si frenum momorderis peream'; Aisch. *Prom.* 1009; Eurip. *Hippol.* 1223; Xen. *Equit.* 6, 9, etc. The same expression for two things so clearly distinguished in English is explained by the

fact that *mordere* really does describe the action of the horse in both cases. In the passage before us *domito* precludes any possibility of misunderstanding.

43–44. That is, everything was held in common, cp. Verg. *G.* 1, 125, 'ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni: | ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum | fas erat: in medium quaerebant,' etc., and the discussion in Seneca, *Epist.* 90, 36 ff. Any serious treatment of the Golden Age led inevitably to the conclusion that the ideal condition of human society was communism, cp. *e.g.* Plato, *Kritias*, 110 C, but esp. the *Republic*, 415; 417; 424; 451–465, with the notes and ref. in the edit. of Adam, Cambridge, 1902. The same theme was developed at some length by Ephoros in his account of the idealized nations of the North (Müller's *FHG.* vol. I, p. 256). Many others emphasize the same point. Tibullus, as often, leaves it to be inferred from the context, cp. 1, 9, 7–10 and notes.

43. **non domus ulla fores habuit**: no one was shut out — not even lovers, cp. 2, 3, 73. Of course, too, there were no thieves — this naïve touch reappears in Juvenal, 6, 18, 'cum furem nemo timeret | caulibus et pomis, et aperto viveret horto.' Others insist that there were not even any houses in that perfect age of nature when spring was eternal, *e.g.* Ovid, *Met.* 1, 121 (of the Silver Age), 'tum primum subiere domus: domus antra fuerunt | et densi frutices et vinctae cortice virgae'; Seneca, *Phaed.* 539, 'silva nativas opes | et opaca dederant antra nativas domus'; *Epist.* 90, 41, 'illi quos aliquod nemus densum a sole protexerat, qui adversus saevitiam hiemis aut imbris vili receptaculo tuti sub fronde vivebant, placidas transigebant sine suspirio noctes. sollicitudo nos in nostra purpura versat et acerrimis excitat stimulis: at quam mollem somnum illis dura tellus dabat! non inpendebant caelata laquearia, sed in aperto iacentes sidera superlabebantur et insigne spectaculum noctium mundus in praeceps agebatur silentio tantum opus ducens.' Those who like the Epicureans did not believe in an ideal state of nature or a fall from grace made much of this point as an illustration of the hard and wretched lot of early men, cp. Lucret. 5, 970; 982; Juv. 6, 2, etc. — **non fixus in agris**, etc.: Verg. *G.* 1, 126; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 136; Iustinus, 43, 1, 3; etc. — **fixus**: sc. *est*; omission of the copula with participles in independent sentences is uncommon in the elegy. Elsewhere in Tib. only 2, 1, 43 and 2, 5, 57; 18 times in Propertius; 39 in Ovid (14 *Carm. Amat.*, 19 *Fasti* — 14 in books 4 and 5 alone; 6 *Tristia*); never in Catullus. For omission with *utinam* see 1, 3, 2 n., 1, 3, 49–50.

44. **regeret**: *regere* (for *dirigere*) *fines* is a legal phrase found in Cicero, the *Digest*, and elsewhere. The use of the simple verb for the compound is antique and therefore more or less characteristic of the conservative language of religion and the law; so too the literal meaning of the word is often best

preserved in the primitive. For these reasons it is often preferred by the poets — esp. by the poets and the poetizing prose of the Silver Age — to call the reader's attention to the metaphor involved. We find no large use of this device, nor ought we to expect it, in the studied simplicity of Tibullus; cp. however *mittere* for *dimittere*, 1, 3, 9; *tenere* for *retinere*, 1, 3, 18; *dare* for *reddere*, 1, 5, 16; *ridere* for *arridere* (?), 1, 8, 73; *solari* for *consolari*, 2, 6, 25; etc. On the other hand, *concinuisse* for *cecinisse*, 2, 5, 10 (where see note).

45–46. The poet echoes here (cp. 61 below) one of the most persistent and characteristic features of the old folk legend; this is the belief that in the Golden Age all the imaginable blessings of life came of their own accord. When treated seriously this motive led, as we have seen (43–44 n.), to the theory of communism; when treated by satirists or by people of a less serious turn of mind, the same motive led quite as directly to one of the most important and interesting developments in the literary history of this legend. This is the treatment of the Golden Age or of its analogues in this world or the next as a comic theme. It makes its first appearance in the writers of the Old comedy, and was primarily intended by them to satirize the peculiar tenets of the Orphics. It is really, however, a folk variation and references to it turn up now and then from the Old comedy of Greece to the present day. The one best known to us is given by the old Trouvère in his lay of the 'Land of Cocagne.' The comedy is usually produced by pushing the automatous element, occasionally too the theory of communism, to its perfectly logical and yet at the same time its utterly absurd conclusion. Not only do the sheep, as here, come home voluntarily to be milked (so *e.g.* Verg. *E.* 4, 21; Hor. *Epod.* 16, 49; etc.), but roast pigs run about asking to be eaten (Petron. 45) and we hear about rivers of wine (Verg. *G.* 1, 132), also of milk and of nectar (Ovid, *Met.* 1, 111), and even of broth, the last with pieces of hot meat rolling along in the flood (Teleklides, *frag.* 1 Kock; Lukian, *Vera Hist.* 2, 13, etc.), the table sets itself, the food passes itself to the guests, etc. The result is a Lost Paradise of the bon vivant, the votary of ease, and the irresponsible bachelor. Here Tib. contents himself with describing the kingdom of Saturn as a land flowing with milk and honey — a proverb of abundance among the Greeks and Romans as well as among the Hebrews (Eurip. *Bacch.* 141; Hor. *Od.* 2, 19, 10; *Exod.* 3, 8; *Joshua*, 5, 6, etc.).

45. ipsae: of themselves, cp. 2, 6, 14, *i.e.* without the intervening agency of the bees. The allusion is to a widespread popular conception that honey, the food of the gods, and one of their chief gifts to men, was the product of the ether itself ('aerii mellis caelestia dona,' Verg. *G.* 4, 1; *μέλι δὲ τὸ πῖπτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄστρων ἐπιτολαῖς καὶ ὅταν*

καταςκήψῃ ἡ ἶρις, Aristot. *De Animal. Hist.* 5, 22, 4; 'sive ille est caeli sudor [cp. German *Himmelschweiss*=honey] sive quaedam siderum saliva, sive purgantis se aeris sucus,' Pliny, *H. N.*, 11, 30; etc.). It is thence precipitated in the morning dew ('idemque [*i.e.* Celsus] ait, ex floribus ceras fieri, ex matutino rore mella,' Columella, 9, 14, 20, etc.), and shows an especial fondness for settling on the leaves of the oak (Theophrastos, *frag.* 18, 'De Melle,' etc.). In No Man's Land, and, as here, in the Golden Age it was so abundant that it dripped from the leaves (Verg. *E.* 4, 30; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 112; *Aetna*, 13, etc.). But nowadays the honey is neither as abundant nor as good (Pliny, 11, 31), and we must wait until the bees gather it for us from the oaks (or, if we adopt Trimalchio's theory [Petron. 56], 'mel vomunt, etiamsi dicuntur illud a Iove afferre,' a folk legend corresponding to the Finnish idea that the bees fly up to midheaven and bring down honey from the storehouse of the gods), cp. also 2, 1, 49–50 n.

46. **securis**: 1, 1, 8 n.

47–48. Note the skilful arrangement. The poet had gone to war and was in danger of dying prematurely. This is the real theme of the elegy which, for the moment, we had forgotten in our bright dream of other days. We are roused by the poet's intentionally emphatic statement that there was no such thing as horrible war in the Golden Age. In this way we get a natural and easy return to the realities of the present. For the topic of war in this connection, cp. 1, 3, 37–40; 1, 10, 7–10, and notes; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 97; Verg. *G.* 2, 539; Juv. 15, 168; etc.

47. **acies**: cp. 2, 3, 37; the word brings up the whole picture of a battlefield, the pomp and circumstance as well as the toil and peril of the opposing hosts. Lucretius had already said, after describing the miseries of primaeval man (5, 999), 'at non multa virum sub signis milia ducta | una dies dabat exitio,' *i.e.* wretched they may have been, but at least they were spared the wholesale butchery of a modern battlefield. — **nec ensem**, etc.: a favourite way (cp. 1, 3, 37–40 n.) of emphasizing the absolute peace of the Golden Age, cp. 1, 10, 1–14 and notes; Aratos, 131; Verg. *G.* 2, 540; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 99; Juv. 15, 168, etc.

49–50. It is, of course, understood that the contrast between the age of Saturn and the age of Jove applies to every point in the description of 36–48. But in view of the poet's present condition, it was quite sufficient and much more artistic merely to mention those suggestive of premature death. Art also demanded that he should reject, as he has done, the traditional succession of four ages, and adopt that form of the tradition (as *e.g.* in Vergil, *G.* 1, 121, cp. n. on line 41 above), which merely divided the history of mankind into Saturn's Age, the desirable past, and into Jove's Age, the undesirable

present. The thought of the distich is a commonplace of poetry and rhetoric; cp. 1, 10, 3–4; 2, 3, 37–38; Seneca Rhet. *Controv.* 7, 16, 9; Seneca, *Phaed.* 475; Stat. *Silv.* 2, 1, 213, etc.

50. **mille**: so often, as in English, of an indefinitely large number, 2, 3, 44; 2, 4, 60; 4, 2, 14; 4, 6, 12; Lygd. 3, 3, 12; etc. — **repente**: modifies the verbal force inherent in *leti viae*, 'a thousand ways of suddenly (*i.e.* prematurely) meeting death'; cp. Livy, 22, 17, 3, 'quo repente discursu,' so, 'deinceps,' 22, 7, 11; 3, 39, 4; 21, 8, 5; 21, 52, 5; 'simul,' 41, 11, 5, and often; 'procul,' Hor. *Sat.* 1, 6, 52; 'furtim,' Tib. 2, 5, 53, where see note; etc.

51–52. For the prayer — to which 49–50 has effected the transition — see 1, 2, 79–86, and 1, 3, 27, with notes. The idea that diseases are sent by the gods is, of course, world-wide.

51. **periuria**, etc.: 1, 4, 25–26 n.; 1, 9, 3.

53–56. 1, 1, 59–68 n. Transition to the episode of Elysium, 57 f.

53–54. Compare Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 3, 29 f., a passage much more pathetic because more genuine than this.

54. **fac . . . stet**: the subjunctive with *facio* which is more or less common in the older literature had begun to diminish before the Augustan Age. After the longer forms and esp. the passive — as *e.g.* the Ciceronian *fieri posse* — the use of *ut* is preferred. But after *fac*, as here, the omission of *ut* is, one may say, phraseological (so always in Cicero's speeches and essays (5 cases) and with the exception of Ovid, *Fast.* 5, 690, in the elegy (21 cases). In Plautus we have 29 without to 11 with *ut*, and in Terence 12 to 11.) See 1, 2, 25a n.

55–56. The epitaph is one of the most characteristic motives of the elegy, cp. Propert. 2, 13, 33; 4, 7, 85; Lygdamus, 3, 2, 29; Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 3, 73; *Her.* 14, 129; *Amor.* 2, 6, 61.

Tibullus's epitaph is in regular form, cp. such actual exx. as *Carm. Epig.* 1064, 1, 'Felicla hic misera consumptast morte puella'; 1185, 10, 'per mare, per terras subsequitur dominum'; 1845, 3, 'per freta per terras sedula dum sequitur'; etc.

Pope seems to have been especially impressed by this epitaph. In a letter to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu written in Nov. 1716 (*Works*, ed. Courthope, London, Murray, 1886, vol. IX, p. 363), he says, 'But if my fate be such, that this body of mine (which is as ill matched to my mind as any wife to her husband) be left behind in the journey, let the epitaph of Tibullus be set over it —

> Here stopped by hasty death, Alexis lies,
> Who crossed half Europe, led by Wortley's eyes.'

Cp. a previous letter to Caryll in 1713, vol. VI, p. 181.

57–66. What was said above (35–48 n.) of the Golden Age may also be said of **Elysium.** Elysii Campi, Ἠλύσιον πεδίον (Hom. *Odyss.* 4, 563), the 'Isles of the Blest' (Hesiod, *W. and D.* 166; Plutarch, *Mor.* 565 F; Lukian, *Vera Hist.* 2, 5, etc.), the 'Garden of the Hesperides,' where the Sun sets (Eurip. *Hippol.* 742; Mimnermos, *frag.* 11 Crus. etc.); the 'Mountain of the Gods' (Hom. *Odyss.* 6, 43; the Aeolian and Ionian version ?); the 'Garden of the Gods' (Sophokles, *frag.* 297 N. etc.; the Dorian version ?); the 'Garden of Phoibos' (Stesich. *frag.* 6 Crus.; Soph. *frag.* 870 N.; Eurip. *frag.* 771, etc.), — these are all different names which to a certain extent record varying traditions, but they all mean the same thing — the 'land of those who have gone hence.' Nor is its location any more definite than its name (cp. Servius on Verg. *A.* 5, 735; Verg. *A.* 6, 887; Lucan, 9, 10; etc.). Usually however it is beyond the Ocean Stream where the sun sets, and always at the end of the world. As a rule one reaches it by the gates of death, but in the speculations of the folk there is no impassable barrier between our life and the life of those beyond the grave. Odysseus had returned alive from Hades, and it is a well-known historical fact that the gallant Sertorius was at one time actually on the eve of setting sail for the Fortunate Isles in the Western Ocean, just as many centuries later, Ponce de Leon took the same direction in his search for the Fountain of Youth. Notable passages in this connection besides those already cited are Pindar, *Olymp.* 2, 62; *frag.* 129–130 B.; [Plato] *Axioch.* 371 C.; Lukian, *De Luct.* 2 (p. 923); Verg. *A.* 6, 540; 638; Val. Flaccus, 1, 835; *Carm. Epig.* 1109; 1186; Aristoph. *Ran.* 154; 449, cp. n. on 45–46 above. For a sample of the numerous passages dealing with this theme in mediaeval and modern authors cp. Ariosto, 6, 73.

Here, as in his episode of the Golden Age, Tib. has studied simplicity and there are no traces of a definite model. He probably thought of his Elysium as 'in medio Inferorum,' but a definite statement is impossible. Echoes of him here are Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9, 59, and perhaps the epigram (p. 173 below) of Dom. Marsus. Among more modern echoes cp. Baïf, 'Amours de Meline,' *Œuvres*, Lemerre, Paris, 1881, vol. I, p. 72, 'Dans les champs Elysiens | Sont les amants anciens,' etc.

57–58. Mantuanus, *Eclog.* 3, 108 (ed. Mustard, Baltimore, 1911, p. 75) —

> sive ad felices vadam post funera campos.

Cp. also Marcantonio Flaminio, *Carm.* 3, 1 (echoing Ovid, *l.c.*) —

> ah liceat saltem Elysios invisere campos
>   et fortunatae regna beata plagae,
> hic ubi cum molli Nemesis formosa Tibullo
>   ludit, et est vati Lesbia iuncta suo.

57. **facilis**: when used with the dat. (rare) as here = 'open to,' 'susceptible to.' The virtue is that of 1, 2, 97.

58. **ipsa Venus**: *i.e.* instead of Hermes who is the usual ψυχοπομπός. The reason for the special favour is given. Moreover he is not destined to endure the common lot. In an epitaph of the Flavian period apparently influenced by this passage we have (*Carm. Epig.* B. 1109, 19), 'non ego Tartareas penetrabo tristis ad undas, | non Acheronteis transvehar umbra vadis, | non ego caeruleam remo pulsabo carinam | nec te terribilem fronte timebo Charon, | nec Minos mihi iura dabit grandaevus et atris | non errabo locis nec cohibebor aquis. . . . nam me sancta Venus sedes non nosse silentum | iussit et in caeli lucida templa tulit,' cp. 2, 3, 3–4; 2, 6, 1–2. — **in Elysios**: so Stat. *Silv.* 5, 1, 193; Augustin. *C. D.* 10, 30, otherwise *ad.* Without a prep. Verg. *A.* 6, 542.

59–64. Contrast the long home of the common man as described in 1, 10, 35–38. This is not a specific Lover's Elysium but a description of the life and surroundings of lovers in Elysium, and the same is true of the beautiful parallel passage in Propertius, 4, 7, 55 (cp. *Culex*, 261) which should be compared with this. Acc. to Verg. *A.* 6, 441 which goes back through some Alexandrian source to Hom. *Odyss.* 11, 225 (cp. 321 f. and the famous picture of Polygnotos described by Pausanias, 10, 28, 29) those who die for love occupy the *Lugentes Campi*, cp. Ausonius's poem, 'Cupido Cruciatus,' *Idyll* 6. Tibullus, like Propertius, *l.c.*, assigns the faithful but unfortunate lovers to Elysium itself. The detail is characteristic of Greek erotic poetry, esp. of the Alex. Age, but I have discovered no trace of it there. Among modern echoes cp. Rémy Belleau, 'La Bergerie' (*Œuvres*, Lemerre, Paris, vol. I, p. 311), and esp. Carducci, 'A Neera' (*Juvenilia*, 31). Ronsard's *Chanson*, 'Plus estroit que la vigne,' etc., also has some points in common. The passage is deliberately imitated by Bertin, *Amours*, 1, 13 (cp. 1, 1, 45–46 n.), and possibly by Gentil-Bernard, *L'Art d'Aimer*, *Liv.* 3; but perhaps Vergil, *l.c.*, rather than Tibullus, prompted Suckling to exclaim —

> O for some honest lover's ghost,
> Some kind unbodied post
> Sent from the shades below!
> I strangely long to know
> Whether the noble chaplets wear
> Those that their mistress' scorn did bear
> Or those that were used kindly, etc.

59. **choreae cantusque**: *i.e.* in honour of the gods. This traditional detail was much emphasized by the philosophers, especially the mystics, and has always occupied an important place in the inherited description of

heaven (Propert. 4, 7, 61; Verg. *A.* 6, 644; Pind. *frag.* 129 B.; Aristoph. *Ran.* 155; [Plato] *Axioch.* 371 C.; Lukian, *Vera Hist.* 2, 5; etc.). — **chorĕae**; as in Verg. *A.* 6, 644; Propert. 2, 19, 15, otherwise *chorēae*, as *e.g.* in 1, 7, 49.

60. **aves**: we hear of birds in Elysium in Lukian, *Vera Hist.* 2, 5 and 14. In his elegy on the death of Corinna's parrot (*Amor.* 2, 6, 49) Ovid hopes there is a place for the good birds in Elysium and proceeds to describe it. Birds and their song are a touch in descriptions of nature characteristic of the elegiac poets, cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 13, 8; 3, 1, 4; *Fasti*, 1, 155; 1, 441; 3, 17; *Trist.* 3, 12, 8; *Pont.* 3, 1, 21; etc. In the numerous mediaeval and Renaissance descriptions of Paradise or Fairyland they are rarely forgotten.

61. **casiam**: so Verg. *E.* 4, 25, 'Assyrium volgo nascetur amomum,' and often. — **non culta**: for the significance of these words cp. lines 45–46 above with note. — **seges**: *i.e. ager*, so 1, 10, 35; 4, 2, 18; Verg. *G.* 1, 47; etc.

62. **rosis**: no other flower was so much loved in antiquity nor has any other been adorned with so much symbolism by the classic fancy (see Charles Joret, *La Rose dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age*). The flowers are rarely forgotten in descriptions of Elysium, cp. *e.g.* Pind. *Olymp.* 2, 79; [Plato] *Axioch*, 371 C; Greek epitaph (Kaibel, 649, 3), ἔνθα κατ' Ἠλυσίων πεδίων σκίρτωσα γέγηθας | ἄνθεσιν ἐν μαλακοῖσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων· *Carm. Epig.* B. 525, 5; Stat. *Silv.* 5, 1, 257; etc. But it is especially fitting that in this place we should find the rose which is the symbol of beauty, youth, and love, cp. Propert. 4, 7, 60; Pind. *frag.* 129, 2; Lukian, *Vera Hist.* 2, 5 and 6; etc.

63–64. In Elysium one pursues the tastes and avocations of one's former life undisturbed and without satiety, cp. esp. Verg. *A.* 6, 642; Pind. *frag.* 129 B. Hence the reward of the lover in this classical prototype of Mahomet's Paradise is happy love according to the conventional ideal of earthly life as set forth by the elegiac poets (*e.g.* 1, 10, 53–58; 1, 1, 73–74). Imitated by Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, p. 107, ed. Scherillo (Milan, 1888).

64. **proelia miscet**: a military phrase. Amor stands near and directs the campaign, hence, *proelia* instead of the more usual *rixae*, for which see 1, 1, 74 n., and the parallel of this distich, 1, 10, 57–58.

66. **myrtea serta**: the myrtle was sacred to Venus (Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 139; Serv. on Verg. *E.* 7, 62, etc.), hence, the appropriateness of it here, cp. Verg. *A.* 6, 442 (*Lugentes Campi*). But the myrtle, perhaps for this very reason, is more or less regularly associated with Elysium, cp. *Carm. Epig.* B. 492, 12, etc. The influence of some Orphic symbolism is possible and has been claimed, cp. Aristoph. *Ran.* 156; Pherekrat. 108, 25, K.

67–82. Elysium, the reward of faithful lovers, suggests by contrast Tartaros, in which the poet hopes that a place is prepared for his rival. The

original and genuine folk conception of Elysium as specifically the home of the gods is still clearly prominent in Homer. Mortals gain it not by merit but through birth or family connection. Menelaos *e.g.* is promised Elysium, *οὕνεκ' ἔχεις Ἑλένην καί σφιν γαμβρὸς Διός ἐσσι.* Otherwise, the last abode of mortals, good or bad, is the House of Hades, *ἔνθα τε νεκροὶ ἀφραδέες ναίουσι βροτῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων.* Beginning with the early Orphics we see the gradual growth of the great idea of recompense beyond the grave. Hence Elysium became more and more the reward of mortal virtue — or orthodoxy — Tartaros a specific place of punishment for the mortal wrongdoer. This theory of recompense begins as early as Pind. *Olymp.* 2, 65; *frag.* 132 Chr.; and succeeding philosophers and poets develop the traditional topography of Hades, locate the place of punishment there, and specify more or less clearly the details of torture. With this passage of Tib. cp. esp. Ovid, *Ibis*, 173; *Met.* 4, 449. Other important passages are Aristoph. *Ran.* 145; Plato, *Phaedo*, 108; *Gorgias*, 526; *Rep.* 10, 616; [*Axioch.*] 371 E; Lukian, *Nekyomant.* 14; *Vera Hist.* 2, 29; *Iuppit. Confut.* 17; Verg. *A.* 6, 548; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 664; Lucret. 3, 978–1023. In Homer (*Il.* 8, 14, cp. 481) Tartaros is only the prison house of the Titans — terrifically deep, dark, and strong. The same is true of Hesiod (*Theog.* 713) who however adds further details.

67–68. Cp. Verg. *A.* 6, 577, 'tum Tartarus ipse | bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras, | quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum'; Hom. *Il.* 8, 13; Hesiod, *Theog.* 720.

In antiquity and at all periods the darkness of Tartaros is one of the specific terrors of the world to come, cp. Lucret. 3, 1011, 'Cerberus et Furiae iam vero et lucis egestas'; Seneca, *Epist.* 24, 18; *Dial.* 6, 19, 4; etc., esp. Erinna, *frag.* 3 Crus., *τουτόθεν εἰς Ἀΐδαν κενεὰ διανήχεται ἀχώ· | σιγὰ δ' ἐν νεκύεσσι, τὸ δὲ σκότος ὄσσε καταγρεῖ.*

67. scelerata sedes: perhaps a more or less established name in Latin for the Greek Tartaros, cp. Verg. *A.* 6, 563; Ovid, *Met.* 4, 456; Cic. *Cluent.* 171; Ovid, *Ibis*, 174; etc. *scelerata* of course = *sceleratorum*. — **in nocte profunda**: cp. *in tenebris*, 1, 10, 50. In both exx. the preposition emphasizes the conception as one of place, not time, cp. 1, 1, 61 n.

68. flumina: Homer mentions no rivers in connection with Tartaros. The idea is suggested in Hesiod, *Theog.* 736. Plutarch, *Mor.* 1130 C, quotes Pindar's (*frag.* 130 Schr.) *ἔνθεν τὸν ἄπειρον ἐρεύγονται σκότον | βληχροὶ δνοφερᾶς νυκτὸς ποταμοί.* But see esp. Plato, *Phaedo*, 113. Verg. *A.* 6, 551 — not yet written at the time Tib. composed this passage — and Seneca, *Phaed.* 1227 speak only of Phlegethon. Acc. to Plato, *l.c.*, *flumina* here would = Cocytus and Pyriphlegethon, both of which surround Tartaros, though running in

opposite directions and emptying into it on opposite sides. The fact that Phlegethon rolls on in floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire does not exclude necessarily the epithet of *nigra*. Milton's 'flames that give no light: but rather darkness visible,' is a favourite figure of the Roman poets in the description of things infernal. Tibullus's expression, however, is purposely indefinite.

69–70. The conception of the Furies as tormentors of the wicked in Hades appears even in Homer (*Odyss.* 20, 77, cp. Aisch. *Eumen.* 321), hence their later name of *Poinai*. In the native Roman tradition this office seems to have been intrusted to the spirits of the dead (Seneca, *Apocol.* 9; Pliny, *H. N.* 1, *Praefat.* 31). In the *Axioch.* 371 C, they are already established as the chief tormentors, and in later references the torch and esp. the scourge are rarely absent. The Roman poets usually agree with Tib. in representing Tisiphone as the torturer par excellence. Pausanias, 1, 28, 6, says that Aischylos was the first to represent the Furies with snakes in their hair. The detail is rarely forgotten by the Roman poets, but in all cases it is either distinctly stated that the snakes are intertwined with the hair, or else (as in Verg. *A.* 7, 329, and Ovid, *Met.* 4, 784, cp. 801), the matter is left undecided. Tibullus's bold and striking expression 'with uncombed snakes in lieu of hair' clearly reflects the idea that the Furies had no hair at all, but only a tangled snarl of hissing serpents — which reminds one at once of the famous picture of Medusa (once ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci) in the Uffizi Gallery.

70. Statius, *Theb.* 1, 92 (of Tisiphone), 'ilicet igne Iovis lapsisque citatior astris | tristibus exsiluit ripis: discedit inane | vulgus et occursus dominae pavit.' The original model seems to be Hom. *Odyss.* 11, 605 (of Herakles), *ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κλαγγὴ νεκύων ἦν οἰωνῶν ὥς | πάντοσ' ἀτυζομένων.* — **huc illuc**: this asyndeton is largely confined to the poets during the classical period. Once only in Livy (7, 34, 9) and Cicero (*Att.* 9, 9, 2).

71–72. The usual tradition is (so *e.g.* Verg. *A.* 6, 417) that Kerberos is met as soon as one leaves Charon's boat, and that the specific guardian of Tartaros is his sister the Hydra. *scelerata sedes*, however, is indefinite, and Tib. gives no specific details of infernal topography.

71. **tunc**: *i.e.* whenever the *impia turba* flees before the scourge of Tisiphone, the warden Kerberos (first named in Hesiod, *Theog.* 311) frightens them away from the door and prevents any from escaping. Kerberos devours all whom he finds out of bounds. This explains Plutarch's remark (*Mor.* 1105 A) that 'any one would willingly be devoured by Kerberos if only he might remain alive,' cp. also Hesiod, *Theog.* 769; Quintus Smyrn. 6, 261. — **serpentum ore**: in the original conception and ultimate analysis Kerberos is more dragon than dog, and he is usually represented in both art and litera-

ture, esp. in the Roman poets, with a number of snakes. These grow out of his body, frequently about the neck (Plato, *Rep.* 588 C). So too his tail often ends in a serpent's head (Verg. *A.* 6, 419; *Culex*, 220; Hor. *Od.* 3, 11, 17; Ovid, *Met.* 10, 21; Sil. Ital. 13, 594; esp. Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 786, etc.). — **ore**: for the sing. where we should use the plural see 1, 1, 42 n.

72. **aeratas fores**: so Homer, *Il.* 8, 15; Verg. *A.* 6, 552, and cp. Milton's (*P. L.* 2, 655) 'and thrice threefold the gates: three folds were brass, | Three iron, three of adamantine rock, | Impenetrable, impaled with circling fire, | Yet unconsumed.' Bronze is a proverb of the invincible and the imperishable, cp. Horace's 'robur et aes triplex,' *Od.* 1, 3, 9; 'exegi monumentum aere perennius,' 3, 30, 1, etc. — **excubat**: 'stands on guard.' A military word.

73–80. The poet names four of the five famous examples of sin and its reward. Sisyphos is omitted. No description of Hades was complete without two or more of these *causes célèbres*.

73–74. Ixion 'bound to his own Iynx wheel' appears first in Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 21, cp. Soph. *Phil.* 680. Many later writers follow Pindar and locate the punishment of Ixion in the upper air, cp. Philost. *Apollon. Tyan.* 6, 40 and 7, 11, etc. Ixion and his wheel do not appear in Hades until the Alexandrian Age (first in Apoll. Rhod. 3, 62), but the change of place probably goes back to the tragedy. Acc. to Hyginus, *Fab.* 62 (cp. *e.g.* the well-known picture in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii) he was bound to the wheel by Mercury, according to some (Schol. on Eurip. *Phoeniss.* 1185) it was of flames, and once (Verg. *G.* 3, 39) the additional torture of a serpent is mentioned.

75–76. The punishment of Tityos is Homeric, and Homer's description (*Odyss.* 11, 576) is closely followed by Lucretius (3, 984). Vergil's description (*A.* 6, 595) was influenced by the story of Prometheus and apparently shows an attempt to meet the objection raised by Lucretius, *l.c.*

75. **novem iugera**: the tradition is Homeric, so Propert. 3, 5, 44; Ovid, *Met.* 4, 457; *Ibis*, 181; etc. Pausanias, 10, 4, 5, gives an explanation after the manner of Euhemeros. Quintus Smyrn. 3, 396 says, πουλυπέλεθρος.

76. **adsiduas aves**: the παρημένω γῦπε of Homer. It is doubtful, however, whether *adsiduas* is to be taken literally, cp. Ovid, *Ibis*, 182, 'visceraque assiduae debita praebet avi'; Mart. *Sp.* 7, 2, 'Prometheus | adsiduam nimio pectore pavit avem.' One vulture instead of two appears first in Vergil, and the change is perhaps due to contamination with the story of Prometheus. But the Vergilian version seems to be confined to the Roman poets, and even there is by no means general. Singular in Hor. *Od.* 3, 4, 77; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 341. Plural in Propert. 2, 20, 31; Statius, *Theb.* 11, 14; 4, 538. Ovid and Seneca are inconsistent — singular in Ovid, *Ibis*, 182; Seneca, *Herc.*

Fur. 756; *Agam.* 18; *Herc. Oet.* 947; *Phaed.* 1233; *Octav.* 622: plural in Ovid, *Met.* 10, 43; *Ibis*, 194; Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 1071; *Thyest.* 10. The variation combined with the extensive use of the poetic plural in these authors shows that no certain conclusion can be drawn. In the famous painting of Hades by Polygnotos (Pausan. 10, 29, 3) the vultures were not represented. In some versions, now lost, serpents were tormentors instead of vultures (Hygin. *Fab.* 55). — **viscere**: poet. and indef. for *iecur*, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 4, 457; Seneca, *Thyest.* 10, etc. For the sing. see dictt. The punishment fitted the crime, for, as is well known, the liver, acc. to antique theory, was the seat of the passions, cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 4, 77, 'incontinentis nec Tityi iecur | reliquit ales, nequitiae additus | custos'; 4, 1, 12 (to Venus) 'si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum.' So often in the Elizabethan writers, *e.g.* 'Did all the shafts in thy fair quiver | Stick fast in my ambitious liver, | Yet thy power would I adore | And call upon thee to shoot more.' (Fletcher's *Nice Valour.*) Apollodoros, 1, 23 says it was the heart of Tityos, not the liver.

77–78. No punishment is so often mentioned as that of Tantalos. Three methods of punishment, designed respectively to produce thirst, hunger, and mortal terror, are met with. The first two are described by Homer, *Odyss.* 11, 582, *q.v.* Tibullus selects the first; so Propert. 2, 17, 5; 4, 11, 24; Ovid, *Met.* 10, 41; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 1, 68; Seneca, *Medea*, 745; *Agam.* 19 and 769; *Octav.* 621; Stat. *Theb.* 4, 538; 8, 51, etc. Again, only the second is chosen, as in Propert. 2, 1, 66; Hor. *Epod.* 17, 66, but this is not common. Most frequently we have, as in Homer, the first two, cp. *e.g.* the characteristically rhetorical description in Sen. *Thyest.* 152–175; others are Ovid, *Met.* 4, 457; *Amor.* 2, 2, 43; *Ibis*, 179; Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 752; *Herc. Oet.* 1075; Petron. 82; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 280, etc. The third, the punishment of the overhanging stone, is more characteristic of lyric and tragic poetry, appearing first (so Pausan. 10, 31, 12) in Archilochos, cp. *frag.* 50 Crus.; Alkaios, *frag.* 76 Crus.; Pind. *Olymp.* 1, 56; *Isthm.* 8, 10; Eurip. *Orest.* 5; Plato, *Kratyl.* 395 D; Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* 4, 35; *Fin.* 1, 60; Lucret. 3, 981; Seneca, *Thyest.* 76; etc.

All three were represented in the picture of Polygnotos (Pausan. 10, 31, 12) and each gave rise to popular proverbs or phrases, cp. *e.g.* Ταντάλου πῶμα, δίψος, δίψα· δένδρεα Ταντάλου, Ταντάλου κήπους τρυγᾶν· ὁ Ταντάλου λίθος ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ταλαντεύεται, etc.

79–80. In the picture of Polygnotos this proverbially endless and bootless task was given to the ἀμύητοι, those who had neglected the rites of initiation (Plato, *Rep.* 363 D; *Gorg.* 493 B, etc.). Christian superstition allotted the same punishment to the unbaptized. It does not appear in connection with the Danaides until the *Axioch.* 371 E. The identification rested on the idea

that marriage is itself a τέλος, a sacrament, and that the Danaides being false to their vows ('Veneris quod numina laesit') were really ἄγαμοι, and therefore, ἀμύητοι. Moreover there was also a popular superstition that in Hades the unmarried were condemned to carry water in sieves until the bath was filled which they should have taken (the bath was a regular detail of the marriage ritual). A striking parallel is the well-known superstition of the Elizabethan Age that old maids are destined to 'lead apes in Hell.' After the third century, B.C., references to this punishment of the Danaides are extremely numerous.

The reference to the Danaides, perjurers to love, serves as the transition to 81–82, and also points a moral for Delia which is applied in 83 ff. So Hor. *Od.* 3, 11, 24, ends his description of Hades with the Danaides and then says, 'audiat Lyde scelus atque notas | virginum poenas et inane lymphae | dolium fundo pereuntis imo | seraque fata | quae manent culpas etiam sub Orco.'

81–82. Such a man is unfaithful to love and therefore furnishes the necessary contrast to his innocent victim, the faithful lover of 57–58. The gods themselves declare that such sinners shall not be forgotten, says Tibullus in another one of his favourite parables for the edification of Delia (1, 6, 45–54); cp. 1, 9, 4 and 19 addressed to Marathus. The theme is well worn in the elegy; cp. 1, 8, 70; 1, 2, 87–88 and notes.

81. Calpurnius, 3, 88, 'ilice, quae nostros primum violavit amores,' seems to be an echo of this line. — **violavit**: *i.e.* sinned against, desecrated (1, 6, 51). Love and the lover are sacrosanct; cp. 1, 2, 27–28 n. — **amores**: plural because reciprocated, cp. 1, 9, 1; 1, 1, 69 n. Or *amores* may mean the loved one, cp. 1, 6, 35 n. Either meaning will suit the context.

82. **optavit**: *i.e.* 'perhaps this is why I went on this unfortunate expedition.' The real force of *optavit* here is derived from the universal maxim of folk philosophy that a wish or a curse, being a manifestation of the will and addressed to the gods, has a tendency to work automatically, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 13, 48; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 7, 36; Cicero, *Prov. Cons.* 2; Mart. 8, 61; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1, 84, and often. Hence if one repents of one's hasty word one withdraws it, or takes the consequences of it upon one's self, cp. 1, 2, 12 n.; 1, 6, 85; etc. Couched in the proper words and accompanied by the requisite formalities, such a curse becomes a *devotio* and is irresistible.

83–92. A genre picture in the poet's happiest vein and one of the best portrayals of a situation which as a whole or in part is a favourite motive of classical literature, Terence, *Heaut.* 275 (after Menander), but esp. the story of Lucretia as told by Livy, 1, 57, 7, and Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 725 f. See also Propertius, 4, 3, 33–42; 3, 6, 15; 1, 3, 41; etc.

Delia is to be spending her evening in the traditional and approved manner

not only of the rustic housewife but also of the lady of position and refinement in both Greece and Rome. As the revellers found Lucretia, so Hector had found Helen, *Il.* 6, 323; cp. Plautus, *Men.* 797; Verg. *G.* 1, 291 and 390; 4 334; esp. in the elegy, Propert. *l.c.*; Ovid, *Met.* 4, 34. The garments of Augustus were homespun, Sueton. *Aug.* 64. Other passages are Columella, 12, *Praefat.* 9; Tertull. *Exhort. ad Cast.* 12. The famous epitaph of Claudia (*Carm. Epig.* 52 B) ends with, 'domum servavit, lanam fecit.' See Introd. p. 46.

83. **casta**: *i.e.* faithful, so 1, 6, 75; Propert. 3, 12, 15 and often.

84. **custos**: prototype of the Spanish duenna and a conventional figure of erotic poetry; cp. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 262; 289; 294, etc. Often she is the *nutrix*, which in antiquity was a life position. As such she was the natural confidante, aider, and abettor of her foster daughter's love affair, cp. the story of Phaedra (Eurip. and Seneca) and of Myrrha (Ovid, *Met.* 10, 382) in which it is she who precipitates the catastrophe. Hence no *dives amator* would think of selecting the *nutrix* for this position. With the scene suggested by this line, cp. Ovid, *Her.* 19, 151; Propert. 4, 3, 41.—**sedula anus**: not necessarily Delia's mother whom the poet eulogizes in 1, 6, 57, much less the *lena* of 1, 5, 48. The elegies to Delia do not form a series, cp. Introd. p. 44.

85. **fabellas referat**: story telling on such occasions was as usual in antiquity as it was in the days of the troubadours and trouvères, cp. Verg. *G.* 4, 345; Ovid, *Met.* 4, 32. It was here and in the nursery that one heard the favourite folk tales of antiquity, such familiar types for example as Persius alludes to in 2, 37, 'hunc optent generum rex et regina, puellae | hunc rapiant; quidquid calcaverit hic rosa fiat.' Among famous exx. still surviving may be mentioned the story of the werewolf in Petronius and of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius. The average opinion of them is perhaps well represented by Quintil. 1, 8, 19; 1, 9, 2; cp. Tacitus, *Dial.* 29.—**positaque lucerna**: the words have been used to prove that it was now autumn, when the days were growing short.—**posita**: so Ovid, *Her.* 19, 14 and 151; Juv. 1, 90, etc. Sometimes *apposita* as in Propert. 2, 15, 3; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 31; etc.

86. **colo**: for the form *colo* instead of *colu* Neue-Wagener cite also Propert. 4, 1, 72 and 9, 48; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 6, 46; *Ars Amat.* 1, 702; Verg. *A.* 8, 409; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 380; Iustin. 1, 3, 2; Auson. *Parent.* 12, 5; for *colu*, Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 563; Pliny, *H. N.* 8, 194; 21, 90; *CIL.* 10, 6785.

87–88. For the scene, Verg. *A.* 8, 408; Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 741. Spinners are proverbially early risers, cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 13, 23, etc., and hence must be expected to become sleepy early in the evening.

87. **circa**: on the use of *circa* and *circum* in Tibullus see 1, 6, 21 n.—**gravibus** is literal, cp. Propert. 4, 7, 41; Ovid, *Her.* 10, 90, etc.—**pensis**:

the portion of wool weighed out to each spinner for the day's work. The word 'stint' in its old sense of an allotted task, and frequently in its old form of 'stent' used to have the same special meaning in New England. 'Stint' = an allotted task seems to survive in the corrupted form 'stunt,' 'to do a stunt,' cp. Plautus's *pensum facere*. — **adfixa**: *i.e. intenta*, cp. *haerere*, Ovid, *Met.* 4, 35, etc. — **puella**: sing. for plural, cp. 1, 1, 42 n.; 1, 2, 95 n.; 1, 9, 68 n.

89–92. Imitated by Bertin, *Amours*, 1, 9, 'L'Absence.'

89–90. Plutarch observes (*Quaest. Rom.* 9) that the Roman always sent a messenger ahead to warn the family of his approach. Ovid, wiser in his generation than Tibullus, says (*Ars Amat.* 3, 245), 'quae male crinitast, custodem in limine ponat | orneturve Bonae semper in aede Deae. | dictus eram subito cuidam venisse puellae: | turbida perversas induit illa comas. | hostibus eveniat tam foedi causa pudoris, | inque nurus Parthas dedecus illud eat!'

90. **caelo missus adesse**: this is our 'dropped from the clouds.' A Roman proverb of the unexpected (usually pleasant) which is common in all types of literary art.

91–92. Such would regularly be the costume of Delia while indoors.

91. **capillos**: for the accusative cp. 1, 1, 70.

93–94. The echo of this ending is heard in Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 11, 55, 'haec mihi quam primum caelo nitidissimus alto | Lucifer admisso tempora portet equo'; *Trist.* 3, 5, 55, 'hos utinam nitidi Solis praenuntius ortus | afferat admisso Lucifer albus equo'; *Consol. ad Liv.* 281, 'hunc Aurora diem spectacula tanta ferentem | quam primum croceis roscida portet equis.'

93. **hunc illum**: *i.e.* 'this (*hunc*) day, the one I have been describing (*illum*).' For this rare compendious use of *hic ille* cp. Verg. *A.* 7, 272, 'hunc illum poscere fata | et reor,' etc.; Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 52, 'huic illi legato, huic publico testi patronum suum . . . tradidissent?' perhaps *Invent.* 2, 154, 'hic ille naufragus ad gubernaculum accessit,' etc. In other cases *ille* is clearly predicative and the combination is merely due to the omission of the copula, as *e.g.* Verg. *A.* 3, 558, 'nimirum haec illa Charybdis,' etc., or again, of the copula and a relative, as in the more common combinations, *ille ego*, *ipse ego*, etc., cp. 1, 5, 9 and note.

94. **candida**: connotes brightness, beauty, and good fortune, as well as colour, cp. 1, 7, 58 and 64; Sophokles, *Aias*, 709; Aisch. *Persai*, 301, etc.

1, 4

This elegy is the first of the series concerned with Marathus. For the argument and the setting see Introd. p. 50. The date of composition is quite unknown.

Priapos is an ancient divinity, but his first important appearance as a god in anything like an aristocratic milieu was when he figured in the famous procession of Ptolemy described by Athenaios, 5, 201 C–D. This was in the Alexandrian Age. His appearance in literature also dates from the Alexandrian Age and is especially characteristic of that period. Titles like the *Πρίαπος* of Xenarchos, the *Πρίηπος* of Sotades, and the *Πριάπεια* of Euphorios—cp. also Theokrit. 1, 81 (with Schol.) and numerous references and traditional matter in later authorities—suggest how large the literature associated with the name of Priapos must once have been. The remains of it now surviving are confined to a number of epigrams in the Anthology (mostly in bks. 6, 10, and 16). The marked revival of interest in Priapos as a literary theme in the Augustan Age is still attested not only by this poem, but by its companion piece, Hor. *Sat.* 1, 8, and above all, by the collection known as the *Priapea;* cp. also, such passages as Ovid, *Fasti,* 1, 391; 6, 319; *Met.* 9, 347; *Trist.* 1, 10, 26; Verg. *G.* 4, 110; *E.* 7, 33, and henceforth to the end of the literature, *e.g.* Calpurn. 2, 95; Nemes. 2, 51; Mart. 6, 16; 49; 72; 73; 8, 40; etc.

The serious worship of Priapos persisted for ages in spite of continued and virulent attacks upon it by the Church Fathers, cp. Arnob. 6, 25; Lactant. *Div.* 1, 21; Augustin. *C. D.* 6, 7; Prudent. *Contra Symmach.* 1, 102; etc.

An appropriate title for this piece would be 'Priapus de Arte Amandi.' The rest is merely framework. The ironical humour of the idea and of its presentation is worthy of Ovid in his most mischievous mood. It is in fact an important representative of that type of mock didactic literary art which culminated a few years later in the *Ars Amatoria* of Ovid himself. For another interesting example see Nonnos, *Dionysiaka,* 42, 209.

The appearance here of Priapos as a 'magister amoris' is unique so far as the surviving literature is concerned, but the constant association of him with Pan, who is traditionally a 'magister amoris' (cp. esp. Nonnos, *l.c.*; Apul. *Met.* 5, 25; Longus, 2, 7), as well as the tone of the piece itself suggest that Priapos in this rôle is like Pan in the same rôle, a well-worn tradition of the Hellenistic poets, and to be derived either from the bucolic or from some department of literary art not far removed from it. It is worth noting, for example, that the most considerable influence of our piece upon later Roman poetry is to be seen in Nemesianus, 4, 55 ff. *i.e.* in the bucolic.

Another type of *Ars Amandi* are the instructions of the lena to her charge, a stock theme of the New comedy, then in the Roman elegy (Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8; Propert. 4, 5) and finally reappearing long afterward in a series of dreary compositions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The sly emphasis upon the pathetic and even upon the heroic in language

and thought is in itself sufficient indication of the poet's attitude toward his subject.

1–2. The wish is eminently appropriate. As a god of the country-side in general (flocks, bees, etc.) and of gardens, orchards, and vineyards in particular (1, 1, 17–18 n.), Priapos passes his entire existence out of doors. Occasionally he has a little fane of his own (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 254; *Priap.* 1, 3; 14, 2; 82; 86, 8; Petron. 17), now and then he secures the shelter of a tree (*Priap.* 83, 6), but for the most part he stands under the open sky and has to take the weather (cp. lines 2 and 5–6 below) as it comes, cp. *Priap.* 14, 8; 63, 1; 83, 12; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 8, 37; etc.

Note that here as elsewhere in antiquity the address to the gods assumes the character of a conditional sentence. The thing desired by the suppliant is the condition, the wish that the god himself shall receive some benefit is the conclusion — said conclusion to hold good in case the condition, *i.e.* the prayer, is fulfilled; a manifestation of the idea of 'quid pro quo' which finds its most naïve expression in the theory of ex-votos. So 2, 5, 121 and elsewhere.

1. **sic**: so always. Tibullus never uses *ita*, cp. 1, 6, 21 n.

2. **soles**: *i.e* the heat of the sun day in and day out. The plural is distributive (1, 1, 4 n.), the sun of each day is conceived of as a separate sun.

3–6. One should keep in mind the actual appearance of Priapos in order to realize the full force of the question. One then sees that the humour of the situation is heightened by the evident gentleness with which the poet, always courteous and well-bred, alludes to what presumably might be a tender point. Priapos however is not sensitive, he has no illusions regarding his appearance or accomplishments. He is made of wood (preferably fig or oak) in the rough and ready fashion of primitive days, and is therefore far from handsome, cp. *Priap.* 10, 2; 39, 5; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 8, 1; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 22, 5; 9, 437, 2. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 123, uses Odysseus to illustrate his contention that eloquence is better than beauty. Priapos does not believe it. He himself is not eloquent and has no learning, cp. *Priap.* 3, 10; 68, 1. He is just a plain country god, good-natured (Theokrit. 1, 81) and with no desire to appear dignified (*Priap.* 14). Indeed, Priapos and dignity are incompatible. Hence, though worshipped in all seriousness, he always remained, at least for literary purposes (in which the Alexandrian tradition of him is reflected), something of a buffoon among the immortals; cp. *Priap.* 63, 11; Arnob. 6, 25.

3. **formosos**: evidently a translation of *καλός*, a term regularly applied by the Greek *puerorum amator* to his favourite, so often on drinking cups as well as in the literature, cp. the Ἔρωτες ἢ Καλοί of Phanokles (Introd. p. 19). Priapos appears as a *puerorum amator* in the early Alexandrian Age (cp.

Theokrit. 1, 81 and Schol., also *Epig.* 3, — which suggest that one of the favourite stories at that time was the rivalry of Pan and Priapos for the favours of Daphnis) and the characteristic Alex. tone of semi-sentimental mockery persists, as here, in many of the later references, *e.g.* *Anth. Pal.* 5, 200; 9, 338; 437; 16, 237; 240; 241; 243; *Priap.* 3; 5; 7; 11; 13; 15; Lukian, *Dial. Deor.* 23; etc.

4–5. In surviving art the beard of Priapos is usually thin and straggling. He himself complains (*Priap.* 63, 5) that, 'et in capillos grandines cadunt nostros | rigetque dura barba vincta crystallo.'

5. **nudus**: *Priap.* 14, 8; 16, 8. Probably to be taken literally, as the poet appears to have in mind either the Herm-type or more likely the rough figure of wood.

6. Cp. *Hor.* Sat. 2, 5, 39, 'seu rubra Canicula findet | infantis statuas.' On the proverbial heat of dog-days, 42; 1, 1, 27 n.

7. **tum**: Tibullus prefers *tunc*, cp. 1, 1, 21; 1, 6, 21 and notes. — **proles**: the pedigree of Priapos is unsettled, cp. Class. Dict. Tib. follows the most common tradition, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 10, 2, 8; 15, 8; Diod. Sic. 4, 6, 1; etc. The epithet *rustica* is frequent and eminently fitting, *Anth. Pal.* 6, 22, 5; Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 10, 26; *Priap.* 14, 7; 68, 1; 81, 1, etc.

8. **sic**: goes with *respondit.* The unusual distance is atoned for by the fact that the displaced word begins the second hemistich and is therefore in an emphatic position, cp. 1, 3, 56; 1, 6, 32 and 40; 1, 10, 6, 8 and 16; 1, 9, 24; 2, 1, 78; 2, 5, 14 and 96; 4, 5, 16; 4, 6, 6; 4, 11, 4. Less frequent in Ovid, cp. *Amor.* 1, 2, 14.

9–56. *Priapus de Arte Amandi.* Note the ironical exaggeration of the didactic attitude, as seen for instance in the sly emphasis upon a systematic arrangement and development of topics. Usually informal and certainly never impressive in appearance, Priapos has suddenly assumed the rôle of the conventionalized professor. As such he is dignified, formal, dogmatic, precise, his pronouncements purposely axiomatic and familiar, his illustrations purposely traditional and commonplace, although both are announced with all the air of being great and useful discoveries. Note too the assumption of that intense seriousness, of that almost reverential attitude toward an utterly trivial theme — the characteristic attitude for example of the gastronomic expert — which Ovid reproduced to perfection in his *Ars Amatoria*, the most brilliant satire of its kind now existing. Indeed Wilhelm has noted the close parallelism between the *Ars Amatoria* and this passage in the matter of topics and their arrangement, *e.g.* 9–14 = *A. A.* 3, 381–384, cp. *Amor.* 2, 4, 10; 15–20 = *A. A.* 1, 469–478, cp. 2, 177–184; 21–26 = *A. A.* 1, 631–636; 27–28 = *A. A.* 3, 59–80; 39–52 = *A. A.* 2, 177–232; 53–56 = *A. A.* 1, 663–666; 57–60

= *A. A.* 2, 261–272; 61–70 = *A. A.* 2, 273–286, cp. 3, 533–552; 71–72 = *A. A.* 1, 659–663; 75–80 = *A. A.* 1, 739–744. But although Ovid was thoroughly familiar with Tib. the similarity here noted is probably due to the common use of quasi-technical sources (*artes amatoriae*, treatises *περὶ κολακείας*, etc. cp. 40 below and n.). These topics and their illustrations are all traditional commonplaces which we find repeatedly in the comedy, epigram, Alexandrian literature, philosophy, rhetoric, etc.

9–10. This rule of avoidance of temptation is preached by Sokrates, cp. Plato, *Charm.* 155.

9. As befits the immense importance and value of his theme Priapos soars into it from the upper realms of poetry. Note *e.g.* the passionate and pathetic *o* (cp. 1, 1, 51; 1, 3, 2 and 19; 1, 9, 41; 2, 3, 5; 17; 19; 67; 2, 4, 7; 27; 4, 3, 6) which coming as it does at the very beginning of this cool professional harangue might suggest the 'lyric cry' of one who like Pan had more than once loved and lost, cp. 84 below and n. — **fuge credere**: the use of *fuge* or of some imperative of similar meaning with an infinitive as a polite form of prohibition is a Latin idiom apparently not found in Greek. The imperative regularly used in all styles is *noli*. *fuge* for *noli* (for *parce* see 1, 6, 51 n., and for *mitte*, *omitte*, Gild.-Lodge, 271, 2, n. 2) is strictly poetic and very rare. Beside the passage before us I find only Lucret. 1, 1052; Hor. *Od.* 1, 9, 13; 2, 4, 22; Statius, *Theb.* 9, 139. *φεύγειν* or *φεύγειν μή* with an infin. is found for the most part in tragedy and elevated prose but is by no means common. The development of an articular infin. is seen *e.g.* in Soph. *O. K.* 1740. Other forms of *fugio* and *fugito* with an infin. are also occasional in Latin, but only in the poets (esp. Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid, Statius).

10. A commonplace of erotic poetry in all ages, cp. 4, 2, 7–14 and n.; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 93; 95; 198; 244; Plato, *Charm.* 154; *Rep.* 574 D, etc. — **iusti**: attracted to *amoris* but really belonging to *causam*, cp. Cicero, *Phil.* 2, 53, 'iusta causa,' 'good and sufficient reason,' etc. *Hypallage epithetorum*, occasional even in prose, is a common device of the poets. A bold use of it is one of the difficulties of Propertius, and the epic poets of the first century afford many exx. Tib. is neither as bold nor as lavish in this respect as his contemporaries. Less than a score of exx. occur and most of them are of the ordinary type of 1, 7, 7, 'victrices lauros'; 2, 1, 69, 'indocto arcu,' etc. With our passage cp. esp. 1, 3, 6; 1, 4, 80; 1, 5, 56; 1, 8, 18; 4, 6, 1. — **amoris**: *i.e.* 'of being loved.' The passive use, as it were, is easily derived from the context. Elsewhere, however, this is determined by an accompanying genitive, subjective or objective as the sense demands.

11–14. Priapos had just said that all types please. He now illustrates by two contrasted exx. in four lines. The first pleases by his management of a

spirited horse (first hexam.), the second, as he breasts the mirrored waters (first pentam.): the one, because he is bold and daring (second hexam.), the other, because he is shamefaced and retiring (second pentam.). Thus within each distich hexameter is contrasted with pentameter: the first distich contrasts two occupations, the second, two temperaments: the occupations of the first distich anticipate and reflect the temperaments of the second distich in the same order, *i.e.* one is like three and two like four. In short, 1 + 2 parallels 3 + 4, 1 : 2 : : 3 : 4, 1 : 3 : : 2 : 4. This is an excellent example of that strict observance of artistic symmetry and balance which characterizes the entire elegy as a department and enters into the 'unaffected simplicity' of Tibullus quite as much as into the passionate luxuriance of Propertius or the point and sparkle of Ovid.

11–12. Two types of manly sport familiar to the literary tradition of both Greece and Rome, *Anth. Pal.* 12, 192; Lukian, *Amor.* 45; Achill. Tat. 2, 35–38; Philost. *Epist.* 27; Veget. 1, 10; Stat. *Silv.* 5, 2, 113; Catull. 63, 64; Hor. *Od.* 4, 1, 38; 1, 8, 5; 3, 7, 25; 3, 12, 7. In Rome, it will be observed, this ancient motive of erotic poetry is naturally associated with the Campus Martius and the Tiber, cp. Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, 36 (speaking to the notorious Clodia), 'habes hortos ad Tiberim ac diligenter eo loco parasti quo omnis iuventus natandi causa venit.'

11. The boy's courage and dexterity are suggested by *angustis* and *compescit*, which indicate a spirited horse under perfect control, cp. 4, 1, 91 ff. —**angustis**: 'constraining,' *i.e.* 'tight,' 'close.' In this active (= *angustans*) and metaphorical use, only here and occasionally in late prose, cp. however Ovid, *Met.* 5, 410, 'angustis inclusum cornibus aequor.' The corresponding passive use (= *angustatus*), also rare, occurs first in Varius, *ap.* Macrob. 6, 2, 19, 'angusto prius ore coercens | insultare docet campis fingitque morando,' cp., too, Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 274; Stat. *Theb.* 2, 594, etc.

12. The beautiful picture suggested by *placidam* and *niveo* indicates not so much courage and dexterity as grace and beauty. Lygdamus's comparatively colourless imitation (3, 5, 30) brings the exquisite art of Tib. himself into bolder relief. — **placidam**: the Tiber is meant, cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 386, 'nec Tuscus placida devehit amnis aqua.'

13. **quia**: the only case of *quia* in Tibullus, cp. 1, 6, 21 n.

14. The innocence and shyness of a well-trained boy appealed with special force to the ancients, cp. 4, 5, 17; Diog. Laert. 6, 2, 5; Seneca, *Epist.* 11, 1; Juv. 10, 300; 11, 154; esp. Plato, *Charm.* 158; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 96. — **stat ante**: the phrase is unique in this connection and the figure intended is not altogether certain. Such an ex. as Sueton. *Nero*, 48, 'ante faciem obtento sudario,' suggests that *stat ante* here might = 'mantles' the conventional

English word in this connection, as *e.g.* in Scott's 'Though mantled in her cheek the blood.' Again if we take *stare* as merely giving the picture (1, 1, 64 n.) and as emphasizing the idea of permanence (so often *sedere* with *ante*), as *e.g.* Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 936, 'stabo ante ripas immemor, Lethe, tuas | et umbra tristis coniugem excipiam meam') then *stat ante* here might ='bide upon.' In that case the phrase would be a close parallel, as it ought to be, of *adest* above and it would also be a variation of *sedere* and the like, which is not uncommon in this connection, cp. Juv. 4, 74, 'in quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat | pallor amicitiae'; Ovid, *Met.* 2, 775; *Trist.* 3, 9, 18; esp. Pindar, *Nem.* 8, 1, Ὥρα πότνια, κᾶρυξ Ἀφροδίτας | ἀμβροσιᾶν φιλοτάτων, | ἅτε παρθενηίοις παίδων τέφίζοισα γλεφάροις· Mosch. 1, 3, ὕπνος . . . βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζων· Soph. *Antig.* 782, Ἔρως . . . ὃς ἐν μαλακαῖς παρειαῖς | νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις (imitated by Hor. *Od.* 4, 13, 8). Note that the μαλακαῖς παρειαῖς of Soph. = the *teneras genas* of Tibullus.

15–16. For this rule cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 470; Propert. 2, 25, 15; Nemes. 4, 56.

15. **negabit**: so regularly to a lover, cp. 2, 6, 27; Propert. 1, 6, 9; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 73, etc.

16. **dabit**: Owing to the absence of aspirates in early Latin *dare* from the root *da*, 'to give' (Gk. δίδωμι), and *dare*, 'to put,' 'set up,' 'place,' from the root *dha*, 'to put,' 'set up,' 'place' (Gk. τίθημι), became indistinguishable in form and coalesced. Hence the *dare* of historical times is really a 'mixed' verb in the same sense that the ablative is a 'mixed' case and the perfect indicative a 'mixed' tense. The prevailing member of the combination was always *dare*, 'to give.' Occasionally however and esp. in the conservative language of law, religion, and poetry, hence also in the popular speech, the sleeping partner emerges and asserts its rights just as the instrumental does in the ablative and the aorist in the perfect indic. Here for instance (and as a rule with the construction *dare aliquem* or *aliquid* with a preposition or adverb) *dare* means 'to put' or 'place,' cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 162, 'sub tenerum scamna dedisse pedem'; Sil. Ital. 4, 511, 'Massylum . . . alis castra sub ipsa datis'; Tac. *Ann.* 13, 39; more often with *in*, Ovid, *Met.* 11, 784, 'se dedit in pontum'; 15, 66, 'in medium discenda dabat'; frequently with *super* in the medical writers, Celsus, 5, 28, 13, 'super plagam medicamenta danda sunt'; with *retro*, Ovid, *Met.* 1, 529; 3, 88, etc. No other good ex. of *dare* from *dha* 'to place' or 'put' construed as here occurs in Tib. (2, 4, 44 may be explained otherwise and cases like 1, 2, 14; 1, 8, 70; 1, 10, 22; 2, 3, 40; 2, 4, 48, in which the dative may or may not represent an original cons. of the accus. with *in* need not be considered here).

For other constructions in Tibullus in which *dare* from *dha* survives or is to

be suspected, cp. 1, 4, 52; 1, 5, 16; 1, 9, 2; 2, 5, 91; 2, 5, 108, and notes. The use of this *dare* (from *dha*) decreases in poetry in the order, epic, drama, elegy. In elegy the largest use is found in Ovid, the least in Tibullus. In prose mostly in those who favour the poets, like Livy, or in those who favour the popular speech, like Celsus. For a full discussion of this subject see Thielmann's *Das Verbum Dare*.

17–20. The statement that time accomplishes all things (a favourite theme, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 6, 1–14; Plato, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 51; etc.) is illustrated by two standard exx. arranged in two pairs, emphasized and distinguished not only by the distichs themselves but by anaphora of *longa dies* in the one as opposed to anaphora of *annus* in the other. Further the first pair show that patience and persistence can surmount all odds: they therefore apply especially to the first half of 15–16. Again, the second pair show in addition that progress is made even though we may fail to observe it from day to day: they therefore apply especially to the second half of 15–16. See n. on 11–14.

17. Tasso, *Aminta*, 1, 2, 'La lunga etate insegna all'uom di porre | Freno ai leoni,' seems to have had this line in mind.

The subjection of the beasts is an old *locus communis* of the poets taken up as usual and cherished by the philosophers and rhetoricians as an illustration of three favourite discussions — first, as a symptom of the deterioration of life since the Golden Age, cp. 1, 3, 41 n.; second, as an example of the tireless energy and the wonderful inventive genius of man, cp. *e.g.* Soph. *Antig.* 333, Aisch. *Prom.* 460, etc.; third, to exemplify as here, the power of time and perseverance, cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 471; *Trist.* 4, 6, 1–8, etc. The standard exx. in all three are the horse and the ox. Tib. selects the lion to enforce his point partly because the ex. of the ox was already suggested in 16, more especially however because the lion is the fiercest and most intractable of beasts, the greatest possible contrast to his tamer in physical strength and power. Ovid's method of developing the same idea in the same connection is an excellent ex. of rhetorical amplification and, incidentally, of Quintilian's remark that Ovid was 'nimium amator ingenii sui,' cp. *Trist.* 4, 6, 5, and line 19 n. below. The essential homeliness of Tibullus's illustration is shown by the popular use of it in other times and nationalities, cp. as an ex. of the second discussion above, Uncle Remus's story of 'Mr. Lion.'

18. 'Constant dropping wears away the stone' is a proverb in Latin and Greek as well as in English. The oldest form and the one most quoted is the verse of Choirilos of Samos, *πέτρην κοιλαίνει ῥανὶς ὕδατος ἐνδελεχείῃ*, cp. also Bion 2 (11); Plutarch, *Mor.* 2 D; Lucret. 4, 1286; 1, 313; Propert. 2, 25, 16; 4, 5, 20; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 476; *Pont.* 1, 1, 70; 2, 7, 40; 4, 10, 5; Lupercus in *Anth. Lat.* 648, 9 Riese, etc. — **molli saxa**: the elegiac poets are fond of

emphasizing sharp contrasts by juxtaposition as here. In *Ars Amat.* 1, 475, Ovid makes the same point by another method, 'quid magis est saxo durum, quid mollius unda? | dura tamen molli saxa cavantur aqua.'

This ex. is frequently associated with the wearing away of rings and of the ploughshare (Lucret. 1, 313; Plutarch, *l. c.*; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 474; *Pont.* 2, 7, 40; 4, 10, 5; *Trist.* 4, 6, 13), with the wearing of pavement by wheels (Lucret. and Plutarch, *l.c.*; Ovid, *Pont.* 2, 7, 40), and as here with the subjugation of animals. The homeliness of these illustrations suggests that their ultimate source lies in the sphere of philosophical discussion.

19. Cp. Verg. *E.* 9, 49, 'duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem.' In *Trist.* 4, 6, 9 (cp. 17 n. above) after citing the example of the horse, the ox, the lion, and the elephant, Ovid continues with this example and expands it thus, 'tempus ut extensis tumeat facit uva racemis | vixque merum capiant grana quod intus habent; | tempus et in canas semen producit aristas, | et ne sint tristi poma sapore cavet,' then completes the list with, 'hoc tenuat dentem terram renovantis aratri, | hoc rigidas silices, hoc adamanta terit,' and thus finally leads up to his point with, 'hoc etiam saevas paulatim mitigat iras, | hoc minuit luctus maestaque corda levat. | cuncta potest igitur tacito pede lapsa vetustas | praeterquam curas attenuare meas.'

20. The movement of the heavenly bodies is not used elsewhere in this connection. For the idea cp. Manilius, 1, 109, 'attribuitque suas formas, sua nomina signis, | quasque vices agerent certa sub sorte notavit.'

21–26. 'Swear and never flinch! Lovers' oaths are not registered above and therefore may be broken with impunity,' cp. 4, 4, 15 n. end; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 85; esp. *Ars Amat.* 1, 631–658.

21. The lover's oath (Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος, cp. Hesych. *s.v.*; *Paroem. Graeci*, 1, 441; 221; 349; 2, 320 and notes) that never reaches the ears of the gods, the lover's perjury borne away by the winds and seas, *i.e.* that was uttered to no purpose (cp. 1, 5, 35 n.; Meleag. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 8, 5, etc.) and therefore will never return to plague its inventor, is one of the best-known proverbs of antiquity. It appears first in Hesiod, cp. 23 and n. below. Other ref. are *Frag. Trag. Graec. Adesp.* 525; Plato, *Phileb.* 65 C; *Symp.* 183 B; Cornut. *Theol. Graec.* 24; Publil. Syr. 38; especially Kallimach. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 6, *ὤμοσεν· ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν ἀληθέα τοὺς ἐν ἔρωτι | ὅρκους μὴ δύσειν οὔατ' ἐς ἀθανάτων*, cp. Aristainet. 2, 20; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 8, 19; Seneca Rhet. *Controv.* 2, 2; Propert. 2, 16, 47; Lygd. 3, 6, 49. Horace's ode to the flirt Barine (2, 8, cp. esp. 1–16) is founded on this idea. Juvenal, 3, 145, applies it satirically to the poor. All remember Juliet's 'yet, if thou swear'st, | Thou mayst prove false: at lovers' perjuries, | They say, Jove laughs.'—**nec**: 1, 1, 67 n.

22. freta summa: Lucan, 3, 702, 'summas remeabat in undas.'

23. The reference is to the story of Jupiter and Io accounting for the origin of the Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος. It was first told in the *Aigimios* attributed to Hesiod, cp. Rzach's Hesiod, *frag.* 187 with ref. Apollod. 2, 1, 5 in his outline of Hesiod's version says that Zeus was surprised with Io by Hera. Whereupon he instantly turned the girl into a white heifer, *ἀπωμόσατο δὲ ταύτῃ μὴ συνελθεῖν*. Therefore, as Hesiod himself says, *ἐκ τοῦ δ' ὅρκον ἔθηκεν ἀποίνιμον ἀνθρώποισι | νοσφιδίων ἔργων πέρι Κύπριδος*. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 631, imitating Tib., refers to the same story, 'nec timide promitte: trahunt promissa puellas: | pollicito testes quoslibet adde deos. | Iuppiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum | et iubet Aeolios inrita ferre Notos. | per Styga Iunoni falsum iurare solebat | Iuppiter: exemplo nunc favet ipse suo.'

24. iurasset: for a future perf. indic., *i.e.* strictly anterior to *valere* after *vetuit*.—**cupide**: *i.e.* in the heat of passion.—**ineptus amor**: the folly of lovers is of course a proverb cp. Publil. Syr. 22, 'amare et sapere vix deo conceditur'; Plaut. *Merc.* 381; Catull. 8, 1; 64, 143; etc. Indeed lovers (cp. 1, 2, 27–28; 4, 4, 15 and notes), like lunatics, prophets, and poets (2, 5, 113–114 n.), are all inspired and therefore not responsible. Here then is the real foundation of the old folk-belief that lovers' oaths are not registered above.

25–26. Diana and Minerva are selected here for emphasis, *i.e.* they of all the deities in the pantheon would have no inclination to pardon the sins of a lover.

Swearing by the attributes of the gods instead of by the gods themselves was regular and characteristic, esp. among the people, cp. Juv. 13, 78, where the perjurer doth protest too much, 'per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat | et Martis frameam et Cirrhaei spicula vatis, | per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae | perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem, | addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae, | quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli. | si vero et pater est, "comedam" inquit "flebile nati | sinciput elixi Pharioque madentis aceto"'; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 3, 27; Hor. *Od.* 2, 8, 8; *Anth. Lat.* 199, 11 R; etc. See also, 2, 6, 29 n. Quite the same was the mediaeval habit which still survives in Catholic countries, of swearing by the relics or attributes of the saints, by the parts of the body of Christ, or by whatever pertained to his cross or passion.

Oaths may be general, *e.g.* 'per Iovem' = 'if I forswear myself let Jove punish me accordingly,' or specific, *e.g.* 'per Iovis fulmina' = 'if I forswear myself let Jove strike me with his thunderbolt,' 'per Dictynnae sagittas' = 'Diana, with her arrows' (naturally, a woman's oath but not necessarily), etc. In an oath taken in the name of a mortal the penalty is paid by the person adjured and in the part or after the manner specified (the god who

exacts the penalty not being mentioned), cp. the amusing passage of Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 3, 12. According to this conception perjury 'per crines Minervae' would logically involve loss of hair to the perjurer and at the same time the integrity of Minerva's own locks is at least formally assailed by perjury in their name. Hence the special force of this oath, for Minerva was very proud of her hair, as we learn, *e.g.*, from the story of Medusa, cp. Servius on Verg. *A.* 6, 289, etc. All agree that it was golden, cp. Pindar, *Nem.* 10, 11; *frag.* 34; Bacchyl. 5, 92, Blass; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 1, 7, etc.

25. **sinit . . . adfirmes**: see 1, 2, 25a n. — **Dictynna**: epithet of the Cretan nymph Britomartis, but generally as here applied to Artemis with whom she was more or less completely identified.

27–38. 'Don't slacken. Youth will pass, and once gone is gone forever,' cp. 1, 8, 47 ff.

27. The connection between the two statements is supplied by the axiom that love belongs only to youth, cp. 1, 2, 89–96 n.; 33–34 below; *Anth. Lat.* 24 R; 'turpe senilis amor'; 'Oh youth I do adore thee, Oh age I do abhor thee,' etc. — **transiet**: would be *transibit* acc. to the rule of futures in *-ibo* for *eo* and its compounds and for *queo* and *nequeo*. Exceptions are largely confined to compounds of *eo* and occur for the most part in Church Latinity and trans. of the Bible. Exx. of *transiet* outside that sphere are extremely rare. Neue cites only Seneca, *N. Q.* 3, 10, 3; Apul. Ascl. 28, p. 312; Charis. 127, 9. Indeed the ex. before us is the only case of such a form of any comp. of *eo* in all classical poetry. — **aetas**: 'life,' 'lifetime,' may be specifically old age or youth acc. to the connection. Here of course youth is meant, and so 1, 8, 47; Propert. 2, 33, 33, 'vino forma perit, vino corrumpitur aetas'; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 65; 571; etc.

The sentiment of this line, than which nothing is more common, cp. 1, 1, 69 n., is esp. characteristic of this particular sphere of eroticism, cp. Theokrit. 23, 32; Verg. *E.* 2, 17; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 29; 32; 234, etc.

28–38. Note the artistic development of ideas by examples. One ex. (28) paired with the general statement of 27 adding the idea of rapidity: then a pair of exx. in one distich (29–30) adding the idea of beauty: then a pair of exx. in two distichs (31–34) emphasizing the bitter contrast between youth and age, the last line (34) forming a transition to the final detail (35–38), youth and beauty are irrevocable. Hence briefly — 'lose no time, youth will pass (27) and so soon (28), and not only youth but the beauty that goes with it (29–30). Aye, and strength as well; for the old there is no strength, no beauty, no love (31–34). Once gone they are gone forever. Only gods are always young, always beautiful (35–38).' Imit. by Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 59–80, cp. also Seneca, *Phaedra*, 761–776.

28. A natural and a favourite illustration in this connection, cp. Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 178; Hor. *Od.* 4, 7, 7; Mimnerm. 2, 7; etc. — **stat remeatque**: lit. 'come to a stand and return,' cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 28, 6, 'inclinare meridiem | sentis ac, veluti stet volucris dies'; Seneca, *Phaed.* 315 (of Alkmena's three nights in one), 'nec suum tempus tenuere noctes, | et dies tardo remeavit ortu.'

The sun pauses when he reaches the Garden of the Hesperides at nightfall (the day is done), then returns to be at the place of beginning at dawn (the night is over), cp. 2, 5, 60 n. We generally say, using a different figure, 'how quickly the days come and go!' For still another, cp. Hor. *Od.* 2, 18, 15, 'truditur dies die'; Ammianus in *Anth. Pal.* 11, 13, *ἠὼς ἐξ ἠοῦς παραπέμπεται, εἶτ', ἀμελούντων | ἡμῶν, ἐξαίφνης ἥξει ὁ πορφύρεος*, etc. — **dies** = *sol*, as often. Hence the sing., cp. too the verbs.

29–30. Exx. from this sphere are abundant in this connection and begin as early as Homer, *Il.* 6, 146; 21, 464; cp. Simon. 69 Crus.: Mimnerm. 2, 1 Crus.; Theokrit. 23, 28; 27, 10; Mosch. 3, 99; Rufin. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 74; Aristainet. 2, 1, 4; Nemes. 4, 21; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 113; Seneca, *Phaed.* 761; Propert. 4, 5, 59; Pliny, 21, 2; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 234; 29; 32: 11, 53; 36; 374; *Anth. Lat.* 646 R.

29. The flowers soon fade and pass away. With this method of expressing the idea, cp. 3, 5, 4; *Culex*, 70, 'florida cum tellus gemmantis picta per herbas | vere notat dulci distincta coloribus arva'; Propert. 1, 2, 9, 'aspice quos summittat humus formosa colores'; Catull. 64, 90, 'aurave distinctos educit vernae colores'; | *Dirae*, 21, 'hinc Veneris vario florentia serta decore, | purpureo campos quae pingit verna colore,' etc.

Note that Tibullus's phrase here is purposely so constructed as to furnish a close and suggestive parallel with the freshness and colour of youth; hence the suppression of flowers in so many words and the substitution of *colores* which suggests both flowers and youth, the use of *deperdit* which personifies *terra* and finally the choice of the word *purpureos* which here as often connotes, as does its Greek original, brightness and beauty rather than any definite colour, and so used is a word constantly associated with youth and beauty. So in English, 'rosy' and 'roseate,' cp. Byron's 'Oh Love! young Love! bound in thy rosy band,' for which might be cited Val. Flacc. 8, 257, 'ipsi inter medio, rosea radiante iuventa.' Indeed, Gray's 'The bloom of young Desire and purple light of Love' was an avowed classicism for which he himself quoted Phrynichos.

A characteristically rhetorical development of the Tibullian comparison in this connection is Aristainet. 2, 1, *γυνὴ ἔοικε λειμῶνι, καὶ ὅπερ ἐκείνῳ τὰ ἄνθη, τοῦτό γε ταύτῃ τὸ κάλλος. τέως μὲν οὖν ἡ κόμη* (cp. *comas* in l. 30) *τῷ λειμῶνι ἐπακμάζει καὶ ἡ χροιὰ τῶν ἀνθέων, ἦρος δὲ παρακμάσαντος πέπαυται*

μὲν τὰ ἄνθη . . . ὁ δὲ λειμῶν γεγήρακε. γυναικός τε αὖ πάλιν ἢν τὸ εἶδος παρέλθῃ καὶ τὸ κάλλος παραδράμῃ, τίς ἔτι καταλείπεται εὐφροσύνη; ἀνανθεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἀπηνθηκότι σώματι οὐ πέφυκε προσιζάνειν ὁ Ἔρως.

Often a number of flowers are named in succession. This as we might guess is characteristic of the bucolic poets and their imitators, *e.g.* Theokrit. 23, 28, καὶ τὸ ῥόδον καλόν ἐστι, καὶ ὁ χρόνος αὐτὸ μαραίνει· | καὶ τὸ ἴον καλόν ἐστιν ἐν εἴαρι, καὶ ταχὺ γηρᾷ· | λευκὸν τὸ κρίνον ἐστί, μαραίνεται ἁνίκα πίπτῃ· | ἁ δὲ χιὼν λευκά, καὶ τάκεται ἁνίκα παχθῇ. | καὶ κάλλος καλόν ἐστι τὸ παιδικόν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον ζῇ· Mosch. 3, 106 (p. 92 Wilamow.); Nemes. 4, 21; Verg. *E.* 2, 17; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 115; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 74; *Anth. Lat.* 24 R. The choice of a single flower is especially common in the epigram, and in that case the favourite is of course the rose, proverbially the symbol of fleeting beauty and youth, cp. *Paroem. Graeci*, 2, p. 86, ῥόδον παρελθὼν μηκέτι ζήτει πάλιν = Publil. Syr. 690, 'quae defloruerit ne iterum quaeratur rosa'; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 234; 11, 36, 4; 374, 7; 53; 5, 28; Philost. *Epist.* 17; Achill. Tat. 1, 8; Propert. 4, 5, 57, 'dum vernat sanguis, dum rugis integer annus, | utere, ne quid cras libet ab ore dies. | vidi ego odorati victura rosaria Paesti | sub matutino cocta iacere noto,' cp. Dobson's poem, 'The Rose in the garden slipped her bud,' etc.; Auson. in *Anth. Lat.* 646 R. 31–50, esp. the last lines, 'collige virgo, rosas, dum flos novus et nova pubes, | et memor esto aevum sic properare tuum,' the original of Herrick's 'Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,' etc.

30. As 29 suggested the colour and freshness of youth soon to fade, so 30 suggests another prerogative of youth, beautiful and abundant hair (cp. 38 below), cut off at majority in the case of boys and in any event turning grey or dropping out with age, cp. Seneca, *Phaed.* 761, 'anceps forma bonum mortalibus, | exigui donum breve temporis, | ut velox celeri pede laberis! | non sic prata novo vere decentia | aestatis calidae despoliat vapor, | saevit solstitio cum medius dies | et noctes brevibus praecipitant rotis | languescunt folio et lilia pallido: | ut gratae capiti deficiunt comae | et fulgor teneris qui radiat genis | momento rapitur nullaque non dies | formonsi spolium corporis abstulit'; Aristainet. *l.c.*; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 73, etc. The comparison is the more apt because *comae* is regularly used of foliage, cp. 1, 7, 34 and 2, 1, 48 n. The white poplar was probably selected because of its beauty. It was prized as a shade tree and was associated with Hercules in song and story, cp. Verg. *E.* 9, 41; Hor. *Od.* 2, 3, 9; Verg. *A.* 8, 276.

Note that the flowers and leaves in 29–30, though fitly characterizing the passing of youth and beauty, are nevertheless a contrast in that, unlike youth and beauty, they do always return again. The point is made by Mosch. 3, 106 (cp. Mustard, *A. J. P.* 30, 279–282, and the charming variation in Halévy's song, 'Il est fini le temps des roses,' etc.); *Eleg. in Maec.* 2, 111; etc.

Indeed like the seasons (cp. Hor. *Od.* 4, 7) they were felt as the type of resurrection (cp. the legends and the ritual of Dionysos, Adonis, etc.). Tib. passes over the point here to make it further down (35 f.) in another way.

31–32. Rapidity of change has been exemplified in 29–30. The emphasis now shifts to the contrast between youth and age. Youth is strong and active, age is weak and impotent. The ex. of the racehorse is a variation *e.g.* of Ennius, *Ann.* 374 V., 'sicut fortis equus spatio qui saepe supremo | vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit,' and esp. of Ibykos, 2, 5 Crus. (cp. Plato, *Parmen.* 137 A.). The real parallel, however, is seen in passages like Dio Chrys. 6, 41; Plutarch, *An seni,* etc. 4 (785 D), which acc. to Wilamowitz indicate Cynic sources. See *Anth. Pal.* 9, 19; 20; 21; Ovid, *Her.* 18, 166, 'ut celer Eleo carcere missus equus,' is an echo.

31. iacet: so often of illness, weakness, etc., cp. 2, 5, 109; Propert. 1, 6, 25, etc. Explained by the following adjective *infirmae.*

32. prior: cp. 1, 2, 69 n. Latin often, and Greek still oftener, esp. in poetry, uses an adjective in the predicate where we prefer an adverb or an adverbial expression. This process, esp. with adjectives denoting a temporary condition, *e.g.* of inclination, knowledge, and their opposites, of time and season, order and position (Gild.-Lodge, 325, R. 6), begins with Plautus and grows steadily. For *prior* here, cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 218, 'qui meruit caelum, quod prior ipse tulit'; Propert. 4, 5, 42, 'nempe tulit fastus, ausa rogare prior'; Xen. *Vect.* 4, 12, *δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἡ πόλις προτέρα ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἐγνωκέναι.* Another case is *stultos* in 34 below.—**carcere**: 'the barriers.' In this use generally plural. The singular, as here (*i.e.* = barriers'), is for the most part poetic. Ovid, *Trist.* 5, 12, 26, uses the plural but once, otherwise always in the singular.

33–34. Illustration of a general truth by the (apparently) naïve and spontaneous citation of his own personal experience or that of some acquaintance. Here, of course, it suggests and characterizes the didactic attitude. Used with great effect by Ovid; cp. *Ars Amat.* 2, 169; 493; 547; 3, 43; 487; 598; *Rem. Amor.* 1; 227; 311; 499; 555; 609; 621; 663; Propert. 4, 5, 57; Theognis, 915; Soph. *Elekt.* 62; *Aias,* 1142; Eurip. *Elekt.* 369. In Tib. always in connection with Nemesis, as here, 1, 2, 89; 1, 8, 71; 1, 9, 79; so, too, Theokrit. 23, 33; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 12; 29; 30; 32; 35; 186; 197; 215; 224; 229; 234; 235; 251; etc.

34. stultos: adj. for adverb; cp. note on *prior,* above. *stultos* is the pred. of *praeteriisse; dies* the subject, *i.e.* the days have passed foolishly, have been wasted. *praeteriisse, i.e.* beyond recall (thus forming the transition to the next distich), more fully in 1, 8, 41; cp. also 1, 2, 89; 1, 1, 71 and n.

35–36. The serpent's annual casting of his skin has always been a favourite

example of recurrent youth; cp. Aristot. *De Animal. Hist.* 8, 17; Nikand. *Ther.* 137; Aristoph. *Pax*, 336; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 77; *Met.* 9, 266; Verg. *G.* 3, 437; *A.* 2, 473; Stat. *Theb.* 4, 97, etc. Pliny, 29, 137, speaking of the cast-off skin as used in medicine, calls it 'senecta serpentium.'

35. **crudeles divi**: on this naïve criticism of the gods throughout all antiquity, see esp. the long passage in Seneca, *Ben.* 2, 29; cp. also *Carm. Epig.* B. 1212, 5. The abuse of the power invoked which characterizes modern profanity in the Latin countries is a survival of the same naïve attitude.

36. **non ullam**: see 4, 6, 9 n.

37–38. For Bacchos and Apollo as the divine representatives of eternal youth, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 3, 421, and often. Hence the epithet *intonsus* so often applied to both, *e.g.* to Bacchos, Ovid, *Met.* 4, 13; Mart. 4, 45; Val. Flacc. 1, 411; Seneca, *Phaed.* 754; Eurip. *Kykl.* 75, etc., but esp. to Apollo, cp. 2, 3, 12 n. The hair of boys was not cut off until their majority.

37. **solis**: 1, 5, 36 n.

39–56. 'Spare no pains to be complaisant and attentive.' This theme is developed thus: First distich (39–40), general statement; second and third distichs (41–44), first illustration, travel by land; fourth and fifth distichs (45–48), second illustration, travel by sea; sixth distich (49–50), third illustration, hunting; seventh distich (51–52), fourth illustration, fencing; eighth and ninth distichs (53–56), general conclusion. For the theme, which goes back to the Alex. Age, cp. esp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 179, a passage reminiscent of this; *Amor.* 1, 9; etc. For a complete discussion with references, see esp. Wheeler, *Class. Philol.* 5, p. 61.

40. **obsequio** is the theme in one word. 'Gallantry' is insufficient as a translation. What is meant is unselfish devotion or at least the complete semblance of it. The standard mythological illustration in erotic poetry is the tale of Milanion and Atalanta the huntress; cp. 49–50 n. On the prominence of it in this particular sphere, see the Introd. p. 52. The sports and pastimes quoted here are all standard examples.

41–44. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 223–238; *Amor.* 1, 9. *via longa*, as we have seen, 1, 1, 26 n., is often military. Here, however, as is shown by 42–44, it means a long walk. If he organizes a long walk (as such people are likely to do, regardless of the weather), go with him. Never mind if it is hot and dusty or, on the other hand, if it threatens to rain in torrents. All three things are likely to be disagreeable, not only a long walk as such (your elegiac lover is no athlete, cp. Introd. p. 56), but the two extremes of weather described. Hence, the compendious sentence, in which *quamvis* (43) apparently corresponds to *quamvis* (41), and *et* (42) may = a paratactic 'and,' as in English. Logically, however, the walk is the thing, the extremes of weather,

the attendant (and aggravating) circumstances, the contrast is between 42 and 43–44, *quamvis* in 43 corresponds to a *quamvis* to be supplied after *et* in 42, and *et* = 'even.' 'If he wishes to take a long walk, don't fail to go with him — even though it be hot and dry, even though it threaten rain,' etc.

41. **neu**: 'and do not.' Corresponds to *cedas*, above. — **comes ire**: *i.e. comitari*. This use of *ire* with some noun to represent the verbal idea suggested by the noun runs through the language.

42. Cp. 1, 1, 27 n. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 231, 'nec grave te tempus sitiensque Canicula tardet | nec via per iactas candida facta nives.'

43. **ferrugine**: a colour word which in both its literal and metaph. uses is a close parallel of *purpureus* and *caeruleus* and is often coupled with them, esp. with the latter. 'The various uses of *ferruginus*, *ferrugineus*, and *ferrugo* being compared,' says Munro on Lucret. 4, 76, 'the colour denoted would seem to be a dark violet like that of steel after it has been heated in the fire and cooled: Plautus, *Miles Glor.* 1178, "palliolum habeas ferrugineum, nam is colos thalassicust"; answering therefore to Homer's πορφύρεος or οἶνοψ applied to the sea; as in certain weathers the Mediterranean has precisely such a colour.' So too the word is used of Charon's boat (Verg. *A.* 6, 303), of the garments of Pluto (Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.*, 275) suggesting the darkness of Hades, of the sun in eclipse (Verg. *G.* 1, 467, etc.), but never for a storm as here. *purpureus*, however, is often so used and what has been said shows that *ferrugo* is eminently suitable for that startling blackness of a summer tempest driven on by a high wind such as *Eurus*. *picea* (an emendation of the Itali) is frequently applied to storm clouds but is not found elsewhere with *ferrugo* (cp. however, 'ferrugine atra,' Ovid, *Met.* 15, 789). Translate then 'praetexens,' etc., 'shrouding the sky with purple gloom.'

It should be noted that the Ambrosianus here reads, 'quamvis praetexens picta ferrugine caelum | venturam amiciat imbrifer arcus aquam.' The text is corrupt (certainly, *e.g. amiciat* and *imbrifer*) but I am not so certain that *arcus* should be removed. The antique folklore of the rainbow is a complete contrast to ours. For us, as for the Hebrews, it is the illuminated text of God's own covenant written on the skies (cp. *Gen.* 9, 12–17), the bow of promise, the herald of fair weather, heaven smiling as it were through her tears. Not so the Greeks and Romans. For them the rainbow was a portent (Homer, *Il.* 17, 547; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 270), the herald of storm and disaster (Empedokles, 50, Diels; Anaxag. in Schol. *Iliad*, *l. c.*; Aratos, 940; Aëtius, *Dox. Gr.* Diels, 371; Plaut. *Curc.* 131 *a*, *i.e.* as we say, 'the sun is drawing water'; Verg. *G.* 1, 381; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 270; Propert. 3, 5, 32; Lucan, 4, 81; Seneca, *Oed.* 316; Stat. *Achill.* 1, 220; Martial, 12, 29, 6; *Anth. Lat.* 543–554, R.). See Roscher, *s.v. Iris.* It will be seen then that acc. to

the antique point of view the rainbow here expresses best the idea desired, *i.e.* the imminence of a violent thunderstorm. *imbrifer* as an epithet of the rainbow is not uncommon (*e.g.* Seneca, *Oed.* 315; Stat. *Theb.* 9, 405; *Silv.* 3, 3, 81). The difficulty with it here (irrespective of the fact that it practically repeats the idea of 'venturam aquam') is that it necessitates arbitrary lengthening of the final syllable of the preceding verb, which, though occasional at the end of the first hemistich of the pentameter, ought not to be found in Tibullus. *nimbifer* does not happen to occur as an epithet of *arcus*, but it is near *imbrifer* and it expresses an association with the rainbow which is familiar to antiquity. *picta* is also occasionally used to describe the colours of the rainbow. If we retain it here, *ferrugine* portrays the colours of the rainbow and is used like its close congener *purpureus*, πορφύρεος (Propert. 3, 5, 32; Homer, *Il.* 17, 547) in the same connection. We should then take *praetexens* more in its original sense and the idea would be something like 'limning on the skies her (awesome) pageantry of colours.' Note that the metaphor which suggested the designation 'rainbow,' 'arcus' and which is so familiar to Rome and the modern world, was to the Greeks not only foreign but repugnant. Aischrion's line, ἶρις δ' ἔλαμψε, καλὸν οὐρανοῦ τόξον, seems to be the one surviving example (in the LXX, *Genesis*, 9, 14, etc., τὸ τόξον ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ is merely a translation from Hebrew) and this was quoted by the rhetoricians as a glaring instance of bad taste, cp. *Rhetores Graeci*, 3, p. 650 Walz.

44. **admittat**: *acceleret*, 'drives on at full speed,' esp. of horses; cp. dictt. and *Dirae*, 38, 'Eurus agat mixtam fulva caligine nubem.'—**nimbifer Eurus**: the adjective is rare but fitting. Eurus is eminently a storm wind, cp. such epithets for him in the poets as *nubifer*, *aquosus*, *atrox*, *insanus*, *niger*, *saevus*, *stridens*, etc.

45. **puppi**: a rowboat of course is meant.

46. This is the transition to the next distich and illustrates the general rule applying both to this and to the two following exx., that whatever the sport may be you must give your beloved the better part of it.

47–48. See 2, 3, 5; 2, 3, 9–10 and notes; Propert. 4, 3, 23; Lygd. 3, 4, 65.

48. **insuetas**: the absolute use as here is not common, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 11, 94.—**atteruisse**: the only surviving ex. of this old perf. of *attero* (i.e. *terui* instead of the later *trivi*, i.e. *terivi*) outside of Apuleius and the Itala.

49–50. 4, 3, 11–14 and notes; Plutarch, *Mor.* 52 B, etc. The standard exx. in erotic literature are, on the one hand, Milanion and Atalanta the huntress, and on the other, Venus and Adonis, and Phaidra and Hippolytos. Carrying the nets was a tiresome and a menial task (cp. Seneca, *Phaed.*

45) which the lover regularly offers to perform, cp. 4, 3, 11 n.; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 189; *Met.* 10, 171; Plutarch, *Mor.* 52 B; Verg. *E.* 3, 74–75.

51–52. Cp. Plutarch, *Mor.* 58 E, who describes flatterers as regularly ὑποπίπτοντες ἐν τῷ παλαίειν καὶ ἀπολειπόμενοι θεόντων. Cp. too the amusing advice of Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 203, and on fencing as an amusement, Cic. *Sen.* 58; Manil. 4, 227. Val. Max. 2, 3, 2, says that it was first introduced into the army by the consul C. Rutilius. See also Ovid, *Met.* 10, 167–173; Nonnos, 10, 339; 357–360; 373–375; 48, 124 f.; 159 f.

51. levi dextra: 'with a light, easy hand,' *i.e.* try not to 'hit hard,' cp. Lucret. 5, 1067 (of dogs playing with their puppies), 'et catulos blande cum lingua lambere temptant | aut ubi eos iactant pedibus morsuque petentes | suspensis teneros imitantur dentibus haustus.' — **temptabis**: cp. *dabis*, 52, the future for the imperative (not elsewhere in Tib.) reflects the tone of authority cp., too, Gild.-Lodge, 243.

53–56. Endure, then pity, then embrace. A favourite motive in the literature of kissing, Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 663, 'quis sapiens blandis non misceat oscula verbis? | illa licet non det, non data sume tamen! | pugnabit primo fortassis et "improbe" dicet: | pugnando vinci se tamen illa volet'; Hor. *Od.* 2, 12, 25, 'cum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula | cervicem aut facili saevitia negat, | quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi, | interdum rapere occupet.'

54. oscula apta: Ovid, *Her.* 15, 130, 'oscula ... aptaque consueras accipere, apta dare.' These are the 'close' kisses of the Elizabethan poets, cp. Paulus, *Ex Fest.* 18, 'aptus is qui convenienter alicui iunctus est.' *apta* here is absolute; so 1, 7, 60, and occasionally in the poets.

55. rapta dabit: *i.e.* let you snatch them. On the other hand, Ovid, *e.g.*, uses the same expression of the snatcher, cp. *Amor.* 2, 4, 26, 'oscula cantanti rapta dedisse velim'; *Her.* 15, 43, 'cantabam, memini (meminerunt omnia amantes): | oscula cantanti tu mihi rapta dabas,' etc. The participle is indefinite. According to circumstances, it may mean 'stolen from the subject,' or 'stolen by the subject.' The conditions however of a successful kiss are such that the distinction between giving and receiving is more logical than real, hence *dare* is regularly used of both in this connection. Strato (cp. *Anth. Pal.* 12, 200, μισῶ δυσπερίληπτα φιλήματα, καὶ μαχιμώδεις | φωνάς) and doubtless others, do not prefer the type here mentioned. Others again are like the girl in Saxe's poem who would not kiss because — 'The maid if rightly understood | Feels as any Christian maiden should: | She'd rather suffer wrong than do it.' But while the point of view may differ the result is much the same.

56. implicuisse: Neue-Wagener (3, 378) cites this perf. of *implico* from Cicero, *De Domo*, 105; Hortensius, *frag.* 90; Seneca, *Epist.* 22, 3; 75, 11;

Ben. 5, 12, 2; Fronto, p. 24 N. The 21 exx. remaining, of which this is the first to appear, are all from the poets (Lygd. 3, 6, 64; Propert. 3, 5, 20; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 18, 9; 5 in Verg.; 2 in Ovid, *Met.*, etc.). *se implicuisse* illustrates the only way we can have elision in the first thesis of the second hemistich of the pentameter without obscuring the caesura. Propert. 2, 14, 10, 'inmortalis ero si altera talis erit,' is the only ex. in the elegy (Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, *Carm. Amat.*) besides this. This is largely due to the fact that a preceding elided monosyllable *in thesi* is generally to be avoided for obvious reasons. The statistics for the elegy (excluding *-que*) are,—**First thesis**, Catull. 65, 22; 67, 30; 68, 14: **Second thesis**, Catull. 66, 7; 73; 76; 84; 67, 42; Tib. 1, 6, 59; 1, 2, 56; Propert. 2, 3, 21; 13, 8; 19, 1; 20, 22; 21, 8; 22, 21; 24, 31; 26, 1; 28, 5; 29, 21; 34, 43; 3, 20, 11; 22, 15; 4, 4, 43; 7, 36; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 4, 57; 2, 1, 30; 19, 21; 3, 6, 80; 103; *Her.* 5, 85; 12, 195; 14, 55; 20, 229; *Ars Amat.* 3, 2: **Third thesis**, Propert. 2, 15, 19, 'quin etiam si me ulterius provexerit iræ;' 2, 24, 15, 'a peream, si me ista movent dispendia, si me,' Ovid, *Her.* 19, 29, 'utque rogem de te et scribam tibi siquis Abydo': **Fourth thesis**, Catull. 67, 37, Propert. 3, 17, 19; 24, 19; 4, 2, 57; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 55; *Ars Amat.* 3, 749: **Fifth thesis**, Catull. 66, 75; 68, 41; Propert. 2, 20, 27; 21, 7: **Sixth thesis**, elision here occurs but twice (Tib. 2, 4, 17; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 49), in neither case with a monosyllable.

Elision of any sort in the caesura of the pentameter is of course very rare. The only exx. found in the elegy examined were Catull. 68, 10; 82; 90. Cases even in which this caesura falls on a word followed by enclitic *que* are confined to Catull. 68, 56 and Propert. 3, 22, 10. Similar obscuration of the caesura (semiquinaria) in the hexameter is also rare.

57–60. The question of presents, their character and value, would naturally be taken up at this point; see *e.g.* Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 261–272, who throughout follows the arrangement of Tibullus, or possibly of treatises περὶ ἔρωτος or περὶ κολακείας to which both may be indebted. Here for artistic reasons the poet prefers merely to suggest the topic by the ever recurring attack on avarice and venality—which we find in elegy, epigram, comedy, late rhetorical echoes of the comedy like the *Amores* of Lukian and the letters of Alkiphron, Aristainetos, etc., in short in any antique account of a love affair whenever reference is made to the value of poetry or to those natural enemies of the poet, the dives amator and his accomplice the lena. See 1, 5, 60 n.; 2, 4, 31–34 n.; 1, 9, 11 and 52; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 42; 44; 212; 214; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 10; etc.

59–60. Reminiscences of these lines, 2, 4, 31 f. and perhaps of Propertius 4, 5, 65 f. seem to be blended in Tasso, *Aminta*, 2, 1, 'O chiunque tu fosti,

che insegnasti | Primo a vender l'amor, sia maladetto | Il tuo cener sepolto, e l'ossa fredde ; | E non si trovi mai pastore, o ninfa, | Che lor dica passando: "Abbiate pace;" | Ma le bagni la pioggia, e mova il vento, | E con piè immondo la greggia il calpesti, | E 'l peregrin. Tu prima svergognasti | La nobilta d'Amor; tu le sue liete | Dolcezze inamaristi.' Here of course Tib. is aiming at the first, the original, sinner (dives amator or lena, cp. 1, 5, 47–48 n.). This method of cursing or blessing the original inventor or discoverer of whatever it may be is very characteristic, cp. 1, 10, 1 n.

59. **Venerem**: for this meaning, 1, 5, 40; 1, 9, 76; 4, 3, 18.

60. This curse is characteristic of the entire Graeco-Roman world, cp. Seneca, *Phaed.* 1279, 'istam terra defossam premat, | gravisque tellus impio capiti incubet'; Tertull. *De Anim.* 4, 'terram gravem imprecaris et cineri penes inferos tormentum'; Propert. 4, 5, 1 ff.; Eurip. *Helena*, 852, εἰ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοί, | εὔψυχον ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόνθ' ὕπο | κούφῃ καταμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί, | κακοῖσι δ' ἕρμα στερεὸν ἐμβάλλουσι γῆς. Our own expression is 'may you never rest easy in your grave!' For the contrasted blessing, 'sit tibi terra levis' (often reduced to *s. t. t. l.* in the old Roman epitaphs, cp. our 'R. I. P.'), cp. 2, 4, 49–50 n.; Propert. 1, 17, 24; Eurip. *Alkest.* 461, κούφα σοι | χθὼν ἐπάνωθε πέσοι, γύναι: Kallimach. *Epig.* 26; Meleag. *Anth. Pal.* 7, 461, cp. Martial, 5, 34, 9, etc. The idea is of course derived from the naïve but world-wide and persistent assumption that the comfort of the dead is affected by the actual conditions of their last resting place, or by whatever may happen to the corpse after death; cp. *e.g.* Propert. 4, 7 (the ghost of Cynthia complaining to the poet), a good proportion of the wonderful collection of curses in Ovid's *Ibis*, etc. See also, 1, 10, 37–38 n.—**infelix**: δυστυχῶν, 'ill-omened,' so regularly of anything connected with the dead: Sophokles, *O. K.* 402, κείνοις ὁ τύμβος δυστυχῶν ὁ σὸς βαρύς· so for example in the old legal formula of *perduellio* preserved in Livy, 1, 26, 6, if the accused loses his appeal, the *duoviri* proceed with, 'caput obnubito; infelici arbori reste suspendito,' etc. Macrob. 3, 20, 3 (quoting Tarquitius Priscus), 'arbores quae inferum deorum avertentiumque in tutela sunt, eas infelices nominant'; Pliny, *H. N.* 16, 108, 'damnatae religione (*i.e.* arbores) quae neque seruntur umquam neque fructum ferunt.'

61–70. Poetry and poets *versus* gifts and givers. In the elegy the lover, who is generally imposed upon, and the poet himself, who is always poor, are usually and indeed conventionally, one and the same. Hence the ancient theme of the glory of poetry and the superiority of the poet (Hesiod, *Theog.* 81; Pind. *Nem.* 7, 12; Theokrit. 16, 22 ff.; Kallimach. *Epig.* 21, 5; Hor. *Od.* 4, 8, 28; 4, 9, 26, etc.) when we reach the elegy is specialized as poetry *versus* gifts, *i.e.* as the poet *versus* his rival the dives amator and

in this sphere developed from every possible point of view. Cp. *e.g.* 1, 5, 61–66; 2, 4, 13–20; 2, 5, 113–114 and notes; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 273–286; 3, 533–552; *Amor.* 3, 8; 1, 10, etc. The particular form of the argument found here (61–66) — 'cherish the poets above mere gain, for they alone can confer immortality' — is the oldest and most widely spread not only in poetry but in rhetoric, cp. Hes., Pind., Theokrit., Hor. *l. c.;* Propert. 3, 2, 15; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 10, 59; 1, 15; 3, 12, 21; but esp. the typical variation of *Ars Amat.* 3, 547, 'vatibus Aoniis faciles estote puellae: | numen inest illis, Pieridesque favent. | est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli: | sedibus aetheriis spiritus ille venit. | a doctis pretium scelus est sperare poetis: | me miserum! scelus hoc nulla puella timet.' Cp. also *Amor.* 1, 8, 57–62; Propert. 4, 5, 54–56, etc.

For the direct command to cherish poets as described in 61–62, cp. 2, 5, 113–114 n.; Ovid, *Ars Amat. l.c.;* Theokrit. 16, 29; etc.

61–62. Pieridas . . . Pieridas: on the declension, 1, 2, 52 n. An exaggeration of this rhetorical device are the *versus recurrentes* of which quite enough are preserved in the *Anth. Lat.* 38–80 R., cp. *e.g* (80), 'nil mihi mors faciet: pro me monumenta relinquo, | tu modo vive, liber: nil mihi mors faciet.' Cp. too the *versus anacyclici*, *id.* 81, *e.g.* 'blanditias fera Mors Veneris persensit amando, | permisit solitae nec Styga tristitiae. | tristitiae Styga nec solitae permisit, amando | persensit Veneris Mors fera blanditias.' See such prototypes in Greek as [Simonides], *Anth. Pal.* 13, 30; [Timokreon], *id.* 13, 31.

The type represented by our example does not occur elsewhere in Tibullus. See 2, 4, 15–20 n. Similar are such exx. as Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 167, 'pauper amet caute, timeat maledicere pauper.'

61. doctos: 4, 6, 2 n. — **et**: 2, 5, 22 n., and 1, 1, 51 n.

63–66. Tib. begins his argument that poetry immortalizes by enforcing the negative (63–64), *i.e.* 'without poetry all would be forgotten': so too Pind. *Nem.* 7, 12–16; 9, 6; Hor. *Od.* 4, 9, 25; Propert. 3, 2, 15; Tac. *Agric.* 46; Sil. Ital. 3, 145; etc.

The favourite method of developing is as here by examples: so Theokrit. 16, 29–60, by Antiochos, Aleuas, Skopas, all petty princelings — but friends of Simonides; by the Lykians, the sons of Priam, etc. — but celebrated by Homer; Hor. *Od.* 4, 8, 25, by Aeacus, Hercules, Castor and Pollux (cp. 4, 9, 26–28); Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9, 29, by Troy's Fall; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 3, 21 by Io, Leda, Europa, etc.

The negative of the argument in 63–64 is followed in 65–66 by the positive; he whom the Muses commemorate survives all things: so Theokrit. 16, 29–33 and 58 f.; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 10, 61, 'scindentur vestes, gemmae frangentur et

aurum: | carmina quam tribuent fama perennis erit,' hence the regret of Propertius on parting with Cynthia, 3, 24, 4, 'versibus insignem te pudet esse meis.' Often with *exempla*, as Propert. 3, 2, 15 (Pyramids, Temple of Zeus at Elis, Mausoleum), etc.

63. **Nisi coma**: for the detailed story of Nisus see dictt. His daughter was Scylla, and the story of the loss of his purple lock accounted for her metamorphosis. The Latin parallel is Tarpeia and Tatius as told by Propertius, 4, 4. The story of Nisus was especially popular during and after the Alex. Age, and constantly mentioned. Nemesianus, *Cyneget.* 44 mentions it as a trite subject. It was told by Parthenios in his *Metamorphoses*, and by Kallimachos, probably in the *Aitia*. Among surviving versions are the *Ciris* and Ovid, *Met.* 8, 1–151, cp. *Amor.* 3, 12, 21, Verg. *G.* 1, 405. — **sint . . . nituisset**: *essent* or *fuissent . . . nituisset* would have been usual. But 'the Ideal is not controlled by impossibility or improbability, and the lively fancy of the Roman often employs the Ideal where we should expect the Unreal' (Gild.-Lodge, 596, R. 1), *e.g.* 'tu si hic sis aliter sentias,' Ter. *Andria*, 310. More characteristic of early Latin, but occasional in all styles in the later language. To the same liveliness of fancy is due the shift of conception from ideal to unreal in the same sentence, as here. The only remaining ex. in the elegy is 1, 8, 22. Others are Plaut. *Aul.* 523; Lucret. 5, 276; 1, 356; 2, 1033; Catull. 6, 2; Verg. *G.* 4, 116–123; *A.* 8, 568; Cicero, *Div.* 2, 122; *Fin.* 4, 61; Livy, 6, 40, 17; Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 1385; Mart. 5, 20, 1. Explained historically by Schmalz, *Lat. Stilistik*, p. 413. For similar exx. of rapidly shifting fancy see 4, 13, 5, and 2, 4, 7–8.

64. **umero Pelopis**: see dictt. s.v. *Pelops*. Appears first in Pindar, *Olymp.* 1, 40, where the Schol. says that it was also told by Bacchylides. Lukian, *Salt.* 54, says that, *ἡ Πέλοπος κρεουργία καὶ ὁ ἐλεφάντινος ὦμος αὐτοῦ* was a favourite theme of the drama, and Vergil, *G.* 3, 6, mentions it as a trite subject, 'cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos | Hippodameque umeroque Pelops insignis eburno, | acer equis?' Told by Ovid, *Met.* 6, 403; Nonnos, 18, 27; Hyginus, *Fab.* 83; Dio Chrys. 8, 28; Philost. *Imag.* 1, 30; Pliny, 28, 34; Julian, *Orat.* p. 816.

65–66. Cp. the condition frequently found in old deeds, 'while wood grows and water runs.' These concrete examples of perpetuity, many of them popular, and some like these quasi-proverbial, are much developed and diversified by the poets and rhetoricians, — *e.g.* Verg. *A.* 1, 607, 'in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae | lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet, | semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt'; *E.* 5, 76; Hor. *Epod.* 15, 7; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 15, 9; *Ibis*, 135; Sil. Ital. 7, 476; *Anth. Pal.* 9, 821, 2, *αὐδήσει χρόνος αἰέν, ἕως πόλος ἀστέρας ἕλκῃ·* *Certamen Hes. et Hom.* 254,

Rzach, *χαλκέη παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδεω δ' ἐπὶ σήματος ἧμαι, | ἔς τ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ, | καὶ ποταμοὶ πλήθωσι, περικλύζῃ δὲ θάλασσα, | ἠέλιος δ' ἀνιὼν φαίνῃ λαμπρά τε σελήνη, | αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα*, etc., cp. Bayard Taylor's *Bedouin Love Song* 'Till the sun grows cold, | And the stars are old, | And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold.'

Much more common is the negative statement of the same sentiment, *i.e.* the comparison *ἐκ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου*, as in Ovid, *Pont.* 4, 5, 41, 'nam prius umbrosa carituros arbore montes, | et freta velivolas non habitura rates, | fluminaque in fontes cursu reditura supino | gratia quam meriti possit abire tui'; 4, 6, 45; *Trist.* 1, 8, 1; *Her.* 5, 29; *Met.* 13, 324; 14, 38; Propert. 2, 3, 5; 2, 15, 31; Catull. 61, 199; Sil. Ital. 5, 253; Claud. *In Eutrop.* 1, 353; *In Ruf.* 1, 159; Verg. *E.* 1, 59; 3, 91; 8, 27; 52; Nemes. 1, 75; *Dirae*, 4 f. and 98 f.; Hor. *Epod.* 16, 25; *Od.* 1, 29, 10; 33, 7; *A. P.* 13; Seneca, *Medea*, 757; *Phaed.* 568; Homer, *Il.* 1, 234; Kallimach. *frag.* 209; Archil. 71 Crus.; Aristoph. *Pax*, 1076; Eurip. *Medea*, 410; Theokrit. 1, 132; Herod. 1, 165; 5, 92a; Diod. 9, 10, 3; Plutarch, *Arist.* 25, etc. Cp. too a special poem in this line by Eucheria, *Anth. Lat.* 390 R.; see too *id.* 440, and another poem by Licentius in Wernsdorf's *Poet. Lat. Min.* 4, 533, 92 f. The motive is often found in popular legends, *e.g.* 'Tannhäuser and Pope Sylvester,' the prophecy to Macbeth, etc., and is not infrequent in the writers of the Elizabethan period, cp. *e.g.* Thomas Lodge, *Rosalynde*, London, 1902, p. 42 ('Montanus' Passion'), cp. *id.* p. 51. See also Amadis Jamyn (1538–1593), 'Stances de l'Impossible,' *Oeuvres Poétiques*, Paris, 1878, No. 143.

67–70. Dreadful as it really is this curse is quite in the manner of Priapos and was intended to fit the crime. For similar curses, cp. *e.g.* *Priap.* 55, 6, 'quae si perdidero patria mutabor, et olim | ille tuus civis, Lampsace, Gallus ero'; Ovid, *Ibis*, 453, 'attonitusque seces, ut quos Cybeleia mater | incitat ad Phrygios vilia membra modos. | deque viro fias nec femina nec vir ut Attis, | et quatias molli tympana rauca manu. | inque pecus subito magnae vertare parentis, | victor ut est celeri victaque versa pede.' The curse is one of madness as well; so of Attis, Catull. 63, see too 1, 5, 49–56; 2, 4, 39–50 and notes, where we have as here the same naïvely didactic pairing *per exempla* of reward and punishment.

68. Idaeae Opis: see Dictt. s.v. *Cybele.* Her worship which was highly orgiastic (cp. 70) was associated with the neighbourhood of Pessinus in Phrygia but gradually spread over the entire Roman empire and lasted until the latest times. The goddess was regularly represented with a turreted crown (hence, her epithets of *turrigera*, *turrita*, suggesting the strange aspect of her native Phrygia) and seated in a chariot drawn by lions. Her priests, the *μητραγύρται*, later Γάλλοι (Latin, *Galli*), were in the habit of travelling

about from town to town (69) with a 'float' representing a small temple containing a figure of the goddess. They also sang hymns (Galliambic) to the wild Phrygian strains in honour of the Magna Mater, solicited contributions, prophesied, sold charms, cure-alls, etc. (Dionys. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* 2, 19; Babrios, 141 Crus.; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 217; Lukian, *Asin.* 35; Apul. *Met.* 8, 24, etc.).

The special festival referred to in line 70 commemorated the death and resurrection of her beloved Attis (*i.e.* of Spring). The effort of the *Galli* on that occasion was to 'get the spirit' (*ἐνθυσιασμός, ἔκστασις*), hence their fanatic dancing, their wild screeching and singing, amid the continual din of certain instruments of a specifically Phrygian type (2, 1, 86 n.), showing their sympathy with her joy by extravagant demonstrations and with her sorrow by slashing themselves with knives and even by castrating themselves in imitation of Attis himself, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 6, 234; Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 221; Propert. 2, 22, 16; Mart. 11, 84, 3; Juv. 2, 115; Servius on Verg. *A.* 9, 115, etc. Hence they wore women's clothes and their hair which they kept long was perfumed and done up in feminine fashion (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 219; 234; 237; Augustin. *C. D.* 7, 26, etc.). The general opinion, on the whole well-founded, was that at the best they were a beggarly lot of *effeminati*, at the worst, the lowest of the low. In short, they are a curiously complete prototype of the begging friars of the Middle Ages. — **currus**: the plural is generic or better still perhaps, distributive, *i.e.* now one, now another. The boy's curse is aggravated by the suggestion that he is not even to remain with one gang of priests but is so low even in such a class that he wanders from one to another.

69. tercentenas urbes: the use of 300 for an indefinitely large number (cp. *mille* and *sescenti*, 1, 3, 50 n.) is not uncommon, Catull. 9, 2; 12, 10; 48, 3; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 12; 2, 3, 116; Mart. 2, 1; 12, 70, 7, etc. *tercenteni* however, being a multiple of three, has solemn ritual associations that commend it here, cp. Verg. *A.* 4, 510, 'ter centum tonat ore deos,' etc.; 7, 275; 8, 716; 10, 182; *G.* 1, 15; Hor. *Od.* 3, 4, 79, etc. *urbes* in this connection (cp. too 1, 5, 55) suggests the arch wanderer who *πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω.* The same traditional motive taking us back to Archilochos and Homer is seen in Seneca, *Medea*, 20, 'vivat, per urbes erret ignotas egens | exul pavens invisus incerti Laris, | iam notus hospes limen alienum expetat.' — **expleat**: 'fill out,' 'fill the tale of,' so Verg. *A.* 12, 763, 'quinque orbes explent cursu'; Eurip. *Orest.* 54, *λιμένα δὲ Ναυπλίειον ἐκπληρῶν πλάτῃ.* Otherwise, *complere*, Lucret. 2, 324, or *implere*, Ovid, *Met.* 8, 166; *Fasti*, 2, 223, is preferred.

Moving about in strange lands in antiquity meant all sorts of perils and

privations not so common now. Odysseus himself assures Eumaios (15, 343) that πλαγκτοσύνης δ' οὐκ ἔστι κακώτερον ἄλλο βροτοῖσιν. It is therefore a favourite curse, *e.g.* Ovid, *Her.* 6, 161, 'cum mare cum terras consumpserit, aera temptet: | erret inops, exspes, caede cruenta sua'; *Ibis*, 113, 'exul inops erres, alienaque limina lustres, | exiguumque petas ore tremente cibum.' Most interesting here is the new fragment of Archilochos (?) which appears to have been the model of Horace, *Epod.* 10. I subjoin the text as given in Diehl's *Supplementum Lyricum*, 2d edit. Bonn, 1910, p. 1) —

κύματι πλα[ζόμ]ενο[ς
κὰν Σαλμυδ[ησσ]ῷ γυμνὸν εὐφρονέστατα
Θρήϊκες ἀκρό[κ]ομοι
λάβοιεν (ἔνθα πόλλ' ἀναπλήσει κακά,
δούλιον ἄρτον ἔδων).
ῥίγει πεπηγότ' αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ [ῥό]θου
φυκία πόλλ' ἐπ[έ]χοι,
κροτέοι δ' ὀδόντας, ὡς [κύ]ων ἐπὶ στόμα
κείμενος ἀκρασίῃ
ἄκρον παρὰ ῥηγμῖνα κυμάτω[ν ὁ]μοῦ·
ταῦτ' ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν ἰδεῖν,
ὅς μ' ἠδίκησε, λ[ὰ]ξ δ' ἐπ' ὁρκίοις ἔβη,
τὸ πρὶν ἑταῖρος ἐών.

70. **vilia**: *i.e.* treated as such by him, so Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 244; *Ibis*, 454; etc.

71–72. The topic is traditional, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 659–663; Propert. 1, 12, 16; 4, 5, 21–60; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 23–108; Publil. Syr. 56; Lukian, *Tox.* 13; etc.

71. **ipsa**: *i.e.* if love is merely a matter of money what Venus herself desires is no longer possible. There is no place for it. This ends the instructions of Priapos. They are fairly summed up in Propert. 1, 1, 15, 'ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam: | tantum in amore preces et benefacta valent.'

73–74. **Titio**: the identity of this man and the reason for his presence here have been much discussed. One important reason for his appearance is to form a transition to 3 topics traditionally associated with this theme, viz. the situation in 74, the magister amoris, 77–80, and physician, heal thyself, 81–84. Otherwise the elegy would not only end tamely at 72 but it would also be incomplete. Another and in itself a sufficient reason for Titius here was as we shall see to mislead the reader for the time being. The theory that Titius = 'John Doe' or 'Richard Roe,' *i.e.* the poet's imaginary 'friend' in

whose behalf Priapos (as he was told) was being consulted falls to the ground, first, because Titius, though not especially uncommon, is never used in this way, second, if Titius were used in this way the passage on poets 61–76, traditional in this connection, could only mean either that Tibullus (intentionally or unintentionally) forgot the dramatic situation and put his own feelings in the words of Priapos, or else that Priapos had recognized the 'blind' at once and had proceeded with the real patient accordingly. This is all impossible because it would anticipate and therefore quite spoil the best effect of the piece, the surprise in the last four lines. Hübner (cp. too Broukhus. *ad loc.*) identifies Titius with the young poet who was a friend of Horace (*Epist.* 1, 3, 9) and who went to Asia with Tiberius in 20 B.C. This is probably correct. At all events he ought to be a poet and also a poet at least fairly well known. To make this clear let us assume for the moment the attitude of a contemporary reading this poem for the first time. 'How is it, Priapos, that in spite of your disadvantages you are so successful in love?' (1–6). Is the poet simply in search of general information or has he a personal motive? Decision suspended until, 'Boys, honour the poets,' etc. (61 f.). Ah, Tib. was evidently asking for himself. No (73–74); the poet was Titius, not Tibullus. Thus suspicion is allayed until 81, which brings the surprise and also allows the poet to show naturally and artistically that this poem belongs to the group concerned with Marathus.

73. **quae canerem**: *i.e.* in response to a statement to Priapos made to that effect by the poet, but which for artistic reasons is suggested here instead of being mentioned in the introductory address (1–6).—**edidit ore**: returns for the moment to elevated diction. *edere* is used of oracles and solemn utterances, and *ore* with verbs of saying is epic (over a score of exx. occur in the *Aeneid* alone).

74. A traditional motive in this sphere, cp. Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 208, and Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 682. Abuse of the bridegroom at his wedding was regular and ceremonial (to avert the evil eye). He was regularly accused of the tastes ascribed to him in 73, cp. Catull. 61, 126 ff.; Pliny, 8, 180; Quintil. 1, 2, 8; Dionys. Hal. *Rhet.* 2, 8. All which suggests that Titius may have been just married.

75–80. The contrast between *ille* and *me* (75) serves to introduce the next topic. 'Titius does not need this information after all. Thanks however to Priapos, I am now a Magister Amoris and can help others.' So Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 733–743; Propert. 1, 7, 21; Aristainet. 1, 4, end; Mosch. 6, 7.

75. **pareat ille suae**: in the sense here used (cp. Catull. *l. c.*) is perfectly serious. It has nothing to do with the modern saying that 'no man is master

in his own house' although that too was sometimes claimed even in antiquity, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 10, 55, *ἂν πάνυ κομπάζῃς προστάγμασι μὴ ὑπακούειν | τῆς γαμετῆς, λῃρεῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς εἶ, | οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης*, etc.; Plautus, *Cas.* 815 (comic epithal.), 'sensim super attolle limen pedes, nova nupta, | sospes iter incipe hoc, uti viro tuo | semper sis superstes, | tuaque ut potior pollentia sit vincasque virum victrixque sies | tua vox superet tuomque imperium: vir te vestiat, virum despolies,' etc. — **suae**: 1, 5, 42 n. — **celebrate**: *i.e.* 'resort to,' 'throng about,' cp. 1, 3, 33; 1, 6, 17; for *celeber* see 2, 1, 33 n.

76. **male habet**: 'vexes,' 'harasses.' The expression, which is not found elsewhere in the elegy, was perhaps conversational, cp. Terence, *And.* 436 'hoc male habet virum'; 940; *Hec.* 606; Plaut. *Asin.* 844; Caes. *B. C.* 1, 63. Cp. note on *bella*, 1, 9, 71.

77. **gloria cuique sua est**: sounds proverbial. Similar expressions are Plaut. *Stich.* 693, 'suom quoique decet'; Quintil. 10, 2, 22, 'suus cuique decor est,' etc. The whole passage is of course satirical.

Synaloephe of *est* in Tib. is the general rule (50 out of 86). In the first arsis 1, 5, 46, otherwise always in the thesis. The masculine caesura of the hexameter (13 cases) or the end of the first hemistich in the pentameter (9 cases) is preferred: then at the end of the verse (hex. 9, pent. 4), at the second thesis (hex. 4, pent. 2) and finally at the fourth thesis 10 cases, all in the hexameter. Synaloephe of *es* occurs 1, 9, 53 and 77 (2 cases out of 6) both in the hexameter. Synaloephe of these forms is therefore much less common in the pentameter (17 cases) than in the hexameter (39). The vowels involved are *a*, 27 cases; *i*, 8; *um*, 6; *e*, 4; *o*, 4; *u*, 1 (1, 6, 45). — **spernentur**: a lover's word, 1, 8, 55; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 6, 65; *Her.* 4, 168; Propert. 2, 18, 7; etc.

78. The line intentionally suggests the *iuris consultus* whose clients call upon him for advice, a typical illustration in philosophical discussion, hence common in rhetoric and satire, Hor. *Sat.* 1, 1, 9, 'agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus | sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat'; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 13, 21, 'nec tu consulto, nec tu iucunda diserto: | cogitur ad lites surgere uterque novas'; Cicero, *Mur.* 22. Tibullus is now, so to speak, an *amoris consultus* ready to give advice to clients.

79–80. The previous distich had suggested to his mind the picture of the great teacher full of years and well-earned renown, escorted wherever he goes by an admiring throng of young men listening with reverent attention to his golden words on the subject of — how to succeed in an intrigue. The satire of course lies in the contrast between the assumed importance of the teacher and the real insignificance of his theme.

79. **tempus erit, cum**: very solemn; the poet is rapt, as it were, by the

spirit of prophecy, cp., for instance, Theokrit. 23, 33, where the lover about to hang himself, possessed of the second sight sometimes granted to those who are entering the shadow of death, addresses his heartless beloved with *ἧξε, καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁπανίκα καὶ τὺ φιλάσεις, | ἁνίκα τὰν κραδίαν ὀπτεύμενος ἁλμυρὰ κλαύσεις*, etc. — **ferentem**: the participle as usual in classical Latin is strictly contemporaneous; 'while I discourse upon,' 'disclose,' 'report.' He is thinking of the habit of the antique philosophers (Sokrates, the Peripatetics, etc.) of lecturing or answering questions while moving about. The picture of the old man thus honoured is a favourite motive in the topic of old age, the crown of a virtuous and useful life, cp. Kallimach. *frag.* 11, *γηράσκει δὲ γέρων κεῖνος ἐλαφρότερον· | κοῦροι τὸν φιλέουσιν, ἐὸν δέ μιν οἷα γονῆα | χειρὸς ἐπ' οἰκείην ἄχρις ἄγουσι θύρην·* Lukian, *Amor.* 48; etc.

80. **deducat**: suggests the regular Roman custom of escorting distinguished men on their way home or to the senate, etc., an honour much prized, cp. Cic. *Orat.* 3, 133; *Sen.* 63; etc. Tib., however, is thinking of the teacher. — **senem**: note the emphatic position and the juxtaposition with *sedula turba.*

81–84. A beautiful dream — from which the poet is wakened by a sudden pang (*heu heu*) to the reality. A favourite device of Tibullus (cp. 1, 5, 35; 2, 4, 51–52 n.) and also of Horace (cp. the close of *Od.* 4, 1; 3, 26; etc.).

For the doubled interjection, 1, 6, 10; 2, 3, 2; 49; 2, 5, 108; and for Marathus, Introd. p. 50. The name has been associated with *μαραίνω*, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 12, 234. The mention of him here places this elegy in the group 4, 8, 9, just as 2, 5, 109–112 places that elegy in the Nemesis group.

81. **lento**: 'prolonged,' with the accessory notion of 'agonizing,' when applied as here, to what is painful. So we speak of 'slow fires,' 'slow torture' (*lentis ignibus*, Hor. *Od.* 1, 13, 8; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 573; etc.); Sueton. *Tib.* 21, 'miserum populum Romanum qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit.' Allied to this is the meaning 'cold,' 'unmoved,' 'unfeeling,' *i.e.* 'slow to feel compassion,' cp. 2, 6, 36.

82–83. On the arrangement *deficiunt . . . deficiunt* cp. 1, 1, 78 n. and on *fabula*, 2, 3, 31–32 n.

84. **magisteria**: on the close of the pentameter see 1, 1, 38 n.

Note that 81–84 besides serving the purposes mentioned above also appear to be a traditional illustration in this sphere of the idea contained in the saying, 'Physician, heal thyself.' As an example of his own doctrines Tibullus, the would-be teacher, is a woeful failure, and what adds further point to the whole piece is the well-known fact that Priapos also, as well as Pan, both traditionally 'magistri amoris,' were likewise both traditionally unfortunate in their own love affairs.

I, 5

Tibullus and Delia have been separated for some time in consequence of a serious quarrel. Now he longs for a reconciliation at any price. Meanwhile, however, Delia has yielded to the more substantial arguments of a rich lover. See Introd. p. 47.

'I said in my pride that our parting meant nothing to me. I pray you have mercy upon me, I have been bitterly punished. Remember when you were ill how I prayed for your recovery. Alas, a rival now reaps the benefit of my prayers. I had looked forward to a happy life together when you would join me in welcoming Messalla to our country home. All that was only an idle dream. I turned to the wine cup, but sorrow changed the draught to tears. I turned to other loves, but the thought of you left me cold. It is the rich lover and his agent the cunning bawd that have been my ruin. May the curse of bestial madness hound her shrieking and foaming to a pauper's grave! Have done with her, Delia, and with her advice. Love and gifts cannot live together. It is the poor lover, not the rich one, that renders you the tribute of service and devotion. Alas, I sing in vain. Her door has no ears except for the chink of gold. But you, you, I say, who just now are the better man, look for my fate. The wheel of Fortune is never still. Indeed, another man is already loitering about your door a great deal, dodging back and forth, sauntering up and down, clearing his throat noisily from time to time. Surely he has reasons for it. Something is on foot. Make the most of your opportunities while you may. You are sailing in smooth seas.'

1–6. The slave of Cupid cannot escape from his bondage. The rebel learns by bitter experience that many waters cannot quench love and that pride goeth before a fall. Another illustration of the erotic poet's maxim that Love is an invincible and a jealous god: see 1, 3, 21–22; 1, 2, 89–96 and notes; cp. also 2, 6, 5; Propert. 2, 2, 1; 3, 11, 1; Philodem. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 24, and for an amusing variant, Terence, *Eun.* 57. Ovid deals at large with this theme, *Rem. Amor.* 53. Contrast his mock solemnity with the passionate fervor of Catull. 76.

1. For the force of the imperfects cp. 20 and 35; 2, 5, 21.

2. Ovid, *Met.* 4, 649, 'vade procul, ne longe gloria rerum | quam mentiris, ait, longe tibi Iuppiter absit.'—**gloria fortis**: lit. 'courageous boastfulness,' *i.e.* 'boastful assumption of courage.' 'I said in my haste,' etc.

3–4. Children's games are usually of immemorial antiquity. For example, two young men, one whipping a top (βέμβιξ) are pictured on an Attic drinking cup of the fifth century B.C., now at the Johns Hopkins Univ., cp. also Aristoph. *Aves*, 1461; Kallimach. *Epig.* 1, 9 (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 89); Persius, 3, 51.

Verg. *A.* 7, 378 uses our poet's comparison to describe Amata driven by the Fury, 'ceu quondam torto volitans sub verbere turbo | quem pueri magno in gyro vacua atria circum | intenti ludo exercent (ille actus habena | curvatis fertur spatiis; stupet inscia supra | inpubesque manus, mirata volubile buxum; | dant animos plagae)'; Chrestien de Troyes (12th cent.) uses it in his *Roman de Cligés* to describe his hero's sword in battle (3802), 'S'est plus tornanz que n'est *la tronpe* | Que la corgiee mainne et chace.' Theokrit. 2, 30, though sometimes quoted, is not in point here, as he is not referring to the top, but to the *rhombos* or witches' wheel (cp. 1, 2, 59–62 n.). As soon as we personify the top we realize what an excellent simile we have for the helpless victim of a mad passion. Less homely but not more striking is Sappho, *frag.* 35 Crus., *Ἔρος ὢς ἄνεμος κατ' ὄρος δρυσὶν ἐμπέσων | φρένας ἀμμετέραις ἐτίναξεν.*

3. **sola**: plural because the top hops from one spot to another as the whip is applied. It occupies more than one *solum*, cp. *rivos*, 1, 1, 28; Catull. 63, 7, 'etiam recente terrae sola sanguine maculans'; *id.* 40, 'lustravit aethera album, sola dura, mare ferum,' etc.—**turben**: the old nom. *turben* here is vouched for by Charisius (145, 8 K.). See Neue-Wagener, 1, p. 258.

4. **ab arte**: one would expect the simple ablative of manner. The addition of *ab*, phraseological but uncommon, is confined in prose to Varro, *De Re Rust.* 1, 59, 2, 'quod spectaculum datur ab arte'; Vitruv. 5, 4, 3, 'harmoniae ab arte conceptae'; 7, 5, 4; 5, 8. This is the first appearance of it in poetry, where, as here, it is rarely without an attributive. The remaining exx. are 1, 9, 66; 2, 1, 56; Propert. 3, 24, 5; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 15, 14; 4, 30; 12, 4; *Ars Amat.* 3, 545; *Fast.* 2, 764; 3, 321; *Trist.* 2, 462; 4, 10, 16 (no attrib.); Sil. Ital. 3, 278; *Ilias Lat.* 350; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 317; *Anth. Lat.* 359, 10 R.; Sidon. *Carm.* 23, 399; 2, 420; *Inscript. Christ. Gall.* 666. So *ab insidiis*, Propert. 3, 24, 6 (only ex.); *ab industria*, Sidonius, *Epist.* 1, 7, 9; 3, 12, 5; *a solido*, Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* 2, 9; *a fide*, Quint. *Decl.* 269 (p. 99, 9 Ritter), etc.

5–6. Another application of the doctrine of Nemesis (1, 2, 89–96 n.) to love. In any case, but above all here, boastfulness is a direct challenge to the goddess of balance. Pride goes before a fall. See esp. 2, 6, 9–14; Ovid, *Her.* 4, 150.

5. **ure et torque**: *i.e.* punish the slave of love as any other unruly slave is punished. A commonplace of erotic poetry for which Tib. shows an esp. fondness, cp. 1, 8, 5–6; 1, 9, 21; 2, 6, 5; esp. 2, 4, 1–6. For these and similar punishments inflicted upon slaves cp. *e.g.* Hor. *Epist.* 1, 15, 36; Propert. 4, 7, 35.

6. **horrida verba**: 'harsh, rough words.' So *e.g.* Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 664 (of a lovers' quarrel on the street), 'forte aderam iuveni. dominam lectica tenebat: | horrebant saevis omnia verba minis,' etc.

7. **per foedera lecti**: the appeal is Homeric, cp. *Il.* 15, 39 (Hera to Zeus); Soph. *Aias*, 493 (Tekmessa to Aias). Much of the original dignity and tenderness of the appeal is of course lost in the elegy. The appeal however is a favourite one, Tib. 4, 13, 1; Propert. 3, 20, 15; Ovid, *Her.* 5, 101; *Met.* 7, 709, etc. More in keeping perhaps is *compositum caput*, as in Propert. 2, 14, 22, cp. Ovid, *Her.* 3, 107 and Tib. 4, 5, 7. (For Arab lovers the floral symbol of *compositum caput* is the almond blossom.) — **per**, of course, governs *foedera*. This displacement and the position of *te* is usual in oaths and appeals, cp. 4, 5, 7; Terence, *And.* 289 (Spengel); Plaut. *Capt.* 977 (Lindsay); Hor. *Od.* 1, 8, 1–2; Livy, 23, 9, 2 (Müller). The same is true of Greek, cp. *e.g.* Eurip. *Hippol.* 605, *ναὶ πρός σε τῆς σῆς δεξιᾶς*. *per* occurs elsewhere in Tib. with oaths, 1, 2, 38; 1, 4, 25–26; 1, 9, 2; 2, 6, 29. On *per* instr. 1, 6, 26 n.

9–18. Illness is a regular motive of the elegy, cp. 4, 4 and 11; Propert. 2, 9, 25; 2, 28; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 13; *Her.* 20 and 21; esp. *Ars Amat.* 2, 315–336 —

Saepe sub autumnum, cum formosissimus annus
  plenaque purpureo subrubet uva mero,
cum modo frigoribus premitur, modo solvitur aestu,
  aere non certo corpora languor habet:
illa quidem valeat, sed si male firma cubabit
  et vitium caeli senserit aegra sui,
tunc amor et pietas tua sit manifesta puellae:
  tum sere quod plena postmodo falce metas!
nec tibi morosi veniant fastidia morbi,
  perque tuas fiant, quae sinet ipsa, manus,
et videat flentem, nec taedeat oscula ferre,
  et sicco lacrimas conbibat ore tuas.
multa vove, sed cuncta palam, quotiensque libebit,
  quae referas illi somnia laeta vide;
et veniat quae lustret anus lectumque locumque,
  praeferat et tremula sulfur et ova manu:
omnibus his inerunt gratae vestigia curae;
  in tabulas multis haec via fecit iter.
nec tamen officiis odium quaeratur ab aegra:
  sit suus in blanda sedulitate modus!
neve cibo prohibe nec amari pocula suci
  porrige: rivalis misceat illa tuus!

9. **ille ego**: see 1, 3, 93 n. *ille* with *ego*, *tu*, *hic*, is chiefly poetical. When followed by a relative as *e.g.* in 1, 6, 31; Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 10, 1, etc. *ille* may be explained as antecedent of the relative. Again, in exx. like *Met.* 1, 757, 'ille ego liber ille ferox tacui'; *Trist.* 5, 7, 55, 'ille ego Romanus vates'; (cp.

Amor. 3, 8, 23, etc.), *ille* qualifies the noun in apposition. Here, however, *ille* is the attributive of *ego* or in apposition with it; 'that I,' 'that self of other days.' No exact parallel for this is found in Propertius, and Burman's Index quotes none from Ovid. For *ille* with a vocative, 2, 3, 74; 2, 4, 2. — **cum . . . iaceres**: *cum* circumstantial with the imperf. subj. as here occurs in 1, 2, 14; 65; 1, 3, 9; 1, 4, 33; 1, 5, 39; 1, 10, 16; 2, 5, 21; in 2, 3, 5 *cum* nearly = if. With the pluperf. l. 12 below. In 1, 3, 15 *cum* is perhaps concessive. — **defessa**: an excellent description of the malarial troubles from which the Romans suffered so much and which the poet has in mind; cp. 4, 4, 10; 4, 11, 2; Ovid, *Ars Amat. l.c.* 315 above; Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 64; etc.

10. **votis**: general. The particulars follow in 11–16. Under such circumstances *vota* were usual and, indeed, quite *en règle* on the part of one's friends. Hence, in this motive of the elegy they are never lacking; cp. 4, 4; Ovid, *Ars Amat. l.c.*; *Amor.* 2, 13, 23; Propert. 2, 9, 25; 2, 28, 43 and 59, and we usually hear of them in connection with the will hunters; cp. Juv. 12, 95, etc.

11–12. This ceremony, which combines magic with the use of practical disinfectants, rests primarily on the primitive theory of disease as a demon to be exorcised. The two main details of the ceremony of lustration are mentioned here. For fuller descriptions, cp. Nemes. 4, 62, 'quid prodest quod me pagani mater Amyntae | ter vittis, ter fronde sacra, ter ture vaporo, | incendens vivo crepitantes sulphure lauros, | lustravit cineresque aversa effudit in amnem'; Claudian, *VI Cons. Honor.* 324, 'lustralem tum rite facem, cui lumen odorum | sulphure caeruleo nigroque bitumine fumat, | circum membra rotat doctus purganda sacerdos | rore pio spargens, et dira fugantibus herbis | numina purificumque Iovem Triviamque precatus | trans caput aversis manibus iaculatur in Austrum | secum rapturas cantata piacula taedas'; Pind. *Pyth.* 3, 51; Propert. 4, 8, 83, etc.

Both the Greeks and the Romans ascribed great healing and purifying powers to sulphur, hence its regular use in lustration from the earliest times; cp. Homer, *Odyss.* 22, 481; *Il.* 16, 228; Theokrit. 24, 94; Propert. 4, 8, 86; Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 260, 'nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas | nec fugiet vivo sulfure victus amor'; Pliny, *H. N.* 35, 177, etc. See O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie*, Munich, 1906, p. 889, n. 4 with references.

12. **praecinuisset**: *i.e.* she uttered the incantation as she paced about the sick bed and Tibullus followed with the sulphur. The word does not necessarily imply that she acted as a *praecantatrix*, *i.e.* that Tib. repeated the charm after her. In Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 329–330 above, she is apparently unaided and, in fact, *ipse* here (= 'in person'; cp. 1, 1, 7 n.) twice repeated emphasizes his special devotion, since this function was regularly performed by the *saga* who was apt to call upon the girl's lover to furnish the materials.

Indeed this is one of the conventional methods used by the prudent *meretrix* and her confidante, the *saga*, to extort a present from their victim; cp. Martial, 11, 50; 7, 54, etc. — **anus**: *i.e.* a *saga* (1, 2, 42 n.) who was always called in acc. to immemorial custom; cp. Homer, *Odyss.* 22, 481, etc.

13. **prŏcuravi**: a religious word. For the prosody, Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 587; *Fast.* 3, 343. Rare with an object clause as here. Other complementary consecutive sentences in Tib. are 4, 4, 5; 1, 9, 26; 2, 4, 38 (with *ne* and *ut*); 1, 3, 14 (*quin*); 4, 2, 15 (*qui*); with simple subjunct. 1, 3, 54 and note. — **saeva somnia**: he is probably referring to the semi-delirious visions more or less characteristic of malaria. Bad dreams may be sent by the *manes* (2, 6, 37 n.), but more esp. by Trivia who is responsible for madness in all its forms, cp. Hippokrates, 1, p. 592 K., *ὁκόσα δὲ δείματα νυκτὸς παρίσταται καὶ φόβοι καὶ παράνοιαι καὶ ἀναπηδήσεις ἐκ τῆς κλίνης καὶ φεύξιες ἔξω Ἑκάτης φασὶν εἶναι ἐπιβουλάς·* Soph. *Aias*, 172; Eurip. *Hippol.* 141, etc. Hence *mala somnia* are termed *omina Lunae* by Propert. 4, 4, 23. Trivia, therefore, is asked to keep them away, and can do so, cp. 3, 4, 13; Statius, *Theb.* 9, 585; etc.

14. **ter**: 1, 2, 54 n. — **deveneranda**: *i.e.* 'to be averted by prayer.' So apparently only in this passage (*deveneror* : *veneror* : : *deprecor* : *precor*). For the passive meaning, which in deponents is largely confined to the participial forms, cp. *venerata*, Hor. *Sat.* 2, 2, 124; Verg. *A.* 3, 460, etc.; *veneranda*, Tib. 1, 7, 56; *operata*, 2, 3, 36 and notes. — **mola**: *i.e.* the *salsa mola*, the use of which was traditionally prescribed by Numa (Pliny, *H.N.* 18, 7). Servius on Verg. *E.* 8, 82, describes the preparation of it by the Vestals. It was used in all sacrifices and in fact was sufficient in itself (Pliny, *l.c.* and 1. *Praefat.* 11). For its use in this connection, Martial, 7, 54, 5; Lygd. 3, 4, 10; Plautus, *Amphit.* 740; etc.

A common method in the case of ominous dreams was morning lustration in running water, Propert. 4, 4, 24; Verg. *A.* 8, 69; Val. Flacc. 5, 332; Stat. *Theb.* 9, 573; Pers. 2, 16; Juv. 6, 522, etc.

15–16. A sacrifice to Trivia for Delia's illness in general. The influence of the moon on disease, esp. certain types of disease, is an article of faith more or less well founded among all nations, cp. *e.g.* Galen, 19, p. 188 K., *νόσοι δὲ αἱ μὲν κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν φθίνοντος τοῦ μηνὸς συνεπισημαίνουσι πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, αἱ δὲ κατὰ περιουσίαν δὲ καὶ πλημμυρίδα αὐξανομένου πιέζουσι τὰ μάλιστα*, and often. Hence the sick call upon the moon goddess as a matter of course, cp. Theognis, 13; Philippos, *Anth. Pal.* 6, 240, 3; etc. See Roscher's *Selene*, p. 72.

15. **velatus filo**: covering of the head by the priest was ceremonial in many Roman sacrifices, but the *apex*, or its old-fashioned substitute the fillet

(*filum*), was generally worn by the *flamines* or *fetiales*. — **tunicis solutis**: the rule in any service to the gods, Ovid, *Met.* 1, 382, etc. See also 1, 1, 67 n.; 1, 3, 31 n.; 2, 1, 15–16 n.

16. **vota dedi**: *i.e. vota reddidi*, so Ovid, *Pont.* 2, 5, 13; Tib. 1, 3, 44 n.; 1, 4, 16 n. — **novem**: this multiple of three is ritualistic, and is often as here associated with the worship of Hekate. — **nocte silente**: 1, 2, 61 n.

17–18. Transition to the next topic. For the naïve complaint cp. Ovid, *Her.* 6, 75, 'vota ego persolvam? votis Medea fruetur!' 5, 59, 'votis ergo meis alii rediture, redisti? | ei mihi, pro dira paelice blanda fui.' The motive of 9–16 is usually introduced as an illustration of ingratitude and Love's Labour's Lost.

18. **ille**: Tib. is especially fond of a dissyllabic pronoun in this place (35 exx.; 4 in Lygdamus).

19–34. Another version of the poet's characteristic theme, cp. 1, 1, 1–48; 2, 71–75; 3, 35–48; 10, 7–44; 2, 5, 25–48. For Bertin's imitation see 1, 2, 79–94 n.

19–21. The apodosis is involved in the oratio obliqua, *i.e.* 'fingebam mihi felicem vitam futuram esse si salva fuisses,' cp. Sall. *Jug.* 25, 7, 'timebat iram (= ne irasceretur) senatus, ni paruisset legatis'; 'He was afraid of the anger of the senate (that the senate would get angry) in case he did not (should not have) obey(ed) the legates' (Gild.-Lodge, 601). Similar is 1, 4, 23, 'vetuit valere quidquid iurasset,' cp. n. *ad loc.*

20. **demens**: 'quia spem in constantia mulieris habuerit,' says the old commentator Cyllenius. — **renuente deo**: for the phrase, Ovid, *Met.* 8, 325; Mart. 2, 14, 14.

21. **rura**: for the plural, cp. 2, 3, 1. — **colam**, etc.: the unheralded change to direct quotation is characteristic of poetry and lively prose. — **frugum custos**, etc.: the idyllic simplicity of the life proposed is constantly emphasized. Delia, a city-bred girl, is expected to play the part of a frugal and prudent housewife of the old Italian pattern far from the madding crowd (!)

22. **area**: the *area* or threshing floor under the open sky, after the Homeric (*Il.* 20, 496) and Biblical fashion, and made acc. to the directions given by Cato (91 and 129), Varro (1, 51), Vergil (*G.* 1, 178), etc., is still found, *e.g.* in Tuscany, though now fast disappearing. Here the grain was often trodden out by oxen as in Biblical times. But contrary to the Biblical rule (*Deuteron.* 25, 4) they were muzzled. — **dum** here is completely co-extensive, hence *teret* follows the tense of the verb of the main clause, as in 1, 4, 65. With *dum* partially coextensive, the rule of the present after all tenses is rarely broken, cp. 2, 3, 19 n. — **messes**: the plural is frequent in the poets, cp. 1, 2, 98; 1, 1, 24; 2, 1, 47. Sing. 1, 1, 42; 2, 1, 19. — **sole calente**: characteristic of

the Italian harvest time, and of course desirable in this connection, cp. Verg. *G.* 1, 298.

23–24. 1, 1, 10 n.; 1, 7, 35; 2, 1, 45. For more detailed descriptions of the process, Cato, 120; Columella, 12, 19.

24. **candida musta**: for the adjective cp. Pliny 23, 29, 'musta differentias habent naturales has, quod sunt candida aut nigra aut inter utrumque, alia ex quibus vinum fiat, alia ex quibus passum.'

25–34. Note the marked use of the poet's favourite figure of anaphora in this passage (1, 1, 23 n.). Further liveliness is insured by frequent demonstratives which enforce again and again the supreme importance of Delia and incidentally of Messalla in this dream of idyllic happiness.

27. **deo agricolae**: 1, 1, 14 n.

The personal dative with verbs of motion (trans. or intrans.) is frequent in the poets. It is sometimes an indirect object, occasionally even suggests the object for which, more often some category under the dative of personal interest. The relation is usually indicated by 'for' rather than 'to.'

With *venire*, 1, 1, 59; 1, 3, 65; 2, 4, 43; 1, 9, 43; 1, 10, 67, but 2, 5, 46, 'ad Troianos.' In one ex., 2, 1, 81, 'veni dapibus festis,' the dative is not personal but rather a dativus commodi. With *mittere*, 2, 6, 37; 4, 13, 13; *portare*, 2, 2, 18; *ferre*, as here, 2, 6, 31.

28. **pro segete spicas**: acc. to L. Müller this and 1, 6, 34 are the only exx. in the elegy of the lengthening of a short final vowel before two consonants in the following word. Not uncommon in Vergil, cp. *G.* 1, 153; 164; 352; 371; etc. The vowel is usually as here in the thesis.

29–30. Emphatic summary suggested by the particulars previously mentioned. Note *cunctos*, *omnia*, *tota*, for Delia as opposed to *nihil* for himself. Martial, 14, 193, writing verses to go with a copy of Tibullus to be given at a dinner party (apophoretum) 'ussit amatorem Nemesis lasciva Tibullum, | in tota iuvit quem nihil esse domo.' As Nemesis was a later love Martial is perhaps slyly commenting upon the poet's inconstancy by associating with her a line which, as he and many of his readers must have known, belonged to Delia. This seems more likely than to suppose that he confused the two. So Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9 (on the death of Tib.) 57, 'cui Nemesis "quid" ait "tibi sunt mea damna dolori? | me tenuit moriens deficiente manu,"' gives to Nemesis a line written for Delia (1, 1, 60).

29. For the shift from future indicative to subjunctive (*sciet* . . . *regat*, etc.) see 1, 1, 24 n. — **illi sint curae**: the double dative is on the whole a popular construction. Tib. uses it only here and 2, 3, 43 (also with *curae*), cp. Sulpicia, 4, 7, 2; 4, 10, 5, otherwise as in 1, 9, 51; 2, 3, 31; 4, 12, 1. For Propertius Hoerle cites only 2, 26, 31; 2, 15, 27; 4, 11, 29; 2, 5, 30; 2, 26, 17.

32. **detrahat arboribus**: when personal interest is not involved Tib. always uses the ablative with, or, as here, without a preposition, cp. l. 66; 1, 10, 60; 1, 5, 32; otherwise always the dative, cp. 1, 9, 35 n.

33. **tantum**: adjective. — **venerata**: of a guest as here, Sil. Ital. 13, 704. The participle is causal, cp. 2, 4, 47. Cf. n. on *deveneranda*, l. 14, above. — **virūm hunc**: combines two exceptional freedoms of prosody. As a rule both occur only before a caesura as in this example. Lengthening of a final vowel *in thesi* irrespective of position is occasional, more especially in the epic hexameter, down to and including Vergil. The same rule applies to hiatus, of which Vergil furnishes the largest no. of exx. (40). But hiatus with a syllable in *m* like this is excessively rare. This and two cases in Propertius (2, 15, 1, 'o me felicem! o nox mihi candida! et o tu'; 2, 32, 45, 'haec eadem ante illam impune et Lesbia fecit') acc. to Müller (*De Re Met.* p. 376), complete the record for the elegy. So Ennius, *Ann.* 271, 5: Manil. 1, 795. Juv. 8, 241, and the pentameters of Catull. 66, 48; 67, 44 and Mart. 3, 3, 4 are not entirely certain as to text. Other cases of arbitrary lengthening of a final syllable in caesura are 1, 10, 13 and 2, 2, 5, where see the notes.

34. **epulas**: to be taken with both verbs. The line adds the last touch of rustic simplicity, cp. 1, 1, 7 n.; 1, 1, 29.

35–36. Express a popular Graeco-Roman proverb ('ventis loqui,' etc.) or which the elegiac poets, above all Ovid, show an especial fondness, cp. 1 4, 21; 4, 4, 7; 3, 4, 96; 3, 6, 27; 50. The winds are often pictured as carrying the words away to the seas, to the clouds, or as here to the ends of the earth. *Armenios* for the more usual *Assyrios* (1, 3, 7 n.) apparently because Armenia is itself high and windy. The touch of the oriental and remote is given by *odoratos* ('the place from which our perfumes come').

35. **Eurusque Notusque**: a general term; 'the wild winds.' No travellers taking passage at Rome with either *Eurus* or *Notus* in its specific sense would ever reach Armenia. The combination is Homeric, *e.g. Il* 2, 144, *κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης, | πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο, τὰ μέν τ' Εὖρος τε Νότος τε | ὤρορ' ἐπαΐξας πατρὸς Διὸς ἐκ νεφελάων·* 16, 765, cp. Verg. *A.* 1, 85.

36. **iactat**: the general rule that the common predicate of two or more singular subjects shall be in the plural is frequently neglected in poetry, esp. by Horace. The same rule is not infrequently neglected by our older English writers, cp. *e.g. Macbeth*, 2, 3, 'Renown and grace is dead,' etc. Tibullus himself observes the rule but twice, 1, 10, 49, and 2, 4, 40. On the other hand, in two parallel exx., the one before us and 2, 5, 49, the rule of the nearest was perhaps encouraged by the exigencies of metre. Otherwise he follows the general rule of the singular with subjects conceived of as acting individually. This is frequently illustrated, *e.g.* in his favourite device of

using one predicate with a series of subjects stated without connectives as in 2, 3, 38; 1, 7, 43–48; 2, 1, 63; 1, 3, 47. So too we have the usual rule of the singular when the verb precedes or follows the first subject, as in 2, 4, 29–30. The chief rule, however, with Tib. is the rule of the nearest; the verb is stated with one subject and to be supplied with the rest. This is seen especially where plural and singular subjects are combined, as in 1, 2, 77; 1, 3, 23; 1, 3, 47; 1, 8, 1; 1, 10, 3 and 9; 2, 1, 89–90; 2, 3, 12; 2, 4, 13; cp. also 1, 10, 3; 2, 5, 73; 2, 4, 1; 1, 2, 33. The adjective with two nouns is plural in 1, 4, 37, cp. 1, 3, 2 and n. In 1, 1, 75 it agrees with the nearest (see n.), in 2, 5, 22 with the strongest (really the nearest, see n. *ad loc.*).

37–40. Imitated by Bertin, *Amours*, 2, 11, 'Les Voyages.'

37–38. 1, 2, 1–6 n.

37. **curas**: of lovers' troubles, as often, *e.g.* 2, 3, 13; 2, 6, 51; 3, 2, 29; Propert. 1, 10, 17; 2, 18, 21; 3, 17, 4; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 10, 12; 19, 43; *Ars Amat.* 1, 238, etc.

38. I have found no parallels for this pretty conceit. The lovelorn swain in Calpurn. 3, 51 says, 'te sine, vae misero, mihi lilia nigra videntur | nec sapiunt fontes et acescunt vina bibenti,' and another one in Nemes. 2, 42, 'omnes ecce cibos et nostri pocula Bacchi | horreo nec placido memini concedere somno' (which is very much like Lord Chumley's 'Can't eat, can't sleep, can't smoke: must be in love'). — **verterat**: the pluperfect indicates resulting condition in the past. 'The wine was tears when I came to drink it. Sorrow had turned it,' etc. — **omne merum**: *i.e.* in every case, cp. *omnis amor* in 60.

39–40. The motto and the suggestion of Goethe's *Tagebuch*. 'Choquant et de mauvais goût . . . mais bien vrai,' is Martinon's comment on the lines. Mario Equicola, *Di Natura a'Amore*, Venice, 1626, p. 257, refers also to these lines in a review of the principal motives in Tibullus's poetry. On p. 301 he observes dryly that 'Ama Tibullo Delia, lascia la per Nemesi, da Nemesi corre a Neera, ed è si ardito che scrisse come la mente delle donne è mutabile.'

39. **saepe aliam tenui**: old established doctrine acc. to Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* 4, 75, 'etiam novo quidam amore veterem amorem tamquam clavo clavum eiciendum putant,' and highly recommended by Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 441. Hence the complete failure of it here indicates the more clearly the poet's hopeless condition. None of the approved remedies avails. For *tenere* in this sense, 1, 6, 35; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 3; etc.

40. **admonuit dominae**: omission of the object (here *me*) in this cons. of *admoneo* is very rare.

41. **devotum**: *i.e.* 'under a spell.' The condition was, and in many parts of Europe still is, habitually ascribed to magic, cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 3,

7, 27 (an elegy suggested by this motive), 'num mea Thessalico languent devota veneno | corpora? num misero carmen et herba nocent, | sagave poenicea defixit nomina cera | et medium tenuis in iecur egit acus?' etc., and again 79, 'aut te traiectis Aeaea venefica lanis | devovet, aut alio lassus amor venis' (in which as we learn from actual *defixiones* Ovid is alluding to the most common method of procedure); Herod. 2, 181; often in the witch trials of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, etc. See esp. J. Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter*, Bonn, 1901, pp. 44; 97; 138; 142; 276; 283, etc.

42. **et pudet et narrat**: the phrase appears to be supported and sufficiently explained by Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 407, 'et pudet et dicam,' lit. 'I am ashamed and at the same time I will say,' 'I say it with shame,' *i.e.* 'I am ashamed to say it but I will'; *Met.* 14, 279, 'et pudet et referam'; *Pont.* 4, 15, 29, 'et pudet et metuor.' 'And she is piqued and is telling,' etc. 'In her pique she is telling that my mistress knows,' etc. *devotum* is what she told Tibullus, the pentameter is the expansion of it which she retailed to others. — **nefanda**: things accursed, too awful to be mentioned, *i.e. la science maudite*, the black art. The impressively indefinite word suggests in itself the attitude of the gossip at the time. — **meam**: sc. *puellam* or *dominam*, so 1, 4, 75; 2, 5, 103; 2, 6, 52; 4, 7, 8; Propert. 1, 9. 22; Catull. 3, 6, etc. This use of the possessive pronoun though occasional in the elegy is more characteristic of the popular sphere. So *ipse*, *ipsa* (Greek αὐτός) of the master or mistress, as in Terence, *And.* 360; Plaut. *Casina*, 790; Verg. *E.* 3, 3; Catull. 64, 43; Ovid, *Met.* 2, 390 (of Jupiter); *Trist.* 5, 11, 11; Petron. 63 (*ipsimi nostri*); etc.

43–46. Reply to the gossip of 42. 'Yes, Delia has laid me under a charm (*devovet*, cp. *devotum*, 41) — but the charm is her beauty.' For the description of Delia's charms see Introd. p. 48. The passage is echoed by Luigi Alamanni, in his elegy, 'Ben mi credia poter senz' altra cura,' etc.

43–44. 'C'est une nouvelle preuve que les femmes sont grandes ennemies de la science,' remarks the inimitable Jérome Coignard (Anatole France, *la Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque*, p. 55) when these lines are quoted against him in an argument. Tibullus gives a skilful turn to the old question of the comparative merits of beauty and magic in a love affair. For another, 1, 8, 23. Afranius says (378 R., cp. Menander, 646 K.) 'si possent homines delenimentis capi, | omnes haberent nunc amatores anus. | aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio, | haec sunt venena formosarum mulierum: | mala aetas nulla delenimenta invenit.' When Olympias had seen and conversed with a rival who had been accused of winning Philip's affections by witchcraft, she is reported to have dismissed her with the remark (Plutarch, *Mor.*

141), χαιρέτωσαν αἱ διαβολαί· σὺ γὰρ ἐν σεαυτῇ τὰ φάρμακα ἔχεις. [Satyros told the same story of the Queen of Hystaspes, see *Oxyr. Pap.* 9 (1912), pp. 157–8.] Cp. also, Eurip. *Androm.* 205; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 105; *Med. Fac.* 35.

43. **verbis**: *i.e.* 'incantations,' cp. Hor. *Epist.* 1, 1, 34, 'sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem | possis'; Ovid, *Met.* 7, 203; etc. — **facie**: for the omission of an adversative particle before *facie* see 2, 1, 71; 2, 4, 19.

45–46. The marriage of Peleus and Thetis which appears to have been told at length in a lost poem of Hesiod's was one of the most popular themes of antique poetry. There were two versions. In the one (in a somewhat modified form most familiar to us from Catull. 64) the marriage, the presence of the gods, their gifts, etc. are emphasized. This is the epic type. The other is the lyric and dramatic type, and the main motive of it is how Peleus lay in wait for Thetis and captured her exactly as Menelaos captured Proteus (*Odyss.* 4, 450; Verg. *G.* 4, 387, etc.). This early version of the world-wide tale of the Mermaid and her mortal Lover (clearly the popular version) is best represented by Ovid, *Met.* 11, 221–265. It was apparently this version which Tibullus had in mind. At all events the work of art to which we have a passing reference in 46 seems to be the same as that which may have exerted an influence upon the Ovidian version, cp. *l.c.* 229 —

> Est sinus Haemoniae curvos falcatus in arcus,
> bracchia procurrunt: ubi, si foret altior unda,
> portus erat; summis inductum est aequor harenis
> litus habet solidum, quod nec vestigia servet,
> nec remoretur iter, nec opertum pendeat alga.
> myrtea silva subest, bicoloribus obsita bacis.
> est specus in medio, natura factus an arte
> ambiguum; magis arte tamen: quo saepe venire
> frenato delphine sedens, Theti nuda, solebas.
> illic te Peleus, ut somno vincta iacebas,
> occupat; et quoniam precibus temptata repugnas,
> vim parat, innectens ambobus colla lacertis, etc.

See Val. Flaccus 1, 130 for another (real or imaginary) painting suggested by the Catullian version but possibly influenced by the lines of Tibullus, 'hic insperatos Tyrrheni tergore piscis | Peleos in thalamos vehitur Thetis, aequora delphin | corripit, illa sedet deiecta in lumina palla | nec Iove maiorem nasci suspirat Achillen. | hanc Panope Dotoque soror laetataque fluctu | prosequitur nudis pariter Galatea lacertis, | antra petens; Siculo revocat de litore Cyclops,' etc.; see too Stat. *Achill.* 1, 221, 'elicit inde fretis et murice frenat acuto | delphinas biiuges, quos illi maxima Tethys | gurgite Atlanteo pelagi sub valle sonora | nutrierat,' etc.

45. **Nerēis**: after Νηρηΐς, so Catull. 64, 15; *Culex*, 300 and 345; Stat. *Achill.* 1, 527, etc. Also Nerĕis, after Νηρεΐς, Ovid, *Met.* 11, 259; 13, 749; Sil. Ital. 14, 572; Stat. *Achill.* 1, 24, etc. The choice appears to be a mere matter of metrical convenience.

46. **caerula**: a natural epithet of sea deities and of Thetis in particular, cp. Hor. *Epod.* 13, 16; Stat. *Achill.* 1, 650; Propert. 2, 9, 15; Ovid, *Met.* 13, 288. He means of course that Thetis' eyes were blue, the colour of her native element. The figure is not uncommon, cp. Hor. *Epod.* 16, 7, 'nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube' ('her blue-eyed sons'); *flava Ceres*, 1, 1, 15 n., etc. For Neptune's blue eyes cp. Cicero, *N. D.* 1, 30, 83, 'non pudet igitur physicum, id est speculatorem venatoremque naturae, ab animis consuetudine imbutis petere testimonium veritatis? isto enim modo licebit Iovem semper barbatum, Apollinem semper imberbem, caesios oculos Minervae, caeruleos esse Neptuni.'

47–48. The dives amator comes ready made to the elegy from the New comedy and is a leading figure in each. His model was the mercenary soldiers with which the Macedonian period was crowded, 'typical soldiers of fortune, with their coarse love of sensual pleasure — their coarse contempt of everything that cannot be eaten, drunk, or handled' (Gildersleeve, *Introd.* Persius, p. 20). Famous literary examples are the Thraso of Terence and the Pyrgopolinices of Plautus. See Introd. p. 45. For the topic of the dives amator see, *e.g.* 1, 8, 29; 1, 9, 53; 2, 3, 59; Propert. 4, 5; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 23; 3, 8; and often. For his faithful agent the lena, 1, 4, 59 (but see n. *ad loc.*); 1, 9, 51; 2, 6, 44; Propert. and Ovid, *l.c.*; etc.

47. **haec**: plural because, although the construction changes after *amator*, the poet is thinking of the lena as well as of the dives amator. — **nocuere**: *-ērūnt* or *-ērĕ* in the 3d pers. pl. of the perf. indic. seems to have been largely determined by metrical convenience. The advantage, however, of the older form in *-ērĕ* for dactylic verse is obvious, hence we have for Tibullus — forms in *-ērĕ*, 1, 4, 31; 1, 5, 47; 1, 7, 1; 1, 7, 5; 2, 1, 39; 2, 1, 43; 2, 3, 21; 2, 4, 31; 4, 5, 3; forms in *-ērŭnt*, 1, 8, 69; 2, 3, 12; 2, 3, 69; 2, 5, 37; 2, 5, 71; 4, 5, 4. On the subject in general, see Wölfflin, *Archiv f. Lat. Lexikographie*, 14, 478, f.

49–56. The formal cursing of the lena (a favourite theme also of the comedy, one too which appears occasionally in actual *devotiones* discovered from time to time) is a regular section of this topic, cp. 1, 4, 59; 2, 6, 43; Propert. 4, 5, 65; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 113; etc. But the black bitterness of this passage and the awfulness of the scene suggested is rarely approached elsewhere in Roman poetry.

49–50. That is, 'may her hunger (and poverty) be such that she will be

forced to devour raw meat wherever she finds it and mix her drink with gall for want of the usual wine' (so Dissen). The explanation is not sufficient; moreover the poet takes up the curse of hunger further down. To be sure, like many of the traditional punishments of Hades, the curse figures the crime. *sanguineae dapes* are a fitting reward for the death of the innocent lovers whom her cruelty has murdered. So, too, the lovers' cup of gall is a commonplace of erotic poetry, *e.g.* Plaut. *Cist.* 69, 'amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus,' the bitter-sweet of love, Sappho's γλυκύπικρος Ἔρως, which has been a proverb in all ages. But the reward of the lena shall be the cup of gall untempered with sweet. The point, however, of this bizarre and horrid curse is that the woman shall run mad. The mention here of blood and gall rests upon the superstition that blood as well as gall when drunk has just this effect. See the references in Oppenheimer's article (mentioned below), and cp. *Macbeth*, 1, 5, 'Come to my woman's breasts, | And take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers, | Wherever in your sightless substances | You wait on nature's mischief!' For the most recent discussions of this curse see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 200, n. 3, and Oppenheimer, Ἀραί, *Wiener Studien*, 1908, p. 146, with references.

50. **tristia**: the translation of *tristis* should be guided by the fact that in one way or another the word usually suggests facial expression, cp. esp. Verg. *G.* 2, 247. Here it is active (1, 1, 8 n.) and the picturesque substitute of *amarus*; cups, as it were, that pucker one's face. So we may say a 'sour-faced' man, *i.e.* a man whose expression suggests that he has just swallowed something sour.

51. That is, the lovers who have been brought to death by her cruelty. The ghosts of those we have injured come back from the grave to haunt us; cp. 2, 6, 37 n.; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 91, 'quin ubi perire iussus exspiravero, | nocturnus occurram Furor | petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus, | quae vis deorum est manium, | et inquietis adsidens praecordiis | pavore somnos auferam'; Ovid, *Ibis*, 141; Verg. *A.* 4, 385; Val. Flacc. 3, 384; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 74; esp. Ammian. Marcell. 14, 11, 17.—**fata**: 4, 4, 11 n.

52. **e tectis . . . canat**: ominous to the last degree and much dreaded by the Romans. Any owl is the herald *par excellence* of disaster, 'foeda volucris,' as Ovid says (*Met.* 5, 549), 'venturi nuntia luctus, | ignavus bubo dirum mortalibus omen'; cp. *e.g.* 'It was the owl that shriek'd, the fatal bellman, | Which gives the stern'st good-night.'—*Macbeth*. But the matter is trebly ominous if, as here, the owl lights upon one's own roof; cp. *e.g.* Propert. 4, 3, 59, and esp. Pliny, 10, 34, 'bubo funebris et maxime abominatus publicis praecipue auspiciis deserta incolit nec tantum desolata sed dira etiam et inaccessa, noctis monstrum, nec cantu aliquo vocalis sed gemitu. itaque in

urbibus aut omnino in luce visus dirum ostentum est. privatorum domibus insidentem plurium scio non fuisse feralem. volat numquam quo libuit, sed transversus aufertur.' See also Ovid, *Ibis*, 221; Propert. 2, 28, 38; Verg. *A.* 4, 462, etc.

The most ominous variety of all, however, is, as here, the *strix*, or screech owl (described by Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 131), because for the Romans the *strix* belonged quite as much to the kingdom of dreams as to the kingdom of birds (see esp. Pliny, 11, 232, and Ovid, *l. c.*). In the popular fancy of those days witches could turn into *striges* (Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 13; the famous story in Apuleius, *Met.* 3, 21 ff.), just as, in the Middle Ages, they turned into cats, or as the devil preferred the form of a black dog or of a wolf. Hence one can never be sure in any given instance whether the *strix* is a real *strix* or a witch in the form of one (Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 141, etc.). Indeed, *striges* = 'witches,' not 'screech owls,' occurs as early as Plautus, *Pseud.* 820 (cp. Propert. 4, 5, 17), and the popular Latin form *strigae* of Petron. 63 and 134 survives in the modern Italian *streghe*. See also Mantuanus, *Eclog.* 4, 48, and 8, 123, with Mustard's note. The object of the witches' transformation is always vampirism in some one of its various aspects. The *strix*, therefore, and occasionally the *bubo*, is the Roman vampire (Pliny, 11, 232; Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 131; Seren. Sammon. 1035; Plaut. *Pseud.* 820; Petron. 134, etc.). Any part of a *strix* is valuable in a charm (Propert. 3, 6, 29; Ovid, *Met.* 7, 269; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 20; Seneca, *Med.* 733, etc.), and the very tree in which she builds her nest is accursed (Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 12, 20). — **violenta**: suggests very well the cry of the bird; cp. *e.g.* Seneca, *Thyestes*, 692, 'letale carmen ore violento canit,' and the Greek formula for banning the vampire (Festus, 314 = *Carm. Pop.* 29 Crus.), *στρίγγ' ἀποπομπεῖν νυκτιβόαν, στρίγγ' ἀπὸ λαῶν | ὄρνιν ἀνωνυμίαν, ὠκυπόρους ἐπὶ νῆας.*

53. **herbasque sepulcris**: to devour the growing plants is itself proverbial of extreme hunger (Verg. *A.* 7, 758; Lucan, 6, 109, etc.), but to devour those which grow in a graveyard invites the punishment of sacrilege (Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 750, etc.). Moreover, such plants can avenge themselves, for they contain magic properties and hence are used in charms the world over; cp. Theokrit. 5, 121 (see Fritzsche's note); Propert. 4, 5, 11; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 8, 22; *Epod.* 17, 47, etc. See Riess in the *A. J. P.* 24, 440, and Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*, vol. I, pp. 151 and 165.

54. **ossa relicta lupis**: *i.e.* in graveyards and lonely places, and possibly remains of the unburied dead (Hor. *Epod.* 5, 98, etc.). Here is where she wanders, driven thither by the haunting ghosts of 51. In antique folk-belief no animal is so distinctly uncanny as the wolf. Nearly every part of him is good in a charm (Ovid, *Met.* 7, 270; Lucan, 6, 688; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 8, 42;

Pliny, 8, 83; etc.), especially, however, the food snatched from his jaws (Lucan, 6, 552) or from the jaws of a hungry dog (Hor. *Epod.* 5, 23). The child who drinks dog's milk shall later bark like a dog (Ovid, *Ibis*, 169). and in Modern Greece, where, owing to Slavonian influence, werewolf and vampire are combined in one, the person who eats a lamb killed by a wolf shall afterwards, become a vampire. So here the lena, driven to gnaw bones covered with the slaver of an uncanny beast whose mad hunger and fury are a proverb (Aristoph. *Lysist.* 629; Diogen. *Paroem. Graeci* 6, 20, and often), finally comes as a matter of course to wolf-madness, or lycanthropy, for this is plainly the affliction alluded to in 55. Hence the dogs (sacred to Hekate, who was once her patron goddess, but who now leads the ghosts against her) recognize her as something uncanny and hunt her from the cross-roads before she can find time to devour the offering of food to Hekate (Ἑκάτης δεῖπνον, see my *Hekate's Suppers* in Hastings' 'Cyclop. of Religion and Ethics,' *s.v.*, and cp. Aristoph. *Plut.* 596 and Schol.; Petron. 135; Lukian, *Dial. Mort.* 1, 1, etc.). So at last shall be fulfilled the curse of the dead lovers. It was foreshadowed by the *strix*, it begins to work in 53, and through the agencies of 53–54 it finally culminates in lycanthropy, the most dramatic if not the most awful of all the forms of madness. This disease, which still occurs here and there, was widely prevalent in the days of the witch trials and not at all uncommon in antiquity. References to it are numerous and all agree with Marcellus Sidetes, a physician of the second century who wrote a special work on the subject, that persons so afflicted wander by night in lonely places, about graves, etc., and howl like wolves. Like all forms of madness, it was traced to Hekate and the unquiet dead; cp. 13 n.

56. **post**: always used as an adverb by Tibullus; local, as here, 1, 10, 24; 2, 1, 16; 89; temporal, 1, 2, 90; 1, 4, 56; 1, 6, 2; 52; 77.

57–58. This staccato style is very characteristic of Ovid, cp. *Amor.* 2, 4, 35, 'haec habilis brevitate sua est, corrumpor utraque: | conveniunt voto longa brevisque meo, | non est culta: subit, quid cultae accedere possit. ornata est: dotes exhibet ipsa suas,' etc.

57. **eveniet**, etc.: for the same naïve type of summary, 1, 7, 5; 2, 1, 25.

58. **iniusta lege**: 'unfair,' because the bond was mutual and therefore should be dissolved only by mutual consent, cp. 1, 2, 63; 1, 5, 7 n. Venus is angry with the perjured party because the oath was taken in her name. The whole passage is really a parable for Delia's benefit. This indirect method of reproof is, as we have already seen, very characteristic of Tibullus.

59. **sagae rapacis**: *i.e.* the lena of 48; the two trades went together. She is now urging the cause of the dives amator, and her *praecepta* form an important and characteristic though most unlovely topic of the elegy.

60. Cp. the roguish imitation of Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 462, 'successore novo vincitur omnis amor.'

Gifts are the specialty of the dives amator and the text of Tibullus is often preached upon in elegy, comedy, and epigram, 2, 4, 27; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 275; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 29; 30; 31; 217, etc., etc.

The poet's statement is less insulting to Delia from the fact that it immediately suggests the common Graeco-Roman proverb that even the gods are to be won by gifts (Hesiod, *frag.* 272 Rzach, *δῶρα θεοὺς πείθει, δῶρ' αἰδοίους βασιλῆας*, cp. Diogen. 4, 21 and Leutsch's note in *Paroem. Graeci*, 1, p. 235; Eurip. *Med.* 964; Plato, *Rep.* 390 E; Menand. 537, 9 K.; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 651; Petron. 137; etc.: often in the negative form of, 'Death only loves not gifts,' Aisch. *frag.* 161 N; Eurip. *Alkest.* 973; Hor. *Od.* 2, 18, 34; *Epist.* 2, 2, 179; etc.).

61–66. 'The poor lover cannot vie with his rich rival in the matter of gifts, but he will do much for you, that Dives, having bought you body and soul, would never think of doing.' Partially imitated by Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 11, 17. An amusing commentary and variation upon it is *Ars Amat.* 2, 165, 'pauperibus vates ego sum, quia pauper amavi: | cum dare non possem munera, verba dabam. | pauper amet caute, timeat maledicere pauper, | multaque divitibus non patienda ferat,' etc., cp. also *Amor.* 1, 10, 57.

62. in . . . fixus . . . latere; *i.e.* fastened to; emphatic for the more usual *ad latus* or *lateri* with *adfigo*, *haereo*, etc. So Cicero, *Div.* 1, 74, 'arma quae fixa in parietibus fuerant,' and in the metaphorical use, Verg. *A.* 11, 507, 'oculos horrenda in virgine fixus'; 12, 70, 'figitque in virgine vultus,' etc.

63–64. One of the 'divitibus non patienda,' and not at all the usual thing in antiquity when dealing with the class of society to which these elegiac heroines belonged. Ovid recommends his lover to show this attention in *Ars Amat.* 2, 209, and in *Amor.* 3, 11, 17, after a quarrel with Corinna he says, 'quando ego non fixus lateri patienter adhaesi, | ipse tuus custos, ipse vir, ipse comes,' cp. Horace's advice to the will hunter, *Sat.* 2, 5, 94. The point is that such duties were the office of slaves.

65–66. These are the dinners more or less sub rosa (*occultos*) of which we hear so much in comedy and elegy, cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 4; *Ars Amat.* 1, 229, etc. The women who attended such dinners have always been about the same, or at all events, the point of view with regard to them has not varied much. See *e.g.* Demosth. *In Neaer.* 1352; Hor. *Od.* 1, 27, 13; 4, 11; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 5, 14; etc.

65. occultos furtim: tautology acc. to Dissen who quotes 1, 6, 60; 1, 8, 60; 1, 10, 34; 2, 1, 80; 2, 6, 11; 45; etc. But *occultos* refers to the point of view of the poet's gay but cautious young friends with regard to their

dinner, *furtim* to the fact that Delia must escape from home unobserved in order to attend it. — **deducet**: here again as in 66 the poor lover takes the place of a slave.

66. **vincla**: the sandals were regularly removed at dinner, cp. Plato, *Symp.* 213 B; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 8, 77; *Epist.* 1, 13, 15; Mart. 3, 50, 3.

67. **canimus frustra**: proverbial, cp. Livy, 40, 8, 10; *Paroem. Graeci*, Zenob. 1, 72; etc. — **verbis victa**: the alliteration is perhaps intentional. See 1, 10, 65 n. — **patescit**: a favourite word with Vergil. Tibullus's use of inceptives is sparing: outside the ordinary verbs we have only *candesco*, 1, 10, 43; *succresco*, 1, 7, 55.

68. A common (and brutal, cp. Introd. p. 50) variation of 60. Cp. 2, 4, 31–34 n. — **plena manu**: cp. 1, 9, 52; Hom. *Odyss.* 10, 42; 11, 359; etc. The meaning is clear, but perhaps there is also a play on the proverbial *plena manu* = 'abundantly,' 'generously' (cp. *percutienda*). — **percutienda**: 1, 2, 70 n.

69–76. These lines, 1, 9, 63–72, and motives from Propertius are echoed in Bertin, *Amours*, 2, 6, 'À un rival.'

69–70. 'What goes up must come down,' cp. 1, 2, 87; 1, 5, 5–6 n. Another application of the law of Nemesis which is the favourite text of all antiquity. Philosophers, moralists, poets, rhetoricians, dwell upon it, the Wheel of Fortune is a pictorial embodiment of it, even the guests at a dinner find it a congenial topic (Petron. 55), but few have the courage of Vagellius in Seneca (*N. Q.* 6, 2, 9) who said, 'si cadendum est mihi e caelo cecidisse velim.'

69. **potior** is often used, as here, of a successful rival in love, Hor. *Od.* 3, 9, 2; *Sat.* 2, 5, 76; Terence, *Phorm.* 533. Tibullus never uses *rivalis*, cp. 1, 6, 21 n.

70. The Wheel of Fortune was evidently a familiar conception in Cicero's time, but *In Pison.* 22 is the earliest reference to it. Artistic representations, a number of which have survived, are all later. Literary references begin to be plentiful from the time of the elegiac poets (Propert. 2, 8, 8; Ovid, *Trist.* 5, 8, 7; *Pont.* 2, 3, 56; 4, 3, 31; Hor. *Od.* 3, 10, 10; Seneca, *Agam.* 71; Tac. *Dial.* 23; Ammian. Marcell. 14, 11, 26; 26, 8, 13; 31, 1, 1; Claud. *Bell. Goth.* 632: Boeth. *Cons. Phil.* 2, 1 and 2; etc.) and become extremely frequent in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Representations were common in the time of the Antonines (Fronto, 157 N.) and the symbolism had already attached itself also to Nemesis and Tyche. It is probably not much older than the third century B.C. and may have been suggested by the earlier Ball of Fortune. The Ball of Fortune, which has the same symbolism and was also frequent in art, has been carried back to Lysippos's famous picture of Kairos (as described by Kallistratos, 6). But reference to it is largely confined to

the Greek authors and disappears soon after the third century (Pacuvius, 366 R.; Kebes, 7, 1; Dio Chrys. 63, 7; etc.).

71–74. For the situation, Ovid, *Her.* 20, 129; cp. *Amor.* 3, 11, 15. *Troilus and Cressida*, 3, 2, 'I stalk about her door, | Like a strange soul upon the Stygian banks | Staying for waftage.' Bertin, *Amours*, 1, 15, echoes Tib. here, in 1, 6, 17 ff., 1, 6, 69-74 and 2, 6, 45–46.

71. **iam nunc**: 1, 3, 53; 2, 3, 3; 4, 5, 11.

72. **ac**: for Tibullus's use of *ac* and *atque*, see 1, 6, 21 n.

73. **simulat transire**: on the omission of the subject accus. with *transire*, 1, 3, 27 n; 1, 9, 45; 2, 3, 42; 2, 4, 53; 2, 6, 13 and 48: 4, 8, 8.

74. Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 460, 'scit cui latretur cum solus obambulet ipse, | cur totiens clausas exscreet ante fores,' is a combined reminiscence of this line and 1, 6, 32.—**exscreat**: for this method of attracting attention cp. Ovid, *Her.* 21, 24; Terence, *Heaut.* 373. 'In the same situation,' says Martinon, 'we should confine ourselves to coughing.' Shakespeare, like Tibullus, is more primitive, cp. *Othello*, 4, 2 (to Emilia), 'Shut the door; | Cough, or cry "hem," if any body come.'

75. **utere**: the implied object is to be derived from the preceding sentence, cp. 1, 8, 47; Propert. 1, 13, 34; 4, 5, 57, etc.

76. **in liquida**, etc.: in this proverb the fickleness of the sea (1, 3, 37–40 n.) is used to illustrate the doctrine of Nemesis, cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 9; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 18, 87; Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 18. *Fast.* 2, 864, 'naviget hinc alia iam mihi linter aqua,' appears to be a reminiscence of Tibullus.

1, 6

The last of the elegies to Delia. See Introd. p. 47.

'Why do you torture me so continually, Cupid. A trap is set for me. I am sure that Delia has another lover. Of course she swears that it is false—but when her husband questions her about me she does the same. Alas, it was I that taught her to deceive and now my own inventions have returned to plague me. Careless husband of the deceitful jade, give me your support if you wish her kept within bounds. I know all her devices. She used them all to deceive you in my time. Put her in my charge. I will guard her single-handed. Nothing shall make me neglect the responsibility. Delia, the priestess of great Bellona has laid a frightful curse upon any that turn you from me. You too, Delia, were to be punished. I hope it may be light. Not, however, for your own sake, but for the sake of your good old mother. You are her daughter after all. Let her teach you to be faithful though your station be humble. I too will submit to strict conditions. I ask no mercy if I am suspected and may I never be so mad as to strike you! Be

true because you love me, not because you are afraid. For her that is faithless an old age of poverty and toil is in store. Old and young rejoice in her misery, and Venus herself looking down from above tells her how bitterly she punishes those that are untrue. But, Delia, may these curses fall upon others. Let us remain to the end an example of true love.'

1–14. Imitated by Bertin, cp. 1, 2, 65–74 n.

1. For the cadence see 1, 3, 5 n.

2. **tristis** : 'stern,' 2, 3, 33, cp. 1, 5, 50 n.

3. **quid tibi saevitiae mecum est**: the impatient question clearly reflects the language and the attitude of everyday life, also the attitude of primitive man toward his gods which has always persisted more or less among the Mediterranean peoples. Moreover, this Amor, despite the repeated assertions of the elegy and the epigram, is not the great god of earlier days, but the Alexandrian type, the spoiled, mischievous child (Apoll. Rhod. 3, 91 ff.) who, dangerous as he is, should not be taken too seriously.

This is the only ex. of the construction *est mihi aliquid cum aliquo* in Tib. For Propertius we have (Hoerle, p. 37) 2, 33, 20; 3, 8, 33; 3, 3, 15; and for Ovid (Hau, p. 56), *Amor.* 1, 7, 27; 2, 19, 57; 3, 2, 48; 3, 6, 87; *Her.* 14, 65; *Met.* 1, 456; *Fast.* 1, 253; 2, 101; *Trist.* 2, 1. The naïve reproach—'Take some one of your own size'—is characteristic, cp. 1, 8, 49–50; Propert. 3, 7, 14, 'quae spolia ex illo tanta fuere tibi? | aut quidnam fracta gaudes, Neptune, carina?' *Anth. Pal.* 5, 10, *ἐχθαίρω τὸν Ἔρωτα· τί γὰρ βαρὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ θῆρας | ὄρνυται, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐμὴν ἰοβαλεῖ κραδίην; | τί πλέον, εἰ θεὸς ἄνδρα καταφλέγει; ἢ τί τὸ σεμνὸν | δῃώσας ἀπ' ἐμῆς ἆθλον ἔχει κεφαλῆς;* So Juno, Verg. *A.* 4, 93, upbraiding Venus for the combination against Dido, 'egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis | tuque puerque tuus: magnum et memorabile nomen, | una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est,' cp. Ovid, *Met.* 3, 654, and for another turn Rufinus, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 93.—**gloria est composuisse**: for the infin. as subject with a substantive as here in the predicate, cp. *cura*, 1, 8, 45; 1, 9, 51; *furor*, 1, 10, 33; 4, 3, 7; *rubor*, 2, 1, 31; *fama*, 4, 7, 2; *laus tribuetur*, 4, 4, 19; with neuter adjectives, *durum*, 1, 6, 7; *aequum*, 1, 9, 5; *aptius*, 4, 4, 21. See also, 1, 6, 24 and 4, 3, 3 with note.

4. **insidias**: snares and ambushes are often used to describe the methods of Cupid, *e.g.* Ovid, *Her.* 19, 45, 'ut partem effugias, non omnia retia falles | quae tibi quam credis plura tetendit Amor'; or of a rival, as in Propert. 3, 8, 37, 'at tibi qui nostro nexisti retia lecto | sit socer aeternum nec sine matre domus.' For the emphasis gained by position 'id homini . . . deum' cp. 'me . . . viro' in 8 below, etc.

6. **nescio quem**: possibly the rival of 1, 5, 69, though this is not necessary and makes no great difference, cp. Introd. p. 44.

7. **quidem**: 'of course,' or 'to be sure.' *quidem* often corrects a previous statement, introduces another point of view, etc., and has to be translated accordingly, sometimes, *e.g.*, merely by emphasizing the preceding word. — **tam multa**: adverbial, 'so many times (as she is asked).' Explained by *pernegat usque* which is the parallel of it in the next line.

8. **pernegat usque**: 1, 2, 88 n.

In Ovid's defence of his poetry, *Trist.* 2, the passage referring to Tibullus is (447) —

credere iuranti durum putat esse Tibullus,
  sic etiam de se quod neget illa viro.
fallere custodem dominam docuisse fatetur,
  seque sua miserum nunc ait arte premi,
saepe, velut gemmam dominae signumve probaret,
  per causam meminit se tetigisse manum;
utque refert, digitis saepe est nutuque locutus,
  et tacitam mensae duxit in orbe notam;
et quibus e sucis abeat de corpore livor,
  impresso fieri qui solet ore, docet:
denique ab incauto nimium petit ille marito,
  se quoque uti servet, peccet ut illa minus.
scit cui latretur, cum solus obambulet ipse,
  cur totiens clausas exscreet ante fores
multaque dat furti talis praecepta docetque
  qua nuptae possint fallere ab arte viros.
non fuit hoc illi fraudi, legiturque Tibullus
  et placet, et iam te principe notus erat.

In this passage it will be observed that 447–448 is reminiscent of 1, 6, 7–8, 449–450 of 9–10, 451–452 of 25–26, 453–454 of 19–20, 455–456 of 13–14, 457–458 of 15–16, 459–460 of 31–32 and 1, 5, 74, 461–462 of 9 (cp. 1, 2, 15–24).

9–10. Speaking of the causes of jealousy in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (vol. III, p. 311, Shilleto), Burton quotes this distich and translates it —

Wretch as I was, I taught her bad to be,
And now mine own sly tricks are put on me.

9. **ludere custodes**: references to this aspect of a love affair are too numerous to deserve citation, cp. 1, 2, 15; 2, 1, 75; etc.

10. Proverbial: Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 655, 'neque enim lex aequior ulla est, | quam necis artifices arte perire sua'; Lukian, *Dial. Mort.* 8, *ὥστε σόφισμα κατὰ σαυτοῦ συντέθεικας*; *Piscat.* 7, and often in various forms the world over, Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 646, 'in laqueos quos posuere cadant'; Macar. *Paroem. Graeci*, 3, 85, *ἐν τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ δικτύοις ἁλώσομαι·* Ovid, *Her.* 2, 48, 'heu patior

telis vulnera facta meis'; *Amor.* 2, 18, 20, etc. See Aristainet. 1, 25; Aisch. *frag.* 139, N and n.; *Choeph.* 221.

11. Compare 1, 3, 25 and note.

12. **cardine tacito**: 1, 2, 10 and note.

13. **herbas**: such *herbae* are not unfrequently mentioned by Pliny, *e.g.* 13, 125; 20, 24 and 240; 22, 155; 24, 93; 27, 18; 29, 33; 30, 28; 31, 65 and 129. The poet would naturally go to the saga, cp. 1, 2, 53 n. — **quis**: 1, 1, 37.

14. A common motive in antique erotic poetry, cp. *e.g.* Propert. 4, 3, 25, 'haec noceant potius, quam dentibus ulla puella | det mihi plorandas per tua colla notas' (Arethusa writing to Lycotas); 4, 5, 39; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 98; 3, 14, 34; Hor. *Od.* 1, 13, 12.

15–39. The situation is unique and worthy of a Swift or of a de Maupassant, cp. Introd. p. 47. In his address to the careless 'husband,' *Amor.* 2, 19, 37, Ovid evidently had this passage in mind —

> at tu, formosae nimium secure puellae,
>   incipe iam prima claudere nocte forem;
> incipe quis totiens furtim tua limina pulset
>   quaerere, quid latrent nocte silente canes,
> quas ferat et referat sollers ancilla tabellas,
>   cur totiens vacuo secubat ipsa toro;
> mordeat ista tuas aliquando cura medullas,
>   daque locum nostris materiamque dolis!
> ille potest vacuo furari litore harenas,
>   uxorem stulti siquis amare potest;
> iamque ego praemoneo; nisi tu servare puellam
>   incipis, incipiet desinere esse meam.

15. **coniunx**: on these elegiac 'husbands' see Introd. p. 45.

16. **servato**: note the mock solemnity of the legal imperative. 'See that my interests are safeguarded.' The poet is laying down a maxim of conduct. See, however, 1, 2, 87.

17 ff. Imitated by Bertin (see 1, 5, 71–74 n.).

17. **iuvenes celebret multo sermone**: *i.e.* 'frequent the company of and talk a great deal with,' 'spend a great deal of time in conversation with'; cp. 1, 3, 33 n. and *e.g.* Cicero, *Prov. Cons.* 22, 'cuius litteris, fama, nuntiis celebrantur aures cotidie meae novis nominibus gentium, nationum, locorum?'

18. Ovid, *Her.* 16, 247. — **cubet**: *cubare* instead of the usual *accumbere* for reclining at table is occasional in both prose and poetry. — **sinu**: for the metonymy, see 4, 7, 4 n. — **neve**: on the form see note on *seu*, 21 below.

19. **neu . . . nutu**: 1, 2, 21–22 n. — **digitoque liquorem**, etc.: a method of flirtation to which Ovid often refers, *e.g.* *Amor.* 1, 4, 19, 'verba superciliis

sine voce loquentia dicam: | verba leges digitis, verba notata mero'; 2, 5, 17; *Ars Amat.* 1, 500; 571; *Her.* 17, 87 (Helen to Paris), 'orbe quoque in mensae legi sub nomine nostro, | quod deducta mero littera fecit: "amo." | credere me tamen hoc oculo renuente negavi, | ei mihi, iam didici sic ego posse loqui.' Cp. also 1, 10, 31–32 n.

21–22. On this and other stock excuses for leaving home cp. *Ars Amat.* 3, 633, 'quid faciat custos cum sint tot in urbe theatra, | cum spectet iunctos illa libenter equos, | cum sedeat Phariae sistris operata iuvencae, | quoque sui comites ire vetantur eat, | cum fuget a templis oculos Bona Diva virorum | praeterquam siquos illa venire iubet, | cum custode foris tunicas servante puellae | celent furtivos balnea multa iocos'; Martial, 11, 7; Lukian, *Amor.* 42; 'In my conscience she went forth with no dishonest intent: for she did not pretend going to any sermon in the further end of the city,' etc. (Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Woman Hater*, 2, 1).

21. seu: 'even if.' For this use of *seu* without a correlative cp. 2, 4, 43; Propert. 2, 26, 29; Catull. 82, 4; Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 1260; Val. Flacc. 1, 101, etc. In such exx. *seu* or *sive* preserves *ve* in its old sense of *que* or *et* and hence = *et si.* The form *sive* does not occur in Tibullus. Propertius, on the contrary, uses one form as often as the other. As with *seu* and *sive*, however, so with other words which exist in two different forms, it is more or less characteristic of Tibullus to choose one and exclude the other. *neu*, for instance, occurs twelve times, *neve*, but once (line 18 above, see Lease, *Class. Philol.* 3, 302); *atque*, eleven times, *ac* (a prosaic form), but three times (1, 3, 63; 1, 5, 72; 2, 5, 87); *neque*, in 1, 2, 77, elsewhere always *nec* whether before vowels or consonants; *ex virgis*, 2, 1, 24, elsewhere always *e* and *a* before consonants, *ex* and *ab* before vowels; *circum*, five times, *circa* (rare in Cicero, never in Caesar), twice (1, 3, 87; 1, 7, 56); *tum*, eleven times, *tunc*, twenty-six times. So always *sic* for *ita; nam* for *enim; quod* for *quia* (except 1, 4, 13); *quamvis* for *quamquam*, etc. There is also a tendency to exclude exceptional usage in gender and declensional forms; to reject diminutives, pet-names, and other words or uses of words suggestive of the popular speech. In general, these and similar phenomena serve to illustrate the self-evident fact that Tibullus was a purist, a fastidious man of cultivated taste. In particular, they lend considerable support to Bürger's contention that Tibullus belonged to the Analogists, that school of stylistic theorists of which Julius Caesar was the greatest representative in prose. See esp. R. Bürger, *Beiträge zur Elegantia Tibulls*, 'Χάριτες, Friedrich Leo, zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht,' Berlin, 1911, 371–394.

Bürger's method, however, of removing much of the exceptional usage which contravenes his theory by emendation does not commend itself.

Haupt supported his theory of *tum* for *tunc* in this same way. Speaking in general, an ounce of manuscript, even when that manuscript is no better than the Ambrosianus, is worth more than a hundredweight of conjecture, or half a ton of theory.

22. The Bona Dea of Tibullus's time was apparently a combination of the old Italic Fauna and Damia, a goddess of Magna Graecia whose worship was brought to Rome probably not long after the fall of Tarentum in 272 B.C. Founder's Day was May 1. The state sacrifice to her occurred early in December. Her temple was on the Aventine below the *saxum*, the rock from which Remus took his augury, hence her occasional title of *Subsaxana*. That her *sacra* were 'non adeunda viris' is frequently mentioned. Regulations in this respect were painfully, even ludicrously, strict. The profanation of her mysteries by Clodius in Cicero's time was a *cause célèbre*. For the elegiac poets and doubtless for the public at large their reputation suffered from the fact that the men knew nothing of them, and also because they were reckoned with the worship of Isis, etc., among the pretexts used by women of Delia's stamp to cloak other designs. But with the decay of moral and religious feeling incident to the first century A.D. these mysteries must also have deteriorated. Even after all allowance has been made for his customary exaggeration, especially in dealing with such a topic, we may fairly suspect that Juvenal's savage arraignment in 6, 314 was not altogether unfounded.

23. **ad aras**: Tibullus would naturally stop at the limits of the temple inclosure, cp. Propert. 4, 9, 53, 'parce oculis, hospes, lucoque abscede verendo: | cede agedum et tuta limina linque fuga. | interdicta viris metuenda lege piatur | quae se summota vindicat ara casa,' etc. To go *ad aras* involved sacrilege, hence the force of the following line.

24. Blindness was the traditional punishment for sacrilege in the case of this goddess, and in spite of the recent exploit of Clodius the statement is solemnly repeated by Cicero, *Dom.* 105 and *Harusp.* 37. This ancient superstition, however, is by no means confined to the Bona Dea. The blindness of Tiresias was due to the fact that as a boy he had innocently seen Athena bathing, cp. Kallimach. *Hymn.* 5, 78, and the imitation in Tennyson's *Tiresias*, 'a dreadful light | Came from her golden hair, her golden helm | And all her golden armour on the grass, | And from her virgin breast, and virgin eyes | Remaining fixed on mine, till mine grew dark | Forever, and I heard a voice that said | "Henceforth be blind, for thou hast seen too much, | And speak the truth that no man may believe."' The idea underlying this and many similar traditions is expressed in Kallimach. *l.c.* 99 f., *οὐ γὰρ Ἀθαναίᾳ γλυκερὸν πέλει ὄμματα παίδων | ἁρπάζειν · Κρόνιοι δ' ὧδε λέγοντι νόμοι · | ὅς κέ τιν' ἀθανάτων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἕληται, | ἀθρήσῃ, μισθῷ τοῦτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλῳ.*

The same story is related of Erymanthos and Aphrodite in Ptol. Chennos, 1; cp. the curse in Plaut. *Asin.* 770, 'si quem alium aspexit, caeca continuo siet,' and the idea in all these prototypes of 'Peeping Tom' still lingers in more than one popular story and phrase. — **sit timuisse**: the perfect has its full force. A subject infin. with *esse* unaccompanied by a substantival or adverbial predicate (cp. 3 n.) as here is rare. The only remaining ex. in Tib. is 4, 3, 3.

25–26. This motive (which still flourishes, no doubt, though yielding to the superior advantages of palmistry) is not found elsewhere in the elegy. For the comedy, however, cp. Naevius, *frag.* 78 R. (speaking of a flirt), 'anulum dat alii spectandum, a labris alium invocat,' etc.; Plaut. *Asin.* 778, 'spectandum ne quoii anulum det neque roget.'

25. gemmas signumque is indefinite, but the jewels or the workmanship in rings or bracelets is clearly meant. — **eius**: this form of *is* is very rare in dactylic verse: Propert. 4, 2, 35; 4, 6, 67.

26. per causam: 'by means of an excuse,' 'under a pretext.' *per causam* = 'under the pretext of,' occurs first in Cicero, *Dom.* 10 and 13, then in Caes. *B. G.* 7, 9, 1; *B. C.* 3, 24, 1; 3, 76, 1; *Bell. Alex.* 49, 1; *Bell. Afr.* 32, 2; 73, 3; Livy, 2, 32, 1; 22, 61, 8; Sueton. *Vesp*, 1; *Otho*, 3; all these with a limiting genitive. With the pronominal equivalent of a genitive we have Livy, 1, 49, 5; 44, 44, 8; Seneca, *Ben.* 4, 35, 2; Sueton. *Iul.* 2. In poetry we have only this and two exx. in Ovid, the one a partial quotation, the other an evident reminiscence, of the passage before us, cp. *Trist.* 2, 452 (quoted in 8 n.), and *Her.* 20, 139, 'dumque suo temptat salientem pollice venam, | candida per causam bracchia saepe tenet.' The prose cons. would have been 'memini me tetigisse manum per causam probandi,' 'bracchia tenet per causam temptandi.' But *per causam* here is an adverbial phrase (a translation of διὰ πρόφασιν, or suggested by it?) suggested by the preceding clause but limiting *tetigisse* (*tenet* in the Ovidian ex.).

27–28. For the scene suggested cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 4, 51, 'vir bibat, usque roga (precibus tamen oscula desint!) | dumque bibit, furtim, si potes, adde merum! | si bene compositus somno vinoque iacebit, | consilium nobis resque locusque dabunt'; 2, 5, 13; Juv. 1, 57; Hor. *Od.* 3, 6, 25, etc.

28. sobria pocula: more common is the transferred epithet *sobria* with *aqua*, cp. 2, 1, 46; Propert. 3, 17, 11 ('sobria nox'); Stat. *Silv.* 4, 2, 37 ('sobria rura'), etc. The pattern of it, νήφοντος θεοῦ = 'water,' in Plato, *Leg.* 773 D, was much criticized and discussed by the later rhetoricians, cp. Plutarch, *De Audiendis Poetis*, 1 (*Mor.* 15 E, cp. 791 B), and esp. Longin. *De Sublim.* 32, 7.

29–30. The details of the argument are — first, I did not injure you de-

liberately; second, a man who confesses his sin should on that account be pardoned; third, besides, Love ordered it. Love is a god. The gods must be obeyed. Ergo, etc. These three details, of which the first is clearly open to question, the second a non-sequitur, and the third utterly fallacious, form the ever ready and sufficient excuse of the comedy lover which long before Tibullus's time had been used by the rhetoricians for an illustration of their *concessio per purgationem*. Note *e.g.* *Rhet. ad Heren.* 2, 16, 23, 'concessio est, per quam nobis ignosci postulamus. ea dividitur in purgationem et deprecationem. purgatio est, cum consulto a nobis factum negamus. ea dividitur in necessitudinem, fortunam, inprudentiam' (Tibullus pleads first, *imprudentia*, then, *necessitudo*, and, by implication, *fortuna*). Of *imprudentia* the author says further down, 'si autem inprudentia reus se peccasse dicet, primum quaeretur, utrum potuerit nescire an non potuerit; deinde, utrum casu nescierit an culpa. nam qui se propter vinum aut amorem aut iracundiam fugisse rationem dicet, is animi vitio videbitur nescisse, non inprudentia (*qui . . . dicet* is the lover's excuse); qua re non inprudentia se defendet, sed culpa contaminabit. . . . loci communis in his causis: . . . defensoris, de humanitate, misericordia (Tib. *ignosce fatenti*): voluntatem in omnibus rebus spectari convenire; quae consulto facta non sint (Tib. *non ego te laesi prudens*), in ea fraudem esse non oportere.' But the best antique criticism of the Tibullian argument is Seneca, *Phaed.* 195, where to her mistress pleading the same excuse the nurse replies — 'deum esse amorem turpis et vitio favens | finxit libido, quoque liberior foret | titulum furori numinis falsi addidit,' etc.

Tibullus is, of course, quite aware that his excuse is insufficient. Indeed the flippant insertion of the trivial commonplace as a prelude to the following disclosures intensifies, as was intended, the cold mockery of the entire passage.

30. **iussit Amor**, etc.: 1, 2, 89–96 n.; Ovid, *Her.* 4, 11, 'quidquid amor iussit non est contemnere tutum: | regnat et in dominos ius habet ille deos'; Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 12, 147. — **contra quis**, etc.: proverbial, cp. Theognis, 687; Eurip. *frag.* 491 N.; *Iphig. Aul.* 1396 and 1408; *Iphig. Taur.* 1479; Kallimach. *Hymn to Apollo*, 25; Menand. *Mon.* 247; Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 1, 26; Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* 3, 60; Curt. 7, 6, 6, etc. The standing example and warning was the Titans, Plaut. *Persa*, 28; Cicero, *Sen.* 5; etc., cp. 1, 10, 60 n.

31–32. The dog who does not understand the situation ('nihil amanti molestius,' says the good old commentator Achilles Statius) is a regular figure of the elegy, cp. 2, 4, 32; Propert. 3, 16, 17; 4, 5, 73; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 19, 40; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 58; *Od.* 3, 16, 2; Aristoph. *Thesm.* 417; Plaut. *Asin.* 184; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 30; etc. A dog who did understand the situation had the following epitaph (attributed to du Bellay), 'latratu fures excepi, mutus amantes: | sic placui

domino, sic placui dominae.' Molière, *Femmes Scavantes* 1, 3 (cp. Plaut. *Asin.* 184), 'Et, pour n'avoir personne a sa flame contraire, | Jusqu 'au chien du logis il s'efforce de plaire.' This distich of Tibullus may have been responsible for Goethe, *Röm. Eleg.* 17; it may have inspired such an odd flight of fancy as that of Amadis Jamyn in his *Son.* 26—

> Malgré le Chien qui dans le ciel aboye,
> Qui de Venus nous interdit la ioye,
> Ie ne lairrois de prendre mes ébats.

33–34. The point of view is that of Catullus, 17, 12 ff., cp. also Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 19, 37 (quoted in 15–39 n.).

34. **clavis**: 1, 2, 18 n.; 2, 4, 31.

35–36. Mart. 11, 60, 7, 'at Chione non sentit opus nec vocibus ullis | adiuvat, absentem marmoreamve putes'; 104, 11; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 685, 'odi quae praebet quia sit necesse praebere, | siccaque de lana cogitat ipsa sua'; 3, 797; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 232 on the other hand, '*Ἱππομένην φιλέουσα, νόον προσέρεισα Λεάνδρῳ· | ἐν δὲ Λεανδρείοις χείλεσι πηγνυμένη, | εἰκόνα τὴν Ξάνθοιο φέρω φρεσί· πλεξαμένη δὲ | Ξάνθον, ἐς Ἱππομένην νόστιμον ἦτορ ἄγω. | πάντα τὸν ἐν παλάμῃσιν ἀναίνομαι· ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον | αἰὲν ἀμοιβαίοις πήχεσι δεχνυμένη | ἀφνειὴν Κυθέρειαν ὑπέρχομαι. εἰ δέ τις ἡμῖν | μέμφεται, ἐν πενίῃ μιμνέτω οἰογάμῳ.* 35 is quoted by Montaigne (3, 5) and 36 by Burton, 3, 318.

35. **tenet**: 1, 5, 39.—**suspirat**: for the accus. of the person or thing sighed for (which brings back the original meaning of the word) cp. 4, 5, 11; *Lydia*, 3; Juv. 11, 152; etc. French *soupirer* and Ital. *sospirare* are used in the same way.—**amores**: plural = the one loved, cp. 1, 3, 81 n; 2, 2, 11 n.; 4, 5, 11; Propert. 1, 20, 51; 4, 4, 37; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 8, 59; Catull. 10, 1; 6, 16; 15, 1; 21, 4; 40, 7; 45, 1; 64, 27; etc.

36. 'En Gallorum nostrorum "vapeurs,"' says Heyne, writing a century ago. Martinon writing now says 'nous appellons cela plus simplement une migraine.' For the 'woman's excuse' see also Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 19, 11, 'a, quotiens sani capitis mentita dolores | cunctantem tardo iussit abire pede'; 1, 8, 73 (the lena to her charge), 'saepe nega noctes: capitis modo finge dolorem, | et modo quae causas praebeat Isis erit'; Plaut. *Truc.* 632; even in the Middle Ages, see the old romance of Partonopeus de Blois, 7555, 'Et bien lor dist ne lor soit grief: | Car ele a grant mal en son cief.'

37–38 returns to 15–16 and thus ends the passage. The following lines proceed on the assumption that the poet's request has been granted.

37. **servandam**: factitive predicate, so 1, 7, 40 and 4, 3, 22. With *dare* as in 1, 7, 40, this use of the gerundive appears as early as Plautus, *Bacch.* 338; with *credere* ('to intrust,' the analogy is *dare*) however this and Solin.

12, 7, 'delphina puer fragmentis panis primo illexit et in tantum consuetudo valuit ut alendum se etiam manui ipsius crederet,' are the only exx. in the literature. See also, 1, 2, 70 n. — **non saeva,** etc.: 1, 5, 5 n.; 1, 6, 72; 2, 3, 80; etc.

38. **verbera . . . vincla**: cp. 1, 10, 65; 1, 9, 21; 2, 3, 80, and notes. The revival of the old alliterative phrase, 'vincula verbera' seems to be found only here.

39–40. These are the *belli homines* for whom Martial had such an aversion, cp. 1, 9, but esp. 3, 63, 3 —

> bellus homo est, flexos qui digerit ordine crines,
>   balsama qui semper, cinnama semper olet;
> cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditana susurrat,
>   qui movet in varios bracchia volsa modos;
> inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras
>   desidet atque aliqua semper in aure sonat;
> qui legit hinc illinc missas scribitque tabellas,
>   pallia vicini qui refugit cubiti;
> qui scit quam quis amet, qui per convivia currit,
>   Hirpini veteres qui bene novit avos.

Nor is Ovid less severe, cp. *Ars Amat.* 3, 433, 'sed vitate viros cultum formamque professos, | quique suas ponunt in statione comas. | quae vobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis: | errat et in nulla sede moratur amor. | . . . sunt qui mendaci specie grassentur amoris | perque aditus talis lucra pudenda petant. | nec coma vos fallat liquido nitidissima nardo | nec brevis in rugas lingula pressa suas, | nec toga decipiat filo tenuissima, nec si | anulus in digitis alter et alter erit. | forsitan ex horum numero cultissimus ille | fur sit et uratur vestis amore tuae,' etc.; Quintil. 12, 10, 47 (advice to the orator), 'do tempori, ne hirta toga sit, non ut serica: ne intonsum caput, non in gradus atque anulos comptum,' etc.

39. **quisquis,** etc.: for the distributive apposition, 1, 6, 86; 2, 2, 2; 4, 5, 15.

40. Wearing the toga as here described was always considered a flagrant sign of dandyism, cp. 2, 3, 78; Hor. *Epod.* 4, 8; Seneca, *Oed.* 423; Macrob. 3, 13, 4 (who says that Hortensius was criticized for it); Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 680, 'nec compone comas, quia sis venturus ad illam, | nec toga sit laxo conspicienda sinu'; esp. *Ars Amat.* 1, 505–524.

41–42. The exaggeration is of course intentional.

42. **ante**: local. — **via**: ablat. of place.

43–56. Episode of Bellona. The Bellona of the first century was more or less a combination of the old Italic Bellona, the Greek Enyo, and a Cappadocian goddess from Comana (*Bell. Alex.* 66; Strabo, 12, 535), brought to

Rome during the first Mithridatic war in accordance with a dream of Sulla's (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 9). Tibullus is here referring to the Cappadocian goddess. Her temple in the Flaminian Circus possessed a grove and some artificial mounds (*CIL.* 6, 2232; Tertull. *Pall.* 4) in imitation of her original Cappadocian home. But the statue of her which Tib. mentions (48) was in her new temple, the *aedes Bellonae Pulvinensis*, near by. Her service, which had much in common with that of Isis and of the Magna Mater, was in the hands of a band of Cappadocian priests, 'fanatici de aede Bellonae Pulvinensis' (Juv. 4, 123; *CIL.* 6, 490; etc.), or 'Bellonarii' (Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 223). Their services in the temple are best described here (the only passage in which priestesses are mentioned), cp. also *CIL.* 6, 2233; Lucan, 1, 565; Juv. 4, 124 and 6, 511; Minuc. Fel. 30; Tertull. *Apol.* 9; Augustin. *C. D.* 4, 34; Seneca, *Vit. Beat.* 26, 8; Ammian. Marcell. 21, 5. The priests slashed their arms and shoulders as here, gave each other the blood shed in honour of the goddess to drink, and then fell to prophesying amid the wild din of drums and trumpets. The blood was also scattered over the worshippers who tasted it whenever possible, as it was supposed to have purifying qualities. On holy days they marched through the streets in much the same manner. Mart. 12, 57, 11, mentions their noisy symptoms of inspiration among the many hindrances to sleep in the city, cp. also Tertull. *Pall.* 4. The nature of the worship made it popular with women, especially women of Delia's class and calibre, hence no doubt the choice of it here, for this passage is of course the usual parable for Delia's benefit.

43. **deus**: *i.e.* Amor. So frequently, *e.g.* 1, 2, 88; 1, 5, 20; 1, 8, 7; 56; 72.

45–50. Quoted by Bartolomé de Las Casas, in his *Historia de las Indias*, *cap.* 57.

45–49. This self-inflicted torture is characteristic of the eccentric, orgiastic, cults of the highlands of Asia Minor and will be familiar enough to those who have witnessed the ceremonies (cp. esp. 49) marking the début of the braves among our North American Indians. It is a well-known fact that under such circumstances a genuine hysterical condition seems to act as an anaesthetic. Seneca says that the cutting was not as serious as it appeared to be, *Dial.* 7, 26, 8, 'cum aliquis secandi lacertos suos artifex bracchia atque humeros suspensa manu (cp. *levi*, 1, 4, 51 n.) cruentat.' Commodus (cp. Lamprid. 9, 5), a stickler for religious form whenever any one could be hurt by it, insisted that the cutting should be deep and genuine.

45. **motu**: 'inspiration,' so Ovid, *Met.* 6, 158.—**nec**: for *nec* followed by *non* cp. 1, 1, 29; Propert. 3, 2, 11.

47. **bipenne**: for *bipenni*, as is demanded by the metre, so Commod. *Instr.* 1, 17, 8; otherwise always *bipenni* (Neue-Wagener, 1, 328). On the other hand, cp. *clavim*, 2, 4, 31.

48. **inulta** : *i.e.* 'with impunity,' 'without suffering the consequences,' 'unhurt.' For this rare meaning (Scaliger compared the *ἀθῷος* of Demosth. 316, 18) see *innoxia*, 2, 5, 63 n.

49. **stat** : 1, 1, 64 n. — **veru** : the Indians run thorns or skewers through portions of their flesh in the same way.

50. **monet** : 'foretells,' so Verg. *E.* 9, 15 ; *A.* 3, 712 ; 7, 41 ; etc.

51–54. A horrid prelude for such a trivial matter but we have the authority of Juvenal that Bellona was not above giving advice on any occasion, 4, 123 ; 6, 511. Cp. 1, 2, 27–28 n.

51. In *Carm. Epig.* 953 B., 'si quis forte meam cupiet violare puellam, | illum in desertis montibus urat amor' (Pompeian graffito), the cadence of the hex. suggests Tib. On *violare*, 1, 3, 81 n. — **parcite violare** : so also Lygd. 3, 5, 6, instead of the usual prosaic *nolite violare*, see 1, 4, 9 n. *noli* or *nolite* with the infin. as a circumlocution for the imperative does not occur in Tib., is not quoted for Ovid, and but two exx. are found in Propertius (2, 18, 37 ; 2, 24, 49). In fact Tib. uses *nolo* only in the uncompounded forms, *i.e. non vis, non vult*, etc., and only six exceptions to this rule are quoted for Ovid (*Her.* 17, 24 ; 20, 100 ; *Trist.* 1, 2, 93 ; *Fast.* 4, 122 ; 5, 471 ; *Met.* 13, 863). Propertius has six, without the two just cited. For *parcere* as here, Propert. has two cases, 1, 15, 26 ; 2, 5, 18. Nineteen are quoted from Ovid.

52. The old proverb that fools learn only by experience, put in the form of a threat, Hom. *Il.* 17, 32, *ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω* : Livy, 22, 39, 10, 'nec eventus modo hoc docet — stultorum iste magister est' ; the familiar, 'experientia stultos docet,' etc.

53–54. For the symbolism cp. Soph. *Aias*, 1175, *εἰ δέ τις στρατοῦ | βίᾳ σ' ἀποσπάσειε τοῦδε τοῦ νεκροῦ, | κακὸς κακῶς ἄθαπτος ἐκπέσοι χθονός, | γένους ἅπαντος ῥίζαν ἐξημημένος, | αὕτως ὅπωσπερ τόνδ' ἐγὼ τέμνω πλόκον*. That which is done with appropriate ceremonial shall be repeated when, where, and in the manner directed. This is a cardinal principle of magic and is therefore frequent in prayers, curses, bans, and solemn ceremonial generally.

The old commentators here have in one or two instances noted that the poet's curse is confined to 'labentur opes,' the loss of wealth. The point is well made, for the curse is aimed at the dives amator who without his money would be nothing, cp. 2, 4, 39 and 1, 9, 13–16 n.

53. **attigerit** : for the omission of the conditional sign see 2, 4, 60 ; 1, 2, 54 ; 1, 10, 11.

55–56. Again exhibit the poet's characteristic dislike of attacking Delia directly. 57 ff., gentle as they are according to the standard of his own time, are the severest reproof, in verse, which he ever gave her. We should expect no less after the cool banter of 15 f.

55. **nesciŏ** : for the prosody, 2, 6, 41 n.

56. 1, 9, 40.

57–58. We must suppose that *mater* here really means Delia's mother, not the convenient euphemism for a lena which has been characteristic of all ages, cp. 1, 3, 84 n.

58. **aurea**: a use of the word common in Latin and Greek and more or less common in many other languages, Propert. 4, 7, 85; Hor. *Od.* 1, 5, 9 (cp. 4, 2, 39), etc. Cp. 'Golden slumbers kiss your eyes' (Lullaby in Dekker's *Patient Grissel*). On the pentameter as a rhetorical amplification, 1, 1, 44 n.

59–62. Chronologically 61–62 comes before 59–60. The old woman waited secretly at the door until she heard Tib. coming, then brought Delia to the door to meet him, cp. 1, 2, 19–20, etc. and esp. 1, 9, 43. It is true of course that a girl frequently went to the house of her lover (Trabea, *frag.* 1, Ribbeck, etc.) and that *adducere* is sometimes used for *deducere* (Plaut. *Curc.* 138, etc.) in this sense, but the situation here is clear and we see what is meant; see also 2, 1, 75 ff.

60. **clam taciturna**: 1, 5, 65 n.

62. Cyllenius remarks on the close relation implied, *i.e.* you must know a man well before being able to recognize his step, cp. 1, 8, 65–66. — **me veniente**: Tib. is fond of the ablative absolute with the pres. participle, so 1, 1, 48; 1, 3, 22; 1, 5, 20, 22 and 53; 1, 10, 30; 2, 3, 17; 2, 5, 120; 4, 5, 3: with the perf. part. 1, 2, 54; 1, 3, 21; 1, 3, 85; 1, 9, 56; 1, 10, 39; 1, 10, 64; 2, 1, 6 and 39; 2, 5, 9 and 92: with adjectives and substant. 1, 3, 35; 2, 1, 75; 2, 3, 21; 2, 5, 15.

63–64. *Carm. Epig.* 995, 13, 'si pensare animas sinerent crudelia fata | et posset redimi morte aliena salus, | quantulacumque meae debentur tempora vitae, | pensassem pro te, cara Homonoea, libens.' Cp. *id.* 25, 'quodque mihi eripuit mors inmatura iuventae, | id tibi victuro proroget ulterius'; *Anth. Lat.* 445, 3 R., 'ablatus mihi Crispus est, amici, | pro quo si pretium dari liceret, | nostros dividerem libenter annos. | nunc pars optima me mei reliquit, | Crispus, praesidium meum, voluptas, | pectus, deliciae: nihil sine illo | laetum mens mea iam putabit esse. | consumptus male debilisque vivam: | plus quam dimidium mei recessit.' Seneca, who might well be the author of this anonymous epigram, makes a striking application of the idea in *Dial.* 10, 14, 1, 'soli omnium otiosi sunt qui sapientiae vacant: soli vivunt. nec enim suam tantum aetatem bene tuentur: omne aevum suo adiciunt. quidquid annorum ante illos actum est, illis acquisitum est'; Propertius 4, 11, 95 (Cornelia to her surviving husband), 'quod mihi detractum est vestros accedat ad annos'; Seneca, *Dial.* 10, 15, 1, 'horum nemo annos tuos conterit:

suos tibi contribuit.' The thought is not as common in modern literature. Note however Shak. *Henry VI, Part I*, Act 2, Sc. 5 (Richard to Mortimer)—

> O uncle, would some part of my young years
> Might but redeem the passage of your age!

63. **mihi**: for the ethical dative see 2, 2, 13; 2, 4, 2.—**tecum contribuisse**: *i.e.* 'cum tuis (annis).' The cons. of *contribuere* with *cum* is unique (Caes. *B.C.* 1, 60 is not a parallel, moreover the text is doubtful) and appears to reflect the original meaning of *contribuere*, 'to bring, place, or put together,' when the force of *cum* in the compound was still felt.

66. **sanguīs**: really = *sanguins*, hence the prosody, so Lucret. 4, 1050; 6, 1203; Verg. *A.* 10, 487 and occasionally in all periods, *e.g.* Ovid, *Met.* 10, 459; *Fast.* 6, 488; Lucan, 2, 338; 7, 635; 10, 128; Sil. Ital. 9, 555; 10, 23; Val. Flacc. 3, 234, etc. Confusion with other forms in *-is* had begun before Vergil's time, cp. *e.g.* *G.* 3, 508; *A.* 2, 639; 5, 396. For the use of the word in this figurative sense, cp. Horace, *Carm. Saec.* 50; Theokrit. 24, 71, etc.

67–68. The poet's only reference to Delia's social position, see Introd. p. 44 and cp. 4, 10, 3.

The *stola* had been the exclusive privilege of matronae since as early at least as the Second Punic War (Macrob. 1, 6, 13). It was not worn even by *ingenuae* if unmarried. The *vittae* as a distinctive portion of a matrona's costume are mentioned as early as Plaut. *Miles Glor.* 791. Marquardt quotes passages to support his contention that unmarried girls, if *ingenuae*, could wear *vittae* (though of a distinctive type). They could not be worn by slaves, freedwomen, *peregrinae*, or *meretrices* (Afranius, 133 R.; Varro, *Sat. Men.* 302 B.) All seems to point to the conclusion that Delia belonged either de facto or de iure to the *libertinae*. Passages like Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 31; 2, 600; 3, 483; *Fasti*, 4, 134; *Trist.* 2, 247; *Pont.* 3, 3, 51, etc. show why *quamvis* ff. is a natural and reasonable qualification of *casta*. The limitations of the marriage law were such that no *libertina* could better her position by cultivating the ideal of pure womanhood or even by observing fidelity to one lover.

67. **casta**: 1, 3, 83 n. But in Martial's time it was curiously enough considered more disgraceful for a married woman to have one lover than to possess several, cp. 6, 90; 3, 92; Sen. *Ben.* 3, 16, 3.

69–74. Imitated by Bertin, cp. 1, 5, 71–74 n.

69. **durae leges**: 1, 5, 7 n.; 2, 4, 52; Propert. 4, 8, 74, etc.—**ullam**: also used as a substantive in 2, 1, 9.

70. **oculos appetat**: a conventional symptom of feminine jealousy and of feminine anger generally, cp. Propert. 3, 8, 5; 3, 15, 14; 4, 8, 64; Ovid, *Her.* 20, 82; *Amor.* 2, 7, 7; esp. *Ars Amat.* 2, 452.

71–72. 1, 5, 5 and 1, 6, 37 n. The severity of the punishment is of course intentionally exaggerated. The treatment suggests that of the helpless in the sacking of a city (*e.g.* Hom. *Odyss.* 22, 187; Aisch. *S. T.* 327) or of assault with intent to kill (Achill. Tat. 5, 23, etc.).

72. **immerito**: *i.e.* 'even though I do not deserve it.' — **proripiar vias**: this use of the accus. with verbs of motion is found only here in Tib. Hoerle cites one ex. only from Propertius, 1, 20, 18, 'ire viam'; Hau, the following from Ovid, 'ambulare vias,' *Fast.* 1, 122; 'currere aquam,' *Trist.* 5, 7, 36; 'errare terras,' *Fast.* 3, 655 and 4, 573; 'natare aquas,' *Trist.* 5, 2, 25 and *Ars Amat.* 1, 48; 'navigare aequor,' *Met.* 15, 50; 'volare freta,' *Met.* 11, 749. So 'currere aequor,' Verg. *A.* 3, 191; 'maria vecti,' 1, 524 and occasionally in other poets. I have noted no other ex. of *proripi* used as here. See 1, 2, 55 and 1, 3, 14 with notes.

73–74. The lover's quarrel in which the lover so far forgets himself as to indulge in personal violence is a favourite motive of antique erotic poetry. See *e.g.* 1, 1, 74; 1, 3, 64; 1, 10, 53; 2, 5, 101; Propert. 2, 5, 21; 4, 5, 31; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 7, 23; 1, 8, 95; *Ars. Amat.* 3, 568; Calpurn. 3, 70; Theokrit. 14, 34. A comparison of these passages will bring out the real superiority of Tib. here to many of his contemporaries in gentleness and refinement. The persistence of the motive is itself a commentary on the social position of the woman in these affairs. Ovid says (*Ars Amat.* 3, 571) that such exhibitions of temper are not becoming to a man of the world. Moreover as he says in another place (*Ars Amat.* 2, 167) with an evidently playful turn on Tibullus, 1, 5, 61–66 (see note), a poor man cannot afford it, see also Propert. 4, 5, 31. Ariosto, 5, 1–3 is an interesting variant on the classical motive.

73. **iste**: occurs also in 1, 9, 69; 2, 4, 20; 4, 13, 18. In conformity with classical usage it is always a demonstrative of the second person or (as here and in 4, 13, 18), directly associated with the person addressed (Kühner, 2, p. 452, gives numerous exx.). The same is true of Ovid, but Propertius is not always as careful to preserve this distinction and in later times it was quite lost (see Schmalz, p. 444).

74. **optarim**: for the perfect subjunctive as a potential, see 4, 11, 4: the second sing. occurs in 2, 2, 13, where see n.: for the imperf. subj. as a potential of the past, see 2, 3, 26 and n.: for the potential in questions, 2, 6, 2 and n.

75–76. Both Propertius and Ovid dilate on the motive of a *mens fidelis*, a true heart, as the sole guarantee of fidelity, Propert. 2, 6, 37; 4, 1, 145; esp. Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 4.

77–84. The last parable to Delia, cp. 2, 4, 43 ff. and esp. *Anth. Pal.* 6, 283, Ἡ τὸ πρὶν αὐχήσασα πολυχρύσοις ἐπ' ἐρασταῖς, | ἡ Νέμεσιν δεινὴν οὐχὶ κύσασα

θεὸν, | μίσθια νῦν σπαθίοις πενιχροῖς πηνίσματα κρούει. | ὀψέ γ' Ἀθηναίη Κύπριν ἐλῄσατο· Hor. *Od.* 3, 15, 13, etc. Spinning is the conventional occupation of poverty and of (voluntary or enforced) chastity; cp. *Anth. Pal.* 6, 284 and 285, the ex-votos of Philainion and Nikarete, two young persons who have deserted Athena for Aphrodite. Frequent also in the comedy, Terence, *And.* 74; cp. 1, 3, 83–92 n.

This passage which is a genre picture in the poet's characteristic manner (cp. 1, 2, 89–96; 1, 3, 83 f. etc.) and quite in harmony with the tradition of the idyllic-erotic type, is one of the many variations on 'The Courtesan's Old Age,' an unpleasant theme in which antiquity and, long afterwards, the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (cp. *e.g.* du Bellay's *Vieille Courtisane*) seem to have taken a special delight. Cp. *e.g.* Propertius, 3, 25, whose direct attack upon Cynthia is as characteristic of him as is the indirect parable to Delia of Tibullus. Especially bitter is the attack on Lais by the comic poet Epikrates (Athen. 570 B. = *Frag. Com. Graec. Adesp.* 2, 282 K.). It was also a conventional theme of lyric and of epigram, cp. Hor. *Od.* 1, 25; 4, 13; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 21; 271; 273; 298; etc. The point of view is always that of the *iuvenes* in 81–82. Bertin, *Amours*, 2, 7 is founded on this passage and 1, 8, 57–60.

77. **fida nulli**: adjectives with the dative occur as follows — *facilis*, 1, 3, 57; *conscius*, 1, 7, 48 (see note); 1, 9, 41 (but with gen. 1, 8, 3); *deditus*, 1, 1, 26; *difficilis*, 1, 8, 27; *mitis*, 1, 4, 53; *notus*, 1, 8, 57; *obvius*, 1, 3, 92; *aptus*, 4, 8, 3; *gratus*, 4, 6, 19; *sacer*, 2, 5, 30; *sanctus*, 1, 7, 18; *proximus*, 4, 2, 20; *propinquus*, 4, 8, 6 (see note). — **senecta**: states the fact, *tremula* gives the picture.

79. **conductis**: again adds the detail picturing *inops* in 78, cp. *tremula* and *senecta* above.

80. **tracta** are the flocks of wool drawn out for spinning and *putat* is of course to be taken in its rare literal sense.

82. **senem**: also used as an adjective in 1, 2, 90; 1, 7, 56; 1, 10, 44, but this seems to be the only ex. of *senex* as an adj. in the feminine.

83–84. For the naïve picture of a god looking down upon men, cp. among many other exx. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 2, 39; Verg. *G.* 1, 95; Sil. Ital. 1, 50; etc. The tradition familiar to the tragedy and later art was inherited by the mediaeval Church, and is suggested to us in the old woodcuts for fables.

85. **haec aliis**, etc.: 1, 2, 11; 1, 3, 82; 4, 5, 15–16 and note. On this close see Introd. p. 48, and cp. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Maid's Tragedy*, 3, 1 —

I do hope we shall draw out
A long contented life together here,
And die both, full of grey hairs, in one day.

For a variant see Martial, 4, 13, 9 —

> diligat illa senem quondam, sed et ipsa marito
> tum quoque, cum fuerit, non videatur anus,

and Auson. *Epig.* 18, 2 —

> nec ferat ulla dies, ut commutemur in aevo,
> quin tibi sim iuvenis tuque puella mihi.

1, 7

Messalla had been sent into Gaul to quell a serious outbreak among the Aquitanians, returned successful, and was given a triumph Sept. 25, 27 B.C. Soon after that date occurred the birthday for which this poem was written. Introd. p. 35.

In a letter to the brothers Parny, written while taking a winter tour through a part of the country referred to by Tibullus, Bertin says —

> Je sais bien qu'autrefois Tibulle,
> Entre les deux monts que voilà,
> Comme moi, devers Nante alla;
> Mais ce fut sous la canicule:
> Il suivoit son cher Messalla.
> La route alors étoit plus belle,
> Car le préteur pouvoit venir;
> Et l'intendant de la Rochelle
> Avoit soin de l'entretenir.
> Tibulle étoit couvert de gloire;
> Il avoit dompté, tour à tour,
> Le Var, la Garonne et l'Adour:
> Il couroit soumettre la Loire,
> Et l'appareil de la victoire
> Trompoit les chagrins de l'amour.
> Du souvenir de l'Italie
> On cherchoit à le consoler:
> Il eut partout la comédie;
> Et s'il lui manquoit sa Délie,
> Il pouvoit du moins en parler.

Then, relapsing into prose — 'How everything,' he says, 'must have changed since the expedition of Tibullus and Messalla into Aquitaine and along the Bay of Biscay! How many monuments destroyed, how many generations laid to rest! Perhaps nothing survives from that time except the horses now being harnessed to my carriage, and the postilion who is to drive them; for judging by their extreme thinness and their apparently dying condition they may very

well be the same that about two thousand years ago were furnished to our agreeable and distinguished travellers. I asked my guide whether this was not actually the fact, at the same time giving him as good a description as I could of the two Romans; and his denial of the imputation was so weak that my guess has now become almost a certainty.'

'This day was to rout the hordes of Aquitania, so sang the fatal Spinners whose threads no god can unwind. Their words have come true and Rome has seen the glorious triumph of Messalla. All Aquitania bears witness to his fame, Cydnus, too, and Taurus, Palestine, Tyre, the mighty river with the summer floods. Where dost thou hide thy head, Father Nile? Thanks to thee, thy land makes no prayers to the great god of rain. Of thee thy strange people sing, and of Osiris, who first tilled the field and planted the orchard, who discovered the vine and first expressed the juice of the grape that drives all care away. Sorrow and trouble have nought to do with thee, Osiris, but always dance and song and lightsome love, flowers and music and festal attire. Come then and join with us in doing honour to the birthday of Messalla. May his children add lustre to his fame and be with him in his old age. Nor shall his road, the enduring monument of an honest contractor, be forgotten by Tusculum and Alba. The farmer who comes home in the dark without stumbling shall call down blessings upon your head. May every birthday be happier than the last!'

1–2. The web of every man's life is woven by Destiny at the hour of his birth. This idea appears as early as Homer (cp. *Odyss.* 7, 196; Seneca, *Oed.* 980; etc.) and is still firmly fixed in the consciousness of the Mediterranean races. The Parcae (regularly identified with the Moirai) frequently perform this function in the Roman poets and are therefore represented in art with the *volumen* and the spindle. The accompaniment of prophetic song appears first in the tale of Meleager (Ovid, *Met.* 8, 452; Apollod. 1, 8, 2; Pausan. 10, 31, 4), also at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis (Catullus, 64, 323, from a Greek source), etc. Cp. 4, 5, 3; Verg. *E.* 4, 47; Ovid, *Trist.* 5, 3, 25, etc.

2. **dissolüenda**: so 40 below, the only other case in Tibullus. Diaeresis with *solvo* and its compounds is not uncommon in the poets, though never in Propertius and not quoted for Ovid.

3. **hunc**: sc. *diem.* For the figure cp. *e.g.* Propert. 1, 13, 25, 'una dies omnis potuit praecurrere amores,' etc., *i.e.* the day does the deeds of him that was born upon it. — **Aquitanas gentes**: the Aquitania of Caesar lay between the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the Bay of Biscay. It therefore corresponded generally to the Gascony and the Béarn of old France. — **fundere gentes**: one of the numerous metaphors from verbs of pouring of which the language is notably fond, cp. Ovid, *Fast.* 5, 578; *Met.* 6, 425; and often.

4. **quem tremeret**: 1, 2, 55 n.—**Atax**: the modern Aude. It rises in the Pyrenees and enters the Mediterranean just above Narbo Martius, the modern Narbonne. Rivers seem to have appealed to the Roman poets more than did any other detail of natural landscape. The epithets they give them usually betray genuine observation and they often describe them (cp. the *Mosella* of Ausonius) *con amore*. The national point of view is often shown for instance as here by the widespread practice of personifying a country or a district, not by its geographical or ethnographical name, but by the living, moving feature in its landscape, *i.e.* by the principal river within its borders, cp. lines 11, 12, 13, and 22, below, etc. So among the numerous allegorical 'floats' by which the gorgeous spectacle of a Roman triumph was habitually adorned a prominent place was always given to the rivers which had belonged to the conquered races, Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 219; *Trist.* 4, 2, 37; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 41; etc. See 2, 5, 116, n.

5–8. The triumph was not merely a military pageant. It was an act of worship, the fulfilment of the vows which the triumphator had made to the Capitoline Jove before starting upon his campaign. Indeed from that time until his return to the Capitol he was actually the representative of the Capitoline Jove. The procession was formed outside the city as a rule and entered by the Porta Triumphalis on the borders of the Campus Martius. Here it was met by the senate and citizens and proceeded to the Capitol, which was the goal of the ceremony. The procession was headed by the senate and officials of the state, then came the musicians and after them a long line—as long as possible—of spoils taken from the enemy, allegorical floats, distinguished captives in chains, etc. (Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 213 f.), then the soldiers roaring out ribald songs upon their general to protect him from the evil eye in this hour of his dangerously good fortune, and finally the triumphator himself with all the insignia of his divine prototype on the Capitol, in a chariot of gold and ivory drawn by four white horses (l. 8 below; Propert. 1, 16, 3; 4, 1, 32; Livy, 5, 28; Sueton. *Aug.* 94, 6; etc., cp. also Gildersleeve, on Pindar, *Pyth.* 1, 66) representing the *quadriga Iovis*. His face was stained red (1, 1, 17 n.), the ivory sceptre surmounted by an eagle was in his hand, and he wore the triumphator's toga of purple and gold. Upon reaching the Capitol he dismounted and walked up, or, if he was feeling sufficiently superstitious, crept up, the steps to the shrine where he offered to the god his laurel crown (l. 7; 2, 5, 117; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 12, 1; *Consol. ad Liv.* 334; etc.). Frequently too he offered the fasces, the insignia of his rank, or a palm branch. Then followed a sacrifice and afterward a banquet in the temple, in which the senate and the officials of the state partook with the triumphator.

5. **pubes**: 'the people.' An old-fashioned use for which cp. l. 27 below;

Verg. *A.* 7, 219; Plaut. *Pseud.* 125 (*pube praesenti*); etc. — **triumphos**: the plural is generic, cp. 1, 1, 4 n.

6. **bracchia capta**: for the figure, Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 14, 45; *Met.* 13, 667; *Trist.* 4, 2, 21. Hypallage in Tibullus offers nothing especially difficult or unusual for an Augustan poet, cp. 1, 4, 10 n.

7. **victrices lauros**: *i.e.* a crown of laurel, so Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 12, 1; etc. On the form *lauros*, 2, 5, 63 n.

8. **portabat**: note the graphic effect of the shift to the itemizing imperfect.

9. **non sine me**: Introd. p. 35. For the litotes (the only case in Tib.), Propert. 2, 9, 50; Soph. *O. K.* 723; etc. No especial emphasis is intended. — **Pўrene**: the quantity is exceptional: otherwise *Pӯrene*, like *Pӯrenaeus* (but *Pўrenaeus*, Lucan, 4, 83).

10. **testis**: for the use of this word with rivers, countries, etc. cp. Catull. 64, 357; Cicero, *Pomp.* 30; Hor. *Od.* 4, 4, 38; Eurip. *Herakl.* 219: etc. For omission of the copula, 1, 3, 43 n.

The Santones (cp. mod. Saintes) were near the mouth of the Garonne.

11. **celer**: the swiftness of the Rhone is the most impressive feature of this great stream from the time it leaves Lake Geneva, when it is as clear as crystal, until it enters the Mediterranean, when it has long been a curious shade of opaque white.

The Arar — no schoolboy ever forgets Caesar's description of it — joins the Rhone at Lyons, 'qua Rhodanus raptum velocibus undis | in mare fert Ararim' (Lucan, 1, 433) and the two streams are the most notable feature of the city. It is now called the Saône.

12. **Carnutis . . . lympha**: an appositional phrase descriptive of the Loire. — For **flavi caerula**, 1, 4, 18; 1, 8, 30 and notes, and for **flavi**, 1, 1, 15 n. — **caerula lympha Liger**: cp. *caeruleus* of the Cydnus below. *caerulus* is often best translated by 'blue,' but to speak of the 'blue Loire' is as vague, not to say as misleading, a description of its actual colour as it is to speak of the 'beautiful blue Danube,' although we might appeal to the authority of Tibullus for the one, to the authority of Ovid (*Pont.* 3, 5, 2, 'hinc ubi caeruleis iungitur Hister aquis'; cp. 4, 10, 62) for the other (and to the authority of the picture post cards for both). A perusal, however, of the Thesaurus shows that as a designation of colour this word has a very wide range. It is glossed by *glaucus*, *lividus*, *κυάνεον*, *κύανον*, *ἀέρινον*. Servius on Verg. *A.* 7, 198 defines it as 'viride cum nigro, ut est mare.' It approaches *viridis*, *viridatus*, *albus*, even *niveus*. On the other hand in the broader sense it suggests *niger*, *fuscus*, *obscurus*, *taeter*, *luridus*, and hence the Underworld. The clue to the labyrinth seems to be the fact that true to its derivation from *caelum*, *caerulus* is really the colour of the skies. The sky is generically blue or grey, but no one colour

describes the sky as any one will realize who has watched the Loire of a summer's day shifting and shimmering from moment to moment according to the colour of the medium it reflects. If water is to be *caerula*, 'sky colour,' it must have no colour of its own, *i.e.* it must be clear; and as a matter of fact the Loire under ordinary circumstances, and still more the Cydnus (see below), is almost as clear as a mountain brook in Vermont. This and the associations of *lympha* suggest that *caerula* here and *caeruleus* below connote something like 'clear' or 'sparkling' rather than 'blue.' As a sample of a somewhat different point of view, cp. Martin Opitz, *Schäferie von der Nymphen Hercinie* (1630), 'dann wirst du samt den Flüssen | Der gelben Loir' Angiers und Tours und Blois begrüssen.' (Is this a confused echo of the Tibullian line, *i.e.* did Opitz associate *flavi* with *Liger* instead of *Carnŭtis?*). Our interpretation of *caerula* is supported by the poet Guy de Tours (1562–1611) who lived all his life within sight of the river, cp. his *Souspirs*, 2, 28 —

> Loire qui vas de ton onde vitrée
> Razant les murs de ma ville de Tours, etc.

Again, in his *Paradis d'Amour* he speaks of —

> Toutes les nymphes
> Qui de Loire et du Cher boivent les claires lymfes.

13 f. The poet now passes to Messalla's exploits in the East, cp. Introd. p. 35.

13–14. The surcharge of epithets, all emphasizing the calm stillness of the Cydnus, is not common and has caused much discussion (esp. as regards *placidis aquis*). See, however, 2, 1, 80; Propert. 1 11, 11, 'aut teneat clausam tenui Teuthrantis in unda | alternae facilis cedere lympha manu'; Hor. *Od.* 1, 31, 7, 'non rura quae Liris quieta | mordet aqua taciturnus amnis'; Livy, 29, 25, 9; Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 10, 30, 'caeruleos ventis latices durantibus Hister | congelat et tectis in mare serpit aquis.' Wilson and Hogarth (*Encyclop. Brit., 11th edit.* 2, p. 758) say that 'The Cydnus (Tersous or Tarsus Chai) is formed by the junction of three streams that rise in Mt. Tarsus (Bulgar Dagh), and one of them flows through the narrow gorge known as the Cilician Gates. After passing Tarsus, the river enters a marsh which occupies the site of the ancient harbour. The Cydnus is liable to floods, and its deposits have covered Roman Tarsus to a depth of 20 feet.' Bunbury (*Encyclop. Brit., 10th edit. s.v. Cydnus*) says that it is a 'rapid river.' The epithet describes admirably the upper course of the stream, but it does not apply to the lower portion, which Tibullus and antique writers in general seem to have had in mind. Tarsus stands upon a plain. Small boats can still be used for

a short distance from the mouth of the Cydnus, and we may be sure that Cleopatra's famous barge, which 'like a burnished throne, Burned on the water,' never passed up through Tarsus and by Antony on a rapid river (Shak. *Antony and Cleopatra*, 2, 2, 191 f.; Plutarch, *Anton.* 26, etc.).

13. **Cydne**: for the description generally as well as for the epithet *caeruleus* see Curtius, 3, 4, 8, 'Cydnus non spatio aquarum, sed liquore memorabilis, quippe leni tractu e fontibus labens puro solo excipitur nec torrentes incurrunt qui placide manantis alveum turbent. itaque incorruptus idemque frigidissimus, quippe multa riparum amoenitate inumbratus, ubique fontibus suis similis in mare evadit'; Appian, *Anab.* 2, 4, 7; Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 33, 2; Lukian, *Dom.* 1; etc. The practical Xenophon (*Anab.* 1. 2, 23) says that the river was 200 feet wide at Tarsus. — **tacitis**: for the epithet in this connection cp. Hor. *Od.* 1, 31, 8; Sil. Ital. 4, 350; etc.

14. **caeruleus**: both *caeruleus* and *caerulus* occur as early as Plautus and Ennius and continue throughout the language. Older writers and their imitators generally prefer the shorter form, but the limitations of dactylic verse necessitate the use of *caeruleus* for the oblique cases or wherever the final syllable is long. Later grammarians undertook to distinguish in meaning, but the choice as here is merely a matter of convenience. The same is true of many other adjectives existing in both a longer and a shorter form. — **vada**: *i.e.* 'the bed of the river,' so 2, 5, 34; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 370; *Fast.* 1, 501; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 680; etc. For the plural see 1, 2, 50; 1, 5, 3 and note.

15–16. Bulgar Dagh, the part of the Taurus range to which the poet refers, is about 11,000 feet in height. Strabo says, however (520), that it was capable of cultivation to the summit, which, even if not literally true, is enough to justify Tibullus's use of *alat* here.

15. The only instance of hyperbole quoted from Tibullus.

16. **alat**: for *alere* thus used of mountains cp. Livy, 5, 40, 5; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 19, 5. — **Cilicas**: so always, see 1, 2, 52 n.

17–18. The white doves of Syria, which were sacred (hence *intacta*) to Astarte, are often mentioned by the classical authors, *e.g.* Catull. 29, 8; Ovid, *Met.* 2, 536; 4, 44; Mart. 8, 28, 13; esp. Diod. 2, 4, 6, and Lukian, *De Dea Syr.* 14 and 54. Doves were also sacred to her Greek parallel Aphrodite, cp. Alexis, 214 K., etc.

The heaping of adjectives here (*intacta . . . alba . . . sancta*) which Latin habitually avoids is only apparent. *intacta* goes with *volitet* and *sancta* stands for a clause with *Palaestino Syro.*

17. **ut volitet**: for indirect questions with *ut* = 'how,' cp. 19; 1, 8, 57 and 58; 2, 1, 15; 2, 1, 25 (see note); 2, 5, 72. Note the artistic variety of indirect questions in this passage (13–24), 'quantus . . . ut . . . ut . . . qualis . . .

quanam . . . quibus.' An indirect disjunctive question is found only in 4, 5, 20. For the indic. in indirect quest. see 2, 4, 17 n.—**crebras urbes**: *i.e.* 'populous,' 'picturing the crowded streets characteristic of an Oriental city' (Schulze). In other words *crebras urbes* is not, as it were, 'frequent cities,' but 'cities frequented,' sc. 'with inhabitants.' As a rule *creber* in this sense is accompanied by a determining word. For the absolute use, however, the Thesaurus *s.v.* cites Cic. *Quint. Frat.* 2, 11, 4, (speaking of Philistus) 'creber, acutus, brevis'; Quintil. 2, 5, 8, 'quam subtilis et crebra argumentatio'; Pliny, *Epist.* 1, 20, 22, 'orationem similem nivibus hibernis, id est crebram et assiduam et largam.' It will be observed, however, that in these exx. *creber* is not literal and that it is used only to designate a quality of style.

18. **Syro**: as used by the classical writers Syria is a general term. When, therefore, it was necessary to be specific, an adjective had to be added, as here *Palaestinus*, so, *e.g.* Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 416; Pliny, 5, 66; 12, 80, etc.

19. The island of Tyre, like the island of Manhattan, was quite too small for the enormous business carried on there together with the people who chose to inhabit it. It was therefore famous for its high buildings, warehouses, palaces, etc., *e.g.* Strabo, 16, 757, *ἐνταῦθα δέ φασι πολυστέγους τὰς οἰκίας ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ μᾶλλον.* Tibullus's line seems to apply with peculiar fitness to the city that 'rose tier upon tier from the blue waters of the Midland Sea.' For the wealth and power of the old city, cp. *Ezekiel*, 27 and 28.—**maris aequor**: *aequor* or *aequora* of the sea is always poetic from Ennius down, though occasional in prose after Seneca the Elder. *ponti* or *maris aequor* appears first with Lucretius (2, 781; Verg. *A.* 1, 511; etc.). *maris aequor* as a technical term = 'the level of the sea' is found in Colum. 8, 17, 3 and 4. Cases with a long final syllable are naturally excluded from dactylic verse. The ablat. plural (once in Cicero) is used first by Tibullus among the poets, 2, 5, 80, then Propert. 1, 8, 20; 1, 14, 12; Hor. *Od.* 4, 4, 54; 8, 32, and occasionally later. The dat. plur. is extremely rare. Tennyson (*Morte d'Arthur*) says 'shining levels of the lake,' after *aequora ponti* as in Verg. *G.* 1, 469; Lucret. 1, 8, etc. (Mustard).—**prospectet turribus**: 'prospicere de caelo,' in 2, 5, 58. The use of a preposition in this cons. is largely a matter of choice.—**turribus**: for *turres* of high buildings or palaces, cp. Propert. 3, 21, 15; Verg. *A.* 2, 460; Hor. *Od.* 1, 4, 14; *Epod.* 17, 70; etc., the occasional use of 'Towers' in the names of country places in England, etc.

20. Reflects the fame of the old Phoenician navigators and is repeated *e.g.* by Lucan, 3, 217; Pliny, 5, 67; Curtius, 4, 4, 19; Dionys. *Perieg.* 907 (cp. Priscian, *Perieg.* 848).—**credere docta**: the infinitive with adjectives or participles is a Greek construction found in all the Augustan poets, esp.

Horace. Lucret. 5, 123, *indigna videri*, is the first ex. acc. to Schmalz. The first adjectives so used were naturally verbal in their signif., as *doctus*, *scitus*, *nescius*, etc. The cons. begins in prose with Val. Max. but is always very rare. The remaining exx. in Tibullus are *doctus*, l. 28; 1, 9, 37; *dignus*, 2, 6, 43; 4, 6, 10 (see note), but 3 times (35, 63, and 97) in the *Pan. Messallae* alone; *nescius*, 1, 8, 72. Propertius uses *doctus* thus only in 2, 3, 20 and 4, 5, 5.

For 'credere ratem ventis,' cp. *e.g.* *Anth. Lat.* 268 R., 'crede ratem ventis, animum ne crede puellis,' 'I'll trust my ship to a storm, my substance to a broken citizen, before I'll credit any of you' (Shackerley Marmion, *The Antiquary*).

21. For this expressive way of describing the heat and dryness of Italian midsummer, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 16, 3; *Met.* 3, 152; Verg. *G.*, 2, 353; *A.* 3, 141; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 5, 39, etc.

22. **fertilis** is active, cp. 1, 1, 8, n. — **Nilus**: the Nile begins to rise about the middle of June and continues to overflow until the beginning of October. As every one knows, Egypt, being an absolutely rainless country (cp. 25–26), would be a mere desert without it.

23–24. The mystery of the source, which involved the mystery of the flood — finally discovered in our own time by David Livingstone — was discussed again and again in antiquity. Herod. 2, 19 is the most famous and the best worth reading. Roman interest in the matter rested largely on the prolonged discussions of the Alexandrian Greeks, cp. the long-winded episode of Lucan, 10, 193–331; Seneca, *N. Q.* 4, 1; 6, 8; etc.; Pliny, 5, 51; Claudian, *Nilus*; Thomson's *Seasons*, 'Summer,' 773, etc. For the antique discussion, see esp. H. Diels, *Abhand. d. Berlin. Akademie*, 1885, pp. 1–54. It is quite possible that Kallimachos dealt with the theme in his epyllion, the *Io*, and if so that it may have reappeared in the *Io* of Calvus, see note on 28 below.

25. **te propter**: *propter* is confined to this phrase in Tibullus, cp. 1, 6, 57 and 65; 2, 6, 35. Propertius, 4, 7, 25, *me propter*, otherwise regularly, 2, 8, 35; 9, 25; 3, 19, 19.

26. This line is quoted by Seneca, *N. Q.* 4, 2, 2 and attributed to Ovid, the only passage of Tibullus quoted by any antique author except the grammarians, see Introd. pp. 59–60. — **pluvio Iovi**: the epithet is rare. The only remaining exx. of it in the entire literature (none occur in the inscriptions) are Stat. *Theb.* 4, 757, 'nil humile est; tu nunc ventis pluvioque rogaris | pro Iove'; *Anth. Lat.* 395, 46 R., 'annua sulcatae coniecti semina terrae | pascit hiems: Pluvio de Iove cuncta madent' (this *carmen de mensibus* was originally copied from a stone *kalendarium* probably of the fourth century. Each month is accompanied by a tetrastich. The two lines just quoted belong to the month of

December). Both here and certainly in Stat. *l.c.* it is fair to presume that the epithet is a genuine echo of Tibullus. And the same is certainly true of a passage from the Humanists just given me by Professor Mustard. In an epigram on the Aqua Paula at Rome Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542) says —

> nullus ubi e caelo progignit Iuppiter imbres,
> effusis agros Nilus inundat aquis.
> nullus ubi Nilus stagnanti exuberat amne,
> demittunt pluvium nubila densa Iovem.
> neutrum Roma petit, munus namque implet utrumque
> nomine quae lympha est, Paule, superba tuo.

These five examples of the phrase are the only ones I am able to quote from Latin either ancient or modern. One would naturally expect to find a long tradition for the phrase 'Jupiter Pluvius' in our own language in view of the fact that, certainly in this country if not in England, it is a Latin tag so familiar that newspaper men often use it to adorn their account of the latest rainstorm. But this does not appear to have been the case. Sir Richard Burton's 'Pluvian Jove' (see Murray's New English Dict. s.v. 'Pluvian') is an undoubted echo of it. But this was as late as 1851, and the use of the Latin phrase itself by an English writer is not cited for any one before George Augustus Sala in 1862. As Sala was a newspaper man, this might account for the frequency of the expression in the English newspapers to-day; but it is as little likely that he is responsible for the widespread familiarity with the phrase as that he himself derived it from any of the classical examples cited. In Germany, however, the situation is far clearer. There too 'Jupiter Pluvius' is a household word, but there the use of it undoubtedly goes back, as Büchmann has observed in his *Geflügelte Worte*, to Goethe. Goethe, a deep student of the Roman elegy, uses the expression twice, first, in the *Wanderers Sturmlied* (1772) and long afterward in Epigram 22 (1790). It seems likely, therefore, that it was really Goethe who has transmitted to us the only Tibullian phrase to be found in the ordinary speech of modern times.

Iuppiter Pluvius is probably a translation of Ζεὺς Ὑέτιος (first in Aristot. *De Mundo*, 7). As Morgan observes, the designation of Jupiter here is literal. Other epithets of Jupiter in this function are *e.g. Imbricitor* (Ennius, *Ann.* 444, V.; Apuleius, *De Mundo*, 37; Macrob. 1, 17, 49; etc.); *Pluvia(lis)* (*CIL.* 9, 234), etc. On Jupiter in this rôle see M. H. Morgan, 'Rain Gods and Rain Charms,' *Proceed. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXII, 83–109.

For the statement that the Nile takes the place of rain in Egypt see *e.g.* Apoll. Rhod. 4, 269; Cicero, *N. D.* 2, 130; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 647; Lucan, 8, 444; Val. Flacc. 5, 423; etc.

27. **pubes**: 1, 7, 5 n. — **Osirim**: Osiris (Egyptian *Usiri*) was the brother and husband of Isis. The conflict between him and Set is the eternal conflict between light and darkness, physical good and physical evil. Osiris is vanquished, cut in pieces, and thrown in the water. But he is reassembled, and finally revives under the care of his sisters Isis and Nephthys, the wife of Set. His son Horus avenges him and with the aid of Thoth vanquishes Set, but does not destroy him. As the friend of mankind, he was the father of civilization, of agriculture, of the vine, etc. (see below). But as the Greeks themselves saw, the kinship with Demeter and Dionysos goes far deeper than that, and they identified them at once. The worship of Osiris was more or less inseparable from that of Isis, and therefore spread enormously in later times. Moreover Osiris shares with Isis the tendency to absorb and represent other divinities.

28. The line, as Ernesti noted, is an echo of Kallimachos, *frag.* 176, Schn. *εἰδυῖαν φάλιον ταῦρον ἰηλεμίσαι.* As such (without including such turns as 'subducere lectum' in 4, 13, 1, where see n.) it is practically the only known echo in Tibullus of a definite passage. If the Hellenistic poets could be restored to us, we should doubtless be able to trace more, esp. in this elegy; see Introd. p. 69. If this frag. of Kallimachos is from his *Io*, the juxtaposition here of 23–24 suggests the possibility that he discussed the same question in that poem.

The bull Apis (*H'api* is also the Egyptian name of the Nile as a divinity) is a sun god. Psammetichos I (663–610 B.C.) built a magnificent temple for him at Memphis (Herod. 2, 153, etc.) with spacious pleasure grounds, etc. (Ail. *H. A.* 11, 10, etc.). Apis was the reincarnation, the living emblem of Osiris upon earth, and at his death became Sarapis, *i.e.* the dead Apis, who has now become Osiris. The great extension of the worship of Sarapis dates from the first Ptolemy, but rested on previous ideas. When an Apis died he was buried with great pomp (Diod. 1, 84), and the whole country mourned for him (*plangere bovem*, etc.). The priests, in particular, wandered about shrieking and exhibiting every conventional sign of grief, while they sought a new Apis which could be certainly identified by a number of well-defined markings (specified by Herod. 3, 28; Strabo, 17, p. 807; Pliny, 8, 184; Ail. *H. A.* 11, 10; etc.). During the *theophania*, the festival of five days which followed his discovery, the new incarnation of Osiris was installed in his temple, and then worshipped during his lifetime. For an account of the ceremonies attending his installation, see *e.g.* Herod. 3, 27; Diod. 1, 85; Ail. 11, 10; Ammian. Marcell. 22, 14; etc. The Schol. on Juv. 8, 29 says that 'populus Aegypti, invento Osiri dicit: *εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν.*' Hence the point of Seneca's words (*Apocol.* 13) describing how, when Claudius makes his appearance in

Hades, the ghosts of all the friends whom he had murdered 'cum plausu procedunt cantantes: *εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν*.' See also 1, 3, 23–24 n.

29–48. The dawn of civilization and the development of the arts is a favourite digression with the Roman poets. Tib., as usual, repeats himself elsewhere, cp. 2, 1, 37 ff. This account of Osiris, given by Tib., shows a certain kinship with Diod. 1, 14 f.

29–30. In pure Greek tradition the invention of the plough was ascribed to Demeter or Triptolemos. For Osiris as here, cp. Diod. 1, 29; Servius on Verg. *G.* 1, 147; etc.

29. aratra: the plural is genuine. — **manu sollerti**: 1, 1, 8 n.

30. teneram humum: a good description of the fresh alluvial soil of Egypt. See Cicero, *N.D.* 2, 130, 'Aegyptum Nilus inrigat et cum tota aestate obrutam oppletamque tenuit, tum recedit mollitosque et oblimatos agros ad serendum relinquit'; Verg. *G.* 2, 292; Ovid, *Fast.* 3, 357, etc. — **sollicitavit**: *i.e.* 'stirred.' The old-fashioned, literal use of poetry and post-Augustan prose. For its use in this connection, Verg. *G.* 2, 418, 'sollicitanda tamen tellus pulvisque movendus'; Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 396, 'quas tellus nullo sollicitante dabat,' etc.

31. inexpertae: passive, cp. Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 8, 2, 'nunc ego Triptolemi cuperem consistere curru, | misit in ignotam qui rude semen humum'; Val. Flacc. 1, 69, 'ignaras Cereris qui vomere terras | imbuit et flava quercum damnavit arista.' — **commisit**: *i.e.* the seed is a *depositum* for which the soil is now responsible. This idea of the relation between the farmer and his land is widespread in Latin, and is expressed in many different ways; cp. 2, 3, 62; Verg. *G.* 1, 223; 2, 460; Cic. *Sen.* 51; etc.

32. non notis: *i e.* hitherto not known.

33–34. Vine culture is described by two of its most important details, *adligatio* and *amputatio*, training and pruning. The training of vines on stakes or props was the ancient practice in Lower Italy (cp. *Οἰνωτρία*, the ancient name for that country) and is now the rule *e.g.* in southern France and elsewhere. More common among the Romans, and this may still be observed *e.g.* in Umbria, was the use of elms or poplars for this purpose. References literal and metaphorical to this method are constantly recurring, Catull. 62, 49; Verg. *G.* 1, 2; etc. On pruning the vine see *e.g.* Verg. *G.* 2, 362, and on pruning in general as marking a stage (*i.e.* the cultivation of fruits, etc.) in the development of civilization, cp. Lucretius, 5, 935. For Osiris as discoverer of the vine see Diod. 1, 15, 8.

34. viridem: the juxtaposition with *dura* here suggests that the adjective carries with it the idea of tender as well as green, cp. *teneram ferro*, l. 30 and 1, 8, 30 n. — **comam**: a familiar figure in Latin but not tolerable in English.

The nearest approach to it is illustrated by such passages as Milton, *P. L.* 4, 135, 'The champaign head | Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides | With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild, | Access denied.' In the way of taste however all things are possible. 'I remember when I was a boy,' says Dryden in his dedication to *The Spanish Friar*, 'I thought inimitable Spenser a mean poet in comparison of Sylvester's Du Bartas, and was rapt into an ecstasy when I read these lines —

"Now, when the winter's keener breath began
To crystallize the Baltic ocean;
To glaze the lakes, to bridle up the floods,
And periwig with snow the bald-pate woods."'

All which will serve to illustrate the rule that English trees may have heads and even crowns and English mountains may be bald, but they never have hair, and therefore wigs even in the seventeenth century should be taboo. See 2, 1, 48 n.; 1, 4, 30.

35–36. 1, 5, 23–24 n.

36. **incultis pedibus**: the emphasis on previous ignorance and inexperience throughout this passage ('inexpertae . . . non notis . . . nescia') suggests that *incultis* here means 'rude,' 'untrained' (and so among others, Dissen and Haupt). On the other hand, *incultis* = *sordidis*, *i.e.* stained and sticky with the juice of the grapes they are treading (not to mention contributory matter from other sources) is a detail often noticed by the poets and certainly warranted by the facts. Cp. Tibullus, 2, 5, 85 (whose tendency to repeat himself often has been mentioned above); Propert. 3, 17, 18, 'et nova pressantis inquinet uva pedes'; Ovid, *Met.* 2, 29, 'stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis,' etc. (so Schulze after Cyllenius, Gebhard, etc.) I cannot find however that *incultus* is used elsewhere in this sense of *sordidus* and should therefore prefer the meaning of 'rude,' 'untrained,' as demanded not only by the usual meaning of the word but by the surroundings of it in this particular passage.

37–42. Developed again in 2, 1, 51 from a slightly different point of view. In the plain prose of the philosophers and literary critics the origin of music and the dance is to be found in the harvest and vintage festivals of the country folk. The poets never weary of this theme. It might be observed too that just about this time the Romans were especially interested in it. Varro had discussed the matter not long before, Livy was soon to work it up for his history (7, 2), and Tibullus's friend Horace for his *Epistles* (2, 1, 139, etc.).

It goes without saying that the equation Osiris = Bacchos, established before the time of Herodotos (2, 42) and thoroughly elaborated by the Alexandrian thinkers, was now an article of faith (Diodoros, 1, 16).

37. **inflectere**: words of bending, turning, etc., are regularly applied to music, cp. our expression 'he can't turn a tune.'

38. **ad modos**: so 1, 4, 70, cp. 2, 3, 79. For the phrase *ad modos*, see Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 692; Ammian. Marcell. 29, 1, 31, and often. Schulze cites Hor. *Od.* 3, 30, 14; *Epod.* 14, 12; *Epist.* 1, 2, 31 and compares *πρὸς ῥυθμόν*.

39-42. Wine (*Bacchus*, 39 and 41) drives dull care away (1, 2, 1–6 n.) and even to the bond slave brings respite. The idea is far from new and as a recipe for happiness has always been popular. Especially good are Pindar, *frag.* 221 Schr., *ἀελλοπόδων | μέν τιν' εὐφραίνοισιν ἵππων | τιμαί τε καὶ στέφανοι, τοὺς δ' | ἐν πολυχρύσοις θαλάμοις βιοτά· | τέρπεται δὲ καί τις ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἅλιον | ναΐ θοᾷ σῶς διαστείβων*, and Bacchylides, *frag.* 18 Crus., *γλυκεῖ' ἀνάγκα | σευομένα κυλίκων θάλπησι θυμόν· |* Κύπριδος *δ' ἐλπὶς διαθύσσει φρένας | ἀμμιγνυμένα Διονυσίοισι δώροις. | ἀνδράσι δ' ὑψοτάτω πέμπει μερίμνας. | αὐτίχ' ὁ μὲν πόλεων κρήδεμνα λύει, | πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις μουναρχήσειν δοκεῖ· | χρυσῷ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἶκοι, | πυροφόροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλάεντα πόντον | νᾶες ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον | πλοῦτον· ὣς πίνοντος ὁρμαίνει κέαρ.* 1, 10, 51 pictures the result of a too enthusiastic attack upon dull care at one of these country festivals.

39–40. Cp. Seneca, *Dial.* 9, 17, 8.

40. **tristitiae**: genitive of separation after *dissolüenda*. This genitive with verbs of separating, depriving, etc. after the analogy of Greek (not elsewhere in Tib.) is occasional in the poets, Plaut. *Rudens*, 247; Hor. *Od.* 2, 9, 17; 3, 17, 16; 3, 27, 70; Verg. *A.* 10, 441; Cicero, *Leg.* 2, 51; Sil. Ital. 10, 84. The construction is not found in Propertius or Ovid. — **dissolüenda**: 1, 7, 2; 1, 6, 37; 1, 2, 70, and notes. — **dedit**: 1, 4, 16 n.

41–42. The Slaves' Song in William Cartwright's *Royal Slave*, 1, 1, ends with —

> Then drink we a round in despite of our foes,
> And make our hard irons cry clink in the close!

42. **compede**: this word is usually plural, so always *e.g.* in Plautus. The singular is poetic, so 2, 6, 25 (another version of this distich); Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 1, 5; *Pont.* 1, 6, 31. Two exx. of the plural are quoted from Ovid (*Amor.* 2, 2, 47; *Her.* 20, 85). The sing. is a favourite with Horace (*Od.* 1, 33, 14; 4, 11, 24; *Epod.* 4, 4; *Epist.* 1, 3, 3) who uses the plural only in *Epist.* 1, 16, 77. The word is not used by Vergil or Propertius.

43–52. The Tibullian norm involves a very large use of copulative particles, of anaphora and of similar devices which make for parataxis rather than hypotaxis (Introd. p. 101). This passage is an excellent ex. of his skill from this point of view. — *non . . . nec*: *sed* [*et . . . et*] . . . *sed* [*et*] . . . *sed* [*et*

. . . *et* . . . *et*]. *huc* . . . *et* [*que*] *et* . . . *et* . . . *et* [*et*]. Here we have not only shifting connectives, but also anaphora ('sed . . . sed . . . sed: centum . . . Geniumque'). [Connectives in square brackets belong merely to the phrase introduced by the preceding particle.] Tibullus often indicates this subordinate relation in such a passage by a change of particles, *e.g.* from *que* to *et*, *et* to *que*, etc.

43–44. Cp. Diodoros, 1, 18, *εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Ὄσιριν φιλογέλωτά τε καὶ χαίροντα μουσικῇ καὶ χοροῖς. . . . οὐ γὰρ πολεμικὸν εἶναι τὸν Ὄσιριν, οὐδὲ παρατάξεις συνίστασθαι καὶ κινδύνους*, etc.

44–45. Anaphora of *sed* is very uncommon (Vollmer, Stat. *Silv.* 2, 6, 9 n.), cp. 1, 8, 25; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 595; 5, 17; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 10. On *sed* as in 2, 5, 7, see n. *ad loc.*

44. **levis amor**: 1, 1, 73 n; 2, 5, 96 n.; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 1, 41; Propert. 2, 12, 4; cp. *κοῦφος Ἔρως*, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 443 etc. — **aptus** is predicative.

45–48. The lines suggest the progresses of Bacchos, the Dionysiac festival, etc., so often mentioned in the poets, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 3, 554; Hor. *Od.* 2, 19, 17; Eurip. *Bacchai*; Diodoros, 1, 17, etc.

45. **corymbis**: the ivy was sacred to Bacchos. Hence his epithet of *corymbifer* in Ovid, *Fast.* 1, 393, etc. Ovid, *Fast.* 3, 767 gives the reason.

46. **lutea**: yellow (*luteus, croceus*) is associated with Bacchos. It was the colour worn by the temple girls; in fact in Greece, as in all the Orient, yellow is worn by all dedicated to the god; so the Eunuchs of the *Dea Syria* (Apul. *Met.* 8, 27, etc.), and to this day the Buddhist monks. The wearing of yellow by the hetairai (*e.g.* in the comedy) would seem to have been an inheritance from the *hierodulai*, but the right of Attic women in general to wear the colour was acquired at an early date. Hence yellow, in later times at least, may be called the festal colour, cp. Catull. 61, 10; 68, 134; Ovid, *Met.* 10, 1; Seneca, *Oed.* 421; Pliny, 21, 46, etc. The conventional significance of colours forms a long and curious chapter in the history of human thought. — **palla**: the *palla* (cp. 4, 2, 11 and n.), sometimes worn by Apollo and Hermes (Ovid, *Met.* 3, 556, etc.), was regularly worn by Bacchos, Aristoph. *Ran.* 46; Propert. 3, 17, 32; Stat. *Achill.* 1, 262; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 475; *Oed.* 425; etc.

47. **Tyriae vestes** are of course festal, cp. 4, 2, 11 and n.; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 556; etc. — **tibia**: the *tibia* is regularly associated with Bacchos and festival occasions, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 3, 533; 4, 392; Verg. *A.* 11, 737; Val. Flacc. 6, 142; Hor. *Od.* 4, 15, 30; etc. — **cantu**: for the ablat. with *dulcis*, cp. 54 below.

48. **conscia**: 'privy to,' 'a confidante of.' The *cista* contains the *sacra* unknown to the public, and is therefore privy to them. For this use of

conscius, see 1, 8, 3; Propert. 1, 10, 2; Seneca, *Thyest.* 632; Val. Flacc. 1, 5, etc. For *conscius* with the dative *occultis sacris* (cp. 1, 6, 77 n.), cp. Thesaurus *s.v.* The dative with *conscius* of things appears first in this passage (*cista*), or perhaps in Vergil, *A.* 4, 167. The two poets were writing about the same time, and it is beyond doubt that they learned much from each other. The remaining exx. are all from the poets except Ps. Quint. *Dec.* 17, 4 (Seneca, *Med.* 6; *Phaed.* 107; Ovid, *Her.* 15, 138; Stat. *Theb.* 8, 206; 9, 422; Sil. Ital. 3, 399; 5, 23; Avien. *Orb. Terr.* 381; *Carm. Epig.* 110, 5; 1788, 7). The dative with *conscius* of persons begins with Cicero (*Verr.* 4, 124; *Cluent.* 56; *Att.* 12, 19, 4) and afterwards only in Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 354; *Met.* 7, 194; Lucan, 1, 20; Sil. Ital. 3, 393; Lactant. *Phoen.* 58: Mart. Cap. 1, 22 (verse); *Carm. Epig.* 111, 17; Apul. *Apol.* 56. — **cista**: the box in which the sacred objects were carried in the procession. It was of wicker work, hence *levis*. See Catull. 64, 259; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 609; Hor. *Od.* 1, 18, 12; etc.

49–54. The genius (here the genius of Messalla) is the spirit which acc. to antique and especially Roman belief was born with a man and attended him through life, Menand. *frag.* 18 *inc.* Mein., *ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται | εὐθὺς γενομένῳ μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου | ἀγαθός·* Hor. *Epist.* 2, 2, 188; Censorinus, 3, 'genius est deus cuius in tutela ut quisque natus est vivit,' etc. A woman's genius was called her Juno, 4, 6, 1, n.; 3, 6, 48; Pliny, 2, 16; Petron. 25; Seneca, *Epist.* 110, 1; etc.

One's birthday is naturally as here the feast day of the *genius natalis.* Only bloodless sacrifices were made to him because (Varro, in Censor. *l.c.*) life should not be taken on the day that life was given. The nature of the sacrifices offered, the ceremonial, etc., is fully described here, cp. also 2, 2, 1; 21–22; 4, 5, 19; Hor. *Epist.* 2, 1, 144, etc. A man's genius as such is always good, the cause of happiness and of physical and spiritual health. It is his good angel. But it is not infallible, and the genius of one man is often stronger than the genius of another. Throughout life one's genius helps one to whatever is good or pleasant, and also sympathizes with one in trouble, and endeavours to warn one of impending danger, etc., cp. Plutarch, *Brut.* 36 and 48; Val. Max. 1, 7, 7; Ammian. Marcell. 21, 14; etc. The forehead was sacred to him and one touched it in praying to him, Serv. on Verg. *E.* 6, 3; *A.* 3, 607. The idea that every man is attended by two spirits, a good and a bad, comes not from the people but from the philosophers. On the question of birthdays in antiquity see esp. W. Schmidt, *Geburtstag im Altertum*, Giessen, 1908 ('Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten,' vol. 7, part I).

49. huc ades: for the naïve invitation to Osiris, 1, 1, 37–38 n.; 2, 2, 5, etc.

For the displacement of *que*, 1, 1, 40 and 1, 1, 51 n., for *chorēis*, 1, 3, 59 n., and for *centum* of an indefinitely large number, Catull. 64, 389; Verg. *G.* 3, 18; Hor. *Epod.* 17, 39; *Od.* 3, 8, 14; Grat. *Cyneget.* 520; the Greek use of 'hecatomb,' etc.

50. **concelebra**: an old word but in the sense of 'join in doing honour to (a god)' occurs here for the first time (so Thes.). The other exx. quoted are Sil. Ital. 8, 221; Auson. 317, 9; Paulin. Nol. *Carm.* 27, 138; Arnob. 5, 39; Ambros. *Abr.* 1, 5, 38. — **funde**: 1, 2, 3 and 1, 7, 3, with notes.

51. **unguenta**: cp. 2, 2, 7, etc.

52. **collo**: Schulze compares Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 256, 'dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas.' See also Cicero, *Verr.* 5, 27, 'coronam habebat unam in capite, alteram in collo,' etc. The regular Greek word for these garlands worn on the neck, so that one might enjoy the perfume of the flowers, was ὑποθυμίς, cp. Athen. 674 C.; Alkaios, 28 Crus.; Sappho, 43 Crus.; Anak. 38 Crus.

53. **sic venias hodierne**: in classical prose (exx. in Cicero occur only in the letters to Atticus) the optative subjunctive in the second pers. pres. is used only of an imaginary 'you.' The older language, however, uses this construction when a definite person is addressed. It was therefore taken up as here by the poets of the Augustan Age. The remaining exx. in Tib. are 1, 1, 37; 1, 2, 57; 1, 3, 4; 1, 4, 40: 1, 8, 67; 1, 9, 51; 1, 2, 9.

The vocative *hodierne* is used here as a predicate instead of the nominative. 'The Greeks were cautious, and in Vergil the vocative can be detached and felt as such' (Gildersleeve, *Persius*, 1, 123 n.). Propert. 1, 7, 24, 'ardoris nostri magne poeta iaces'; 2, 15, 8; Ovid, *Her.* 10, 6; *Met.* 10, 196; Verg. *A.* 11, 856, 'huc periture veni'; 2, 282; 9, 485; 10, 327; 811; Statius, *Theb.* 7, 777; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 6, 20; *Od.* 1, 2, 37; [Seneca,] *Octav.* 32; etc. No other ex. is found in Tib. Some of the Roman poets overdo it, cp. *e.g.* Pers. 3, 28, 'stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis.' Old Latin *macte virtute esto* has been cited as the analogy, cp. however such exx. as Theokrit. 17, 66, ὄλβιε, κοῦρε, γένοιο, and Soph. *Phil.* 760, ἰὼ ἰὼ δύστηνε σύ, δύστηνε δῆτα διὰ πόνων πάντων φανείς.

The vocative is never used with *o* by Tibullus. Once in Lygd. 3, 6, 57, oftener in the more passionate and rhetorical Propertius, 1, 20, 51; 2, 13, 50; 15, 1; 22, 4; 32, 3; 33, 31; 3, 5, 7; etc.

54. **liba**: 2, 2, 8; Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 13, 17; Auson. 4, 2, 11, 'nec tus cremandum postulo | nec liba crusti mellei'; Servius on Verg. *A.* 7, 109, etc. The regular sacrificial cakes for which Cato, *De Agri Cult.* 75 gives the recipe. — **Mopsopio**: *i.e.* Attic. Mopsopos was one of the mythical kings of Attika. The honey of Hymettos was famous.

This use of *Mopsopius* for Attic (first in Tib.?) is quoted as Kallimachean by Stephan. Byz. 458, 14, cp. Kallimach. *frag.* 351 Schn.

56. **veneranda**: passive, 1, 5, 14 n. Amplifies the idea of 'quae facta parentis augeat,' 'sons worthy of their sire.' A wish often expressed, Hor. *A. P.* 24; Sen. *Agam.* 406; Naevius, *frag. Trag.* 15 R (quoted by Cicero, *Fam.* 15, 6, 1; 5, 12, 7; *Tusc. Disput.* 4, 67); Herod. 1, 30 (the famous story of Solon and Kroisos); etc.

57–58. Introd. p. 35. After the Civil Wars Augustus himself assumed the task of repairing the Via Flaminia as far as Ariminum and apportioned others to the different generals who had been given triumphs, the expense in each case to be defrayed *ex manubiali pecunia*, the money realized from the spoils of the campaign (Sueton. *Aug.* 30; Cassius Dio, 53, 22). Messalla's task here referred to was a portion of the Via Latina which diverging to the left after leaving the Porta Capena passed between Tusculum on the left and the Alban Hills on the right and proceeded southward until it finally joined the Via Appia at Beneventum.

57. **taceat**: agrees with the implied antecedent of *quem*. — **monumenta viae**: for the genitive of specification cp. 2, 5, 33; 2, 6, 3; 1, 8, 47; 1, 10, 3; 1, 4, 10; 1, 6, 86; 2, 4, 29; 4, 6, 5. In 2, 5, 43 *Numicius* is felt to be a god, hence the gen. is possessive. *monumenta* may be used as here of any memorial to one's self (*monere*), especially of public works, Cicero, *Mil.* 17; Varro, *L. L.* 6, 49, etc. — **quem detinet**: 1, 3, 3. — **Tuscula tellus**: Mart. 9, 60, 2 uses 'tellus Tuscula.'

58. **candida Alba**: the grey limestone of the neighbourhood when seen in the bright sunlight quite justifies the epithet. Servius on Verg. *G.* 3, 82, 'candidum, id est, quadam nitenti luce perfusum,' hence the favourite tropic use as in 64 below. For *candidus* thus used of natural objects, Propert. 3, 16, 3, cp. Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 26; *Epod.* 1, 29, etc.

59–60. Vitruvius the engineer, a contemporary of Messalla himself, tells us how a Roman road was made. 'First the earth was levelled and rammed down until it was solid: then came a layer of rough stones for a foundation, with or without cement: above this a second layer of rubble, mixed with lime (*glarea*, 59) and rammed down to a thickness of nine inches: on the top of all was a layer of hard pavement stones (*silex*, 60, a general term for any hard rock, cp. Juv. 6, 350, etc.) usually of basaltic lava, laid carefully on a bed of hard cement' (Ramsay). This method which has made the Roman roads deservedly famous in all succeeding times had already been followed for generations in the time of Augustus, cp. Livy, 41, 27, 5 (174 B.C.).

Then as now the *silices* or paving stones (Ital. *selci*) were very nicely fitted though often of irregular shape.

60. sternitur: *sternere*, to 'lay' a road (hence *strata viarum*, *strata*, Ital. *strada*, our *street*), cp. *e.g.* Livy, 10, 47, 4.

61–62. The farmer in these lines reminds one of those who used to say in the Tolbooth with such unction, 'God bless the Duke of Argyle!'

62. inoffensum: first apparently in Tib. and in this literal sense, 'without stumbling,' extremely rare.

63. per: *per* of time is found only here in Tibullus.

64. candidior: on *candidus* = 'joyous,' 'fortunate,' in this connection cp. 1, 3, 94; Ovid, *Trist.* 5, 5, 14; etc.

1, 8

This elegy belongs in the group concerned with Marathus. See Introd. p. 51. The scene here as in the fourth is very dramatic; in fact, nowhere are the manifold relations between the elegy and the comedy more clearly displayed than in this particular type which with its blending of sentiment and satire, and with its somewhat nearer approach to the language of everyday life reflects the mood of the Hellenistic epigram.

Tibullus finds his boy Marathus and the girl Pholoe together, and having already noted certain whisperings, becks, and smiles, ranges the two before him and comes to the root of the matter at once.

1–26. 'I am no inspired reader of signs and omens, Marathus, but I have had a thorough course in the finishing school of Dame Venus and I cannot be deceived as to the meaning of your symptoms. Don't try to hide it from me — you will find it a relief to give up struggling. All this care and pains which you have been expending on your hair, your nails, your clothes, your tight shoes, and what not, are of no help to you. The girl there can neglect everything of the sort, and win you just the same. Can it be that some one has cast a spell on you? Those old witches can do marvellous things. But why in your case do I talk of spells? Beauty does not require the aid of spells.'

27–66. 'As for you, Pholoe, bear in mind not to coquet with the boy; Venus punishes such conduct. Also don't ask for presents. Get them from your grey-headed lover — it is his duty. A lover that is young and strong and handsome is more to be prized than gold. Jewels and precious stones are cold comfort when a woman is old and lonely and no man makes love to her. 'Tis too late to call back youth and love when hoary eld has settled upon us. Then is when we study to be beautiful; then is when we hide our years with dyes, pull out the white hairs, get ourselves new skins. Enjoy your youth while you still have it. It will be gone anon. And don't torment Marathus. Where is the glory in conquering a mere boy? If you

must be disagreeable, reserve it for the old sinners. Be gentle with him, I beg of you. He is so young. Have you noticed how yellow he is? That's not jaundice, it's love! You ought to hear his complaints in your absence — and the whole place dripping with tears! He says that you spurn him and that he doesn't see why, that you could get away to meet him if you wished, and that he knows all the rules. He complains, however, that you make promises but never keep them, that you agree to meet him but never appear.'

67–68. 'There, my boy, don't cry any more. She doesn't care, and your eyes are all red and swollen.'

69–78. 'I warn you, Pholoe, the gods hate pride; it's no use laying gifts on their altars. There was a time when this Marathus hére pursued your tactics and thought them very amusing. Little did he suspect that the avenger was at his shoulder! Now he feels differently. Profit by his experience. It will be yours unless you mend your ways.'

1–2. On these symptoms of a love affair in progress, cp. Propert. 1, 11, 13, 'quam vacet alterius blandos audire susurros | molliter in tacito litore compositam, | ut solet amota labi custode puella,' etc.; Hor. *Od.* 1, 9, 19, 'lenesque sub noctem susurri,' etc., the *ὀαρισμοί* of the Greeks, *e.g.* Kallimachos, *frag.* 118 Schn. *ἡ παῖς ἡ κατάκλειστος | τὴν οἴ φασι τεκόντες | εὐναίους ὀαρισμοὺς | ἔχθειν ἶσον ὀλέθρῳ*· 'Οαριστύς, the title of Theokrit. 27, etc.

1. celari: has here the rare meaning of 'to have concealed from one,' *i.e.* 'to be kept in ignorance of,' 'to fail to perceive,' Ovid, *Fast.* 3, 491, 'praecipue cupiam celari Thesea'; *Bell. Alex.* 7, 1, 'quod neque celari Alexandrini possent in apparanda fuga.' — **nutus amantis**: 1, 2, 21–22 and 1, 6, 19 with n.

2. ferant: 'convey.'

3–4. An evident echo of these lines is Shirley's *Traitor*, 4, 2, 'I profess no augury, | I have not quartered out the heavens to take | The flight of birds, nor by inspection of entrails made a divination; | But I must tell you, 'tis not safe to marry.'

For the same opposition of prophecy (expressed as here) to plain practical experience, cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 25 (but cp. 2, 493); *Trist.* 1, 9, 49. Typical, too, for this ironical way of saying that one can, so to speak, 'see a hole through a ladder,' is Petron. 126.

On these three regular methods of divination, see 2, 5, 11–16 and notes; Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 9, 49; Propert. 4, 1, 103; Verg. *A.* 3, 359; Lucan, 6, 424; Seneca, *Oed.* 390; Stat. *Theb.* 4, 406; etc.

3. conscia: only here with the gen. in Tib., cp. 1, 7, 48 n. The cons., however, is common enough. The remaining adjs. with the gen. in Tib. are *compos*, 1, 10, 23; *memor*, 1, 3, 2; *providus*, 2, 5, 12; *studiosus*, 4, 8, 5.

4. **praecinit eventus**: 1, 6, 50.

5–6. Tibullus says he has learned by bitter experience to know the signs. This is a favourite turn of Propertius, cp. 1, 9, 7, 'me dolor et lacrimae merito fecere peritum: | atque utinam posito dicar amore rudis'; 3, 8, 17.

As we have seen (1, 5, 5 n., cp. 2. 4, 3; 2, 6, 5 and notes) the lover constantly adopts the attitude of a slave, esp. of a slave undergoing torment at the hands of Cupid, Venus, etc., cp. *e.g.* Propert. 3, 24, 13, 'correptus saevo Veneris torrebar aeno, | vinctus eram versas in mea terga manus' (where the first line contains another favourite figure, that of love as a fire over which the victim is cooked, Propert. 3, 6, 39; *Anth. Pal.* 12, 92, 9; a similar use of 'fry' in the old Eng. poets; etc.). Again the lover is a captive of Cupid and adorns his triumph as in Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 2. Here the slave of love is bound and scourged — the reflection of another common idea that Cupid himself is utterly cruel and heartless, cp. 1, 3, 64; 1, 6, 2; 1, 10, 58 and notes.

5. **magico nodo**: the idea of binding runs all through sorcery, cp. such details of ritual as 1, 3, 31; 1, 5, 15; 2, 1, 15–16 with notes; words like *ligare*, *defixere*, *solvere*, etc. The most natural and striking symbolism of this idea is knots; 'necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores; | necte, Amarylli, modo et "Veneri" dic "vincula necto,"' says the sorceress in Vergil, *E.* 8, 78, a single ex. of the many that might be quoted. The 'true lover's knot' is one of the last survivors. There is no trace, however, of an actual *nodus Veneris* (cp. the *nodus Herculis* used in medicine and represented on the caduceus of Hermes, Pliny, 28, 63; Sen. *Epist.* 87, 38; Macrob. 1, 19, 16; Festus, 63; Cornut. *Theol. Graec.* 16, p. 22, Lang; Athen. 11, 500 A, etc.) although Venus was nevertheless a sorceress (1, 2, 43 n.). The peculiarity of all magic knots is that one cannot untie them without knowing the necessary charm. Hence *magico* here evidently means 'strong,' 'indissoluble,' with a suggestion perhaps of 'wondrous,' 'mysterious,' as in Ovid, *Her.* 4, 136, 'illa coit firma generis iunctura catena | imposuit nodos cui Venus ipsa suos'; Lucret. 4, 1147–1148, 'non ita difficile est quam captum retibus ipsis | exire et validos Veneris perrumpere nodos.' Similar exx. of *magicus* in an extended sense appear to be very uncommon, cp. however Juv. 15, 5, 'dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae,' *i.e.* not far from our common use of magical = 'wonderful,' 'mysterious.'

6. **perdocuit**: note the force of the prep. Venus is fond of wielding the scourge upon her slaves, 3, 4, 66; Hor. *Od.* 3, 26, 11, 'regina (*i.e.* Venus), sublimi flagello | tange Chloen semel arrogantem'; Mart. 6, 21, 9, 'dixit et arcano percussit pectora loro'; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 254, 7; Nonnos, 4, 177; etc.

7–8. Another important article in the lover's creed; cp. *e.g.* Eurip. *Hippol.* 443 (the Nurse to Phaidra) —

Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητός, ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ·
ἣ τὸν μὲν εἴκονθ' ἡσυχῇ μετέρχεται,
ὃν δ' ἂν περισσὸν καὶ φρονοῦνθ' εὕρῃ μέγα,
τοῦτον λαβοῦσα, πῶς δοκεῖς; καθύβρισεν.

A good ex. of the same idea subjected to rhetoric is Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 2, 9 —

cedimus an subitum luctando accendimus ignem?
  cedamus, leve fit quod bene fertur onus:
vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammas
  et vidi nullo concutiente mori;
verbera plura ferunt quam quos iuvat usus aratri,
  detractant prensi dum iuga prima boves;
asper equus duris contunditur ora lupatis,
  frena minus sentit quisquis ad arma facit.
acrius invitos multoque ferocius urget
  quam qui servitium ferre fatentur Amor,

which helps us to appreciate Quintilian's criticism of Ovid as 'nimium amator ingenii sui.'

This excuse is, of course, associated with several motives habitually used by the antique lover (and others) to escape the responsibility of doing as he pleases by shifting it to the gods, *e.g.* Love is sent by the gods; to oppose it is pride; pride goes before a fall (1, 2, 88; 1, 8, 75; etc.); or again, Love is the will of the gods; to oppose their will is impious; the gods punish impiety; hence the unwilling lover suffers the more (as *e.g.* in the passage before us); or, again, Love is sent by the gods; the gods are all-powerful (1, 2, 89; 1, 3, 21; 1, 4, 82; 2, 1, 79; 2, 3, 10); to oppose them is useless (1, 6, 29–30 n.; 1, 5, 1–6 n.), hence, etc.

7. **deus**: 1, 6, 43 n.

9–14. In order to realize fully the art of this description one should compare it with Ovid's advice (*Ars Amat.* 1, 505) to a gentleman under the same circumstances —

sed tibi nec ferro placeat torquere capillos,
  nec tua mordaci pumice crura teras:
ista iube faciant quorum Cybeleia mater
  concinitur Phrygiis exululata modis!
forma viros neclecta decet: Minoida Theseus
  abstulit, a nulla tempora comptus acu;
Hippolytum Phaedra, nec erat bene cultus, amavit;
  cura deae silvis aptus Adonis erat.
munditie placeant: fuscentur corpora Campo,
  sit bene conveniens et sine labe toga;

linguam ne rigeant; careant rubigine dentes!
  nec vagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet,
nec male deformet rigidos tonsura capillos;
  sit coma, sit scita barba resecta manu;
et nihil emineant et sint sine sordibus ungues,
  inque cava nullus stet tibi nare pilus;
nec male odorati sit tristis anhelitus oris,
  nec laedat naris virque paterque gregis!
cetera lascivae faciant concede puellae
  et siquis male vir quaerit habere virum.

See also Theophrastos, *Charact.* 19 (the 'slovenly man') and for women Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 101.

One observes at once that Marathus overdresses — which indicates his position; and that he is too feminine in his tastes — which indicates the *puer delicatus*. All which of course helps to mark this affair, as the poet intended it to do, as a tragedy of high life below stairs.

The resemblance to our passage of Paul. Silent. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 228, seems too close to be a matter of mere accident —

Εἰπὲ τίνι πλέξεις ἔτι βόστρυχον, ἢ τίνι χεῖρας
  φαιδρυνέεις ὀνύχων ἀμφιτεμὼν ἀκίδα;
ἐς τί δὲ κοσμήσεις ἁλιανθέϊ φάρεα κόχλῳ,
  μηκέτι τῆς καλῆς ἐγγὺς ἰὼν Ῥοδόπης;
ὄμμασιν οἷς Ῥοδόπην *οὐ δέρκομαι, οὐδὲ φαεινῆς*
  φέγγος ἰδεῖν ἐθέλω χρύσεον Ἠριπόλης.

9–10. The ancients, partly no doubt because they went bareheaded as a rule (and the same is true of the modern Neapolitans), devoted a great deal of attention to dressing their hair, cp. *e.g.* 1, 6, 39–40 n.; 1, 9, 67.

Marathus being a slave wore his hair long (1, 4, 37–38 n.), moreover as a *puer delicatus* he apes the feminine style of coiffure and adopts the feminine point of view with regard to it. Too much attention to the hair (Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 505 f. quoted above) was of course in bad taste and characterized the overdressed exquisite of 1, 6, 39 (cp. note *ad loc.*; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 433, etc.). The use of curling tongs was especially affected by persons of the Marathus type, cp. Plautus, *Asin.* 627, 'cinaede calamistrate'; *Curc.* 577; Cicero, *Red.* 12, 'cincinnatus ganeo'; *Sest.* 18, 'unguentis adfluens, calamistrata coma'; etc.

9. **quid prodest**: for the implication, *i.e.* your object was to win the girl, see 1, 9, 67–70 n.

10. On the coiffures best adapted to different styles of beauty see Ovid's

advice to women, *Ars Amat.* 3, 137.—**saepe mutatas disposuisse**: *i.e.* 'saepe mutare et aliter disponere' (Dissen). For this compendious method of expression cp. 1, 2, 2. Martial, 12, 82, 10, 'dicet Achilleas disposuisse comas,' is cited as an echo of this line.

11. **fuco**: but the epithet *splendente* (cp. *purpureus* = *splendidus*, 1, 4, 29 n.) is a clear indication that *purpurissum*, *minium*, or some other equivalent of our modern rouge is referred to. The custom of painting the face was practically universal in antiquity among the women, young and old and in all classes, Plautus, *Truc.* 290; *Most.* 258; Propert. 3, 24, 8; Lukian, *Amor.* 39; Aristoph. *Ekkles.* 878; etc. In imitating them, Marathus is again following the custom of his kind; cp. Petron. 23; Apul. *Met.* 8, 27; etc.

12. **artificis**: the office of manicure was performed by the barber, Plautus, *Aul.* 312, 'quin ipsi pridem tonsor unguis dempserat'; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 7, 50; Val. Max. 3, 2, 15; Mart. 3, 74, 3. Care of the nails is emphasized by Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 519, above; cp. also Theophrast. *Charact.* 26 (of the 'oligarch'), *καὶ τὸ μέσον δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξιὼν καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀναβεβλημένος καὶ μέσην κουρὰν κεκαρμένος καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀπωνυχισμένος*, etc.; id. *ibid.* 19 (of the 'sloven') *ὁ δὲ δυσχερὴς τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος λέπραν ἔχων καὶ ἀλφὸν καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας μεγάλους περιπατεῖν καὶ φῆσαι, ταῦτα εἶναι αὐτῷ συγγενικὰ ἀρρωστήματα*, etc.—**subsecuisse**: the verb is rare. For this use, cp. Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 230, 'non ungue, ferro subsecuisse licet.'

13. **frústra . . . frustrá**: anaphora as here with a change of stress is not infrequent in the Roman poets, cp. *e.g.* Hor. *Od.* 2, 14, 1, 'eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume, | labuntur anni'; Verg. *E.* 3, 79, 'et longum "formose, vale vale," inquit, "Iolla."'; 6, 44, etc. The remaining exx. in Tib. are 1, 5, 29; 1, 9, 15; 2, 2, 3; 2, 3, 27.—**amictus**: cloaks (as in these days neckties) were the principal article of masculine attire which could be had in the most expensive materials and in a variety of brilliant colours. They were therefore one of the most notable opportunities for extravagance and display in dress and are constantly being mentioned, especially in the pages of Martial.

14. The Romans as well as the Greeks made much of a well-fitting shoe. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 516, 'ne vagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet,' uses the same expressive figure employed by Aristoph. *Equit.* 321, *ἔνεον ἐν ταῖς ἐμβάσιν*. Theophrast. *Charact.* 4, says of the 'rustic,' *καὶ μείζω τοῦ ποδὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα φορεῖν*· and so Hor. *Sat.* 1, 3, 31, 'rusticius tonso toga defluit et male laxus | in pede calceus haeret.' Others are Propert. 2, 29, 40; Plato, *Hipp. Maior*, 294 A; Lukian, *Pro Imag.* 10; but the passage furnishing the best criticism of Marathus here is Quintil. 11, 3, 137, 'et toga et calceus et capillus tam nimia cura quam neglegentia sunt reprehendenda.'—**ansa**: *i.e.* the loop on the side of the sandal through which the latchet was passed. Elsewhere in this sense

only in Pliny, 35, 85 (Val. Max. 8, 12, 3, telling the same anecdote uses the diminutive *ansula* — which is more common, but this too occurs rarely).

15–16. A variation of the old theme of Beauty unadorned against the 'Adulteries of Art.' See *e.g.* Plautus, *Most.* 288; Propert. 1, 2 (an elaboration of the theme with parallels from nature and mythology); Philost. *Epist.* 22; *Poetae Lat. Minores*, Baehrens, V, p. 391; esp. *Anth. Lat.* 458 R., 'semper munditias, semper, Basilissa decores,' etc., the original of Ben Jonson's famous song, 'Still to be neat, still to be dressed.' See *A.J.P.* 29, 133–155. Wilhelm cites *Anth. Pal.* 5, 26 and 260; Gollnisch cites Nonnos, 42, 87; Plaut. *Most.* 173.

15. **venerit**: on this use of a verb of motion, 1, 8, 64; 1, 2, 76 n.; 4, 2, 12.

16. **tarda arte**: the proverbial slowness of woman making her toilet, Ter. *Heaut.* 240, 'non cogitas hinc longule esse? et nosti mores mulierum: | dum moliuntur, dum conantur, annus est'; Propert. 1, 15, 6, 'et potes hesternos manibus conponere crines | et longa faciem quaerere desidia'; Mr. Thompson adds Cicero, *Mil.* 28, 'paulisper, dum se uxor, ut fit, comparat, commoratus est.' Cp. also, 'Les dames misent longuement | A faire lor afaitement'; etc. (*Partonopeus de Blois*, 10640).

17–18. The suspicion (cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 27) is founded on the fact that love charms, *pocula amatoria*, actually were in common use at this time; cp. 1, 2, 59–62; 1, 5, 41 and notes. Hence diseases, especially nervous disorders, the cause of which was not discernible to the popular mind, were habitually ascribed to some such cause, as for instance Caligula's homicidal mania, possibly even the legend of the death of Lucretius (Hieron. *Euseb. Chron.* A. U. C. 659); see also Pliny, 24, 167, etc.

17. **pallentibus**: active, 1, 1, 8 n.; Propert. 4, 7, 36, 'sensi ego cum insidiis pallida vina bibi'; Pers. *Prol.* 4, 'pallida Pirene'; etc.

18. 1, 2, 59–62; 1, 5, 41 and notes.

19–22. Another catalogue of marvels like the one of 1, 2, 41 ff., see notes *ad loc.*

19. The superstition referred to here is primitive, persistent, and worldwide. It appears in the earliest traditions of Rome and played a prominent part, for example, in the witch trials of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Pliny, 28, 17, quotes from the Laws of the Twelve Tables, 'qui fruges excantassit,' and Serv. on Verg. *E.* 8, 99 adds, 'neve alienam segetem pellexeris,' cp. also Augustin. *C. D.* 8, 19; Seneca, *N. Q.* 4, 7, 2. For the story of Chresimus and his intensive farming see Pliny, 18, 41, 'cum in parvo admodum agello largiores multo fructus perciperet quam ex amplissimis vicinitas, in invidia erat magna, ceu fruges alienas perliceret veneficiis: quam ob rem ab Spurio Albino curuli aedile die dicta . . . instrumentum rusticum omne in forum attulit . . . postea dixit: "veneficia mea, Quirites, haec sunt, nec

possum vobis ostendere aut in forum adducere lucubrationes meas vigiliasque et sudores."' Frequently mentioned as here in the poets, Propert. 4, 5, 11; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 31; *Rem. Amor.* 255; *Her.* 6, 88; *Met.* 7, 204; 14, 406; Verg. *E.* 8, 99; *A.* 4, 491; Val. Flacc. 6, 443; Sil. Ital. 8, 501; Claud. *In Ruf.* 1, 158; etc. Agobardus of Lyons, *De Tonitruis*, 2 (Migne *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 104, p. 147) says that in his time the belief was current that the witches had formed a sort of trust and were transporting all the crops in air-ships to the land of 'Magonia.'

20. Snake charming is frequently mentioned in these lists and elsewhere, *e.g.* Manil. 5, 390; Lucan, 6, 487; Sil. Ital. 1, 411; 3, 300; 5, 354; etc. This charm could make snakes swell up till they burst, Lucil. 575, Marx; Ovid. *Amor.* 2, 1, 25; *Met.* 7, 203; Verg. *E.* 8, 71; Nemes. 4, 71; Pliny, 28, 19; etc. Certain peoples were especially gifted in this direction, *e.g.* the Psylli, Pliny, 7, 14; 21, 78; 28, 30; Lucan, 9, 893; 922; Gellius, 16, 11, 3; etc.: esp. the Marsi, cp. Lucil. *l.c.;* Pompon. 118, Ribb.; Verg. *A.* 7, 750; Ovid, *Med. Fac.* 39; Pliny, 7, 15; 21, 78; 25, 11; 28, 19 and 30; Sil. Ital. 8, 495, etc. aud regularly plied their trade in the Roman streets as the Hindu jugglers do in ours, cp. Mart. 1, 41, 7; Galen, 11, p. 143 K. etc. The great prototype in mythology was Medea and the Dragon that guarded the Golden Fleece, Apoll. Rhod. 4, 156 and Schol.; Varro of Atax, *frag.* 8 B.; Val. Flacc. 8, 68; etc. — **iratae anguis**: the fem. as here is rare, Varro, *l.c.;* Ovid, *Med. Fac.* 39; Cicero, *N. D.* 1, 101; Val. Max. 1, 6, 4; 1, 8, 19; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 11.

21–22. The charm of drawing down the moon is referred to, cp. 1, 2, 43 and notes. It was apparently a popular explanation of the eclipse, as was well understood by the better informed of the ancients themselves, cp. Apoll. Rhod. 3, 533, where the Schol. says that 'in ancient times the witches were supposed to draw down (*καθαιρεῖν*) the sun and the moon. For that reason until the time of Demokritos many called an eclipse a "drawing down" (*καθαίρεσις*).' He then quotes Sosiphanes (p. 819, Nauck), *μαγοῖς ἐπῳδαῖς πᾶσα Θεσσαλὶς κόρη | ψευδὴς σελήνη αἰθέρος καταιβάτις.* But this explanation belongs specifically to Greece, or at least I have not found it elsewhere, cp. 22 below and note.

22. faceret . . . sonent: on the mixed cons. see 1, 4, 63 n. — **faceret**: *i.e. deduceret.* This use of *facere*, *i.e.* of the generic verb of action in place of the specific (to avoid repetition, etc.), though never very common in Latin, is found in all types of literary art. Elsewhere in Tib. only 1, 9, 73. — **aera repulsa**: refers to the widespread practice of beating drums, tom-toms, etc., during an eclipse, the object being to make as frightful a din as possible so as to scare away the cause of the eclipse, *i.e.* the monster who is proceeding to devour the luminary. Greek writers who are unaffected by

foreign influence show no sign of this theory nor do they ever mention the beating of drums, etc., in connection with their own theory of witchcraft (mentioned in 21–22 n.). The use of drums as a countercharm to the eclipse considered as due to witchcraft seems to be confined to the Romans or to the Greek writers of the Empire (Ovid, *Met.* 7, 207; *Med. Fac.* 41; Sen. *Med.* 795; Mart. 12, 57, 16; Juv. 6, 442, etc. down to *e.g.* Sisebutus in the seventh century, *Anth. Lat.* 483, 18 R.). Perhaps the practice of drums, which certainly belonged from the first with the theory of the eclipse as due to a devouring monster, was afterward transferred to the more local theory of the eclipse as due to witchcraft. For other ref. to drums in this connection see *e.g.* Livy, 26, 5, 9; Plutarch, *Aemil.* 17; Pliny, 2, 54; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 28; Theokrit. 2, 36 Schol.; Livy, 44, 37; Seneca, *Phaed.* 793; Ovid, *Met.* 4, 333; Claud. *Bell. Goth.* 233; etc. In the Middle Ages both church and state fought against the belief, cp. Gregor. *In Paenitent.* 23; Theodoret. *Paenitent.* 27, 25; Audoenus, *Vita S. Eligii*, 2, 15; Baeda, *Rem. Pecc.* 21; *Capitularia Caroling.* for the year 743; Ducange, *Lex. s.v.* 'Vince-Luna,' etc. For the use of brazen instruments (brass itself has magic qualities), bells, etc., to scare away demons cp. Schol. on Theokrit. 2, 36; Lukian, *Philops.* 15; Schol. on Lykoph. 77; Propert. 4, 7, 25; etc.

23. **queror nocuisse**: verbs of emotion take the infin. in 1, 4, 34; 1, 10, 56; 2, 3, 23, otherwise *quod*, 2, 3, 9; 4, 5, 5; 4, 10, 2; 4, 11, 2.

24. A famous line, cp. 1, 5, 43–44 n.

25–26. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 4, 43; 3, 7, 10; 3, 14, 22; *Her.* 2, 58; Eurip. *Medea*, 679, and Schol.; Hesych. *s.v.* γυναῖκες.

25. **nocet**: of magic, so Propert. 2, 19, 32; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 28; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 8, 22, etc.; cp. Theokrit. 9, 36, τοὺς δ' οὔτι ποτῷ δαλήσατο Κίρκη, etc.

26. **sed femori conseruisse femur**: in discussing the declension of *femur*, Charisius, p. 87 K., says, 'hoc femur, huius femoris, sed frequenter huius feminis huic femini dictum ⟨est et⟩ pluraliter tam femina quam femora, ideoque ⟨et Tib⟩ullus hoc ipsum erudite custodit cum dicit *implicuitque femur femini.*' Cp. p. 130, 'femini, Tibullus, *implicuit ⟨que⟩ femur femini*, non femori quasi sit hoc femur huius femoris.' If Charisius had our line in mind it follows either, that his memory was surprisingly bad or else, that his text was surprisingly different from ours. If he did not have it in mind he was either quoting from some elegy of Tibullus now lost to us, or he had mixed his references and substituted 'Tibullus' for the name of some other poet whom it is no longer possible to identify. This last seems to be the most reasonable solution of the problem and it is now generally accepted.

27–28. A favourite version of the doctrine of Nemesis (1, 2, 87; 1, 5, 70; 1, 9, 20; etc.). The twinkle in the poet's eye is betrayed by the frequency

(cp. 69; 72; 77) and the emphasis with which he inculcates this doctrine upon Pholoe.

27. **difficilis**: 'hard-hearted,' 'unyielding,' cp. 1, 9, 20; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 566, 'nec Venus oranti, neque enim dea mollior ullast, | rustica Gradivo difficilisque fuit.'

28. **tristia facta**: that make others dismal, *i.e.* 'unfeeling,' cp. Verg. *A.* 2, 548, 'illi, mea tristia facta | degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento,' where Dryden trans. 'my foul deeds relate.'

29–38. Contrast between an old lover and a young lover for the purpose, of course, of calling Pholoe's attention to the error of her ways.

29. **munera ne poscas**: 1, 4, 58; 1, 5, 67; 1, 9, 19; 2, 3, 49; 2, 4, 13.—**det munera canus amator**: cp. 50 below. The half humorous, half cynical solution suggested reflects the relative position of the advisor and the advised. The tone is to a certain extent characteristic of this group of elegies, cp. esp. 30 ff. with notes. The solution suggested by the poet would be nothing new to persons of Pholoe's class.

30. 'Crabbed Age and Youth cannot live together,' cp. 1, 9, 73–74; Aristainetos, 1, 18; Apul. *Met.* 5, 10.—**foveat**: 'cherish,' for this erotic use of the word cp. 1, 6, 6; Propert. 2, 18, 9; Ovid, *Her.* 11, 58; 19, 62, etc.—**molli frigida**: the contrast secured by juxtaposition indicates that *frigida* here connotes 'hard' and 'bony' as well as 'cold,' *i.e.* the opposite of *molli* here in every sense. For this device of juxtaposition, often useful as here as a means of interpretation, cp. 1, 1, 3; 8; 1, 3, 52; 57; 1, 4, 18; 1, 7, 30; 1, 10, 58; 64; 2, 1, 20.

More common still is the contrast between hexameter and pentameter by means of epithets, cp. Introd. p. 103.

31–38. Again is suggested the freedom of one speaking to an inferior. The details, however, are all traditional.

31. **carior est auro**: proverbial in Greek and Latin as elsewhere, cp. Catull. 107, 3; Ovid, *Met.* 8, 79; *Pont.* 2, 8, 5: *Ars Amat.* 2, 299; *Amor.* 3, 8, 3; Aisch. *Choeph.* 372; Sappho, 122 B, etc. See Sutphen, *A.J.P.* 22, p. 15. Extremely popular in mediaeval Latin. The popular form is seen in passages like Plautus, *Epid.* 411, 'non carus est auro contra'; Petron. 76, 'tunc erat contra aurum'; Seneca, *Epist.* 73, 5, 'auro pensanda' ('worth their weight in gold'); etc.—**levia ora**: cp. *e.g.* Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1236 (of the nymph rising up to kiss the boy Hylas as he leaned over her spring), *αὐτίκα δ' ἥγε | λαιὸν μὲν καθύπερθεν ἐπ' αὐχένος ἄνθετο πῆχυν | κύσσαι ἐπιθύουσα τέρεν στόμα· δεξιτερῇ δὲ | ἀγκῶν' ἔσπασε χειρί, μέσῃ δ' ἐνικάββαλε δίνῃ.*—**fulgent**: the glow of youth and its bright colour are both suggested, cp. note on *splendente*, 11 above, and *e.g.* Stat. *Silv.* 3, 4, 65,

'olim etiam ne prima genas anugo nitentes | spargeret.' The ordinary word for smooth-faced boys was *glabri*, cp. Catull. 61, 135; Mart. 4, 28, etc.

The appearance of the beard was fatal to the vogue of persons like Marathus, and hence is often mentioned in the poetry devoted to his kind, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 12, 10; 21; 25–27; 31; 36, etc.

32. A detail more frequently referred to in everyday life than in literary art, cp., however, Theokrit. 15, 130 (we should expect it in this sphere), *οὐ κεντεῖ τὸ φίλημ', ἔτι οἱ περὶ χείλεα πυρρά* (of Adonis). — **amplexus**: sc. *tuos = te amplectentem.* For the figure cp. 1, 2, 11 n., and *e.g.* Ovid, *Fast.* 3, 496, 'amplexus inquinat illa tuos.'

Note that here as often the pentameter simply amplifies and emphasizes the hexameter by restating the thought in the negative, cp. Introd. p. 102 and note on 1, 1, 44.

33. **huic**: 1, 2, 83 and note.

34. More or less proverbial, cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 9, 1, 'donec gratus eram tibi | nec quisquam potior bracchia candidae | cervici iuvenis dabat, | Persarum vigui rege beatior'; 2, 12, 21; Mart. 2, 53, 10; Sappho, *frag.* 84 Crus.; *Anth. Pal.* 11, 3; Aristainet. 1, 10; Hybrias, p. 275, Crus.; etc.

35. Pholoe, who is jealously guarded in the usual way (cp. 55 f. below) by her 'canus amator,' had made it the real or imaginary excuse for her failure to turn up at various times and places appointed (61–66). This line, really a brief statement of the boy's own complaint (55–60), which is the foundation of it, is supposed to be a reply to her excuses, while the following lines (35–38), designed especially for a person of her temperament and position, are meant to emphasize as much as possible all that she loses by yielding to her fears or her caprices as the case may be. — **at Venus**: 1, 3, 58 n.; 4, 7, 4 n. — **inveniet succumbere**: a Greek construction, cp. *e.g.* Soph. *O. T.* 120, *ἓν γὰρ πόλλ' ἂν ἐξεύροι μαθεῖν.* — **succumbere**: *ὑποκλίνεσθαι*, cp. *substernere.* Note that this is a drastic popular word, often used, for example, of animals, cp. Varro, *De Re Rust.* 2, 10, 9; Mart. 13, 64, 1; 14, 201; Petron. 126; Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 810; etc.

36. **tumet**: cp. *Priap.* 83, 43 (sometimes attributed to Tib.), 'et inquietus inguina arrigat tumor'; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 2, 116, 'tument tibi cum inguina,' etc.; 2, 7, 49, 'turgentis verbera caudae'; Verg. *G.* 2, 324; etc. — **conserit**: *i.e. consero consevi.* This agricultural metaphor, inherent in both Greek and Latin from the first, is not infrequent in this connection, cp. Lucret. 4, 1105, 'denique cum membris collatis flore fruuntur | aetatis, iam cum praesagit gaudia corpus | atque in eost Venus ut muliebria conserat arva, | adfigunt avide corpus iunguntque salivas | oris et inspirant pressantes dentibus ora,' etc.; Eurip. *Phoeniss.* 18 (the oracle to Laios), *ὁ δ' εἶπεν· ὦ*

Θήβαισιν εὐίπποις ἄναξ, | μὴ σπεῖρε τέκνων ἄλοκα δαιμόνων βίᾳ· Aisch. *S. T.* 753; Soph. *O. T.* 1257; 1497; *Antig.* 569; etc. Drastic but for that very reason the more in harmony with the entire passage. Note, moreover, that this line throughout is the contrast of 30 above. — **usque**: *i.e.* as contrasted with the canus amator of 30; cp. Parny, *Les Déguisements de Venus, Tab.* 4 —

Leur impatiente jeunesse
Jouit et désire sans cesse.

usque is adverbial as in 1, 5, 74; 1, 6, 8; etc. and qualifies *conserit.* — **sinus**: *muliebria arva,* τέκνων ἄλοκα, cp. Ovid, *Fast.* 5, 256, 'tangitur, et tacto concipit illa sinu.'

37–38. 1, 6, 14 n.; Lucret. 4, 1108 above; 1193; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 9; 3, 14, 23; Aristoph. *Nubes,* 51; etc.

39–46. The wealth so gained, no matter how great, is of no value. Youth and love have been sacrificed and can never return. Old age is lonely and unattractive, and what is wealth without love? The old lesson of 1, 4, 27 ff. in another form, cp. also 1, 2, 75 ff. An unknown author in the *Anth. Pal.* 9, 138 puts the dilemma in a way to be appreciated by many a modern business man —

Ἦν νέος, ἀλλὰ πένης· νῦν γηρῶν πλούσιός εἰμι,
ὢ μόνος ἐκ πάντων οἰκτρὸς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις·
ὃς τότε μὲν χρῆσθαι δυνάμην, ὁπότ' οὐδὲ ἓν εἶχον,
νῦν δ' ὁπότε χρῆσθαι μὴ δύναμαι, τότ' ἔχω.

39. **lapis gemmaeque**: a phraseological equivalent of great wealth, cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 24, 48, 'gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutile,' where Orelli observes that when so combined *gemmae* usually = *intagli* and *camei*, and *lapides* = 'pearls.' Usage, however, varies, and 'lapides et gemmae' is probably no more definite than our own phrase 'jewels and precious stones,' which in fact was very likely derived from it. Here of course the phrase is peculiarly apt, as the poet is addressing a woman in general and a Pholoe in particular. — **quae frigore sola**, etc.: the traditional punishment of the old coquette, Hor. *Od.* 1, 25; 4, 13; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 69, 'tempus erit quo tu quae nunc excludis amantes | frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus, | nec tua frangetur nocturna ianua rixa, | sparsa nec invenies limina mane rosa,' where Brandt quotes Heine's *Intermezzo*, No. 48, 'Es liegt der heisse Sommer auf deinen Wängelein! | Es liegt der Winter der kalte in deinem Herzchen klein. | Das wird sich bei dir andern, du Vielgeliebte mein! | Der Winter wird auf den Wangen, der Sommer im Herzen sein.' Add Sir Thomas Wyatt, *To his Lute,* stanza 6 —

May chance thee lie wither'd and old
The winter nights that are so cold,

Plaining in vain unto the moon:
Thy wishes then dare not be told:
Care then who list! for I have done.

Sappho, 50 Crus. says, Δέδυκε μὲν ἁ σελάννα | καὶ Πληίαδες, μέσαι δὲ | νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὤρα, | ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα κατεύδω.—**frigore**: Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 5, 42, 'frigidus in viduo destituere toro'; *Her.* 1, 7, 'non ego deserto iacuissem frigida lecto'; *Ars Amat.* 3, 70 quoted above; Propert. 4, 7 6, 'et quererer lecti frigida regna mei'; Catull. 68, 29, 'frigida deserto tepefactet membra cubili'; etc.

For old age the avenger of infidelity cp. 1, 6, 77–84; 2, 4, 39–50 and notes.

41–42. 1, 4, 33–34 n. Combined by Bertin, *Amours*, 3, 7, with 1, 8, 61–66; 1, 8, 75–78; and 2, 1, 75–78.

41. **sero**: *i.e.* 'too late.' This use of the positive where we should use the comparative is frequent and classical.

42. **infecit**: 2, 2, 20; Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 8, 2, etc.

43–46. Such descriptions of old age the avenger and destroyer of beauty are especially frequent in this connection, cp. among many others Propert. 3, 25, 9–18; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 21; 271; 298.

43. **tum studium**, etc.: although quite useless, as few of the many who mention it forget to say, cp. *e.g.* Lukian, *Anth. Pal.* 11, 408—

Τὴν κεφαλὴν βάπτεις, τὸ δὲ γῆρας οὔποτε βάψεις,
οὐδὲ παρειάων ἐκτανύσεις ῥυτίδας.
μὴ τοίνυν τὸ πρόσωπον ἅπαν ψιμύθῳ κατάπλαττε,
ὥστε προσωπεῖον κοὐχὶ πρόσωπον ἔχειν,
οὐδὲν γὰρ πλέον ἐστί· τί μαίνεαι; οὔποτε φῦκος
καὶ ψίμυθος τεύξει τὴν Ἑκάβην Ἑλένην.

—**mutatur**: *i.e.* in appearance—by dyes, as explained in the next line.

For the anaphora of *tum* cp. 1, 4, 53; 1, 6, 11; 1, 10, 3; 2, 1, 43; 2, 6, 51; 4, 3, 15.

44. Walnuts or possibly walnuts and acorns together are meant. At all events among a number of recipes for hair dye (some of them unspeakable), Marcellus Empiricus, 7, 10, gives the following: 'nuces iuglandes adhuc virides et teneras et totidem glandes velles ex arbore adhuc virides et necdum maturitate solidatas atque in pila contusas exprimes earumque suco ad inficiendos canos, dum caput pectis, pectinem tingues.' Pliny uses the word *rufatur* of walnut dye, which would especially commend it here, since in the time of Tibullus blonde hair was much in vogue especially among women like Pholoe, cp. 15, 87, 'tinguntur cortice earum lanae et rufatur capillus primum prodeuntibus nuculis: id compertum infectis tractatu manibus.'

45–46. Montaigne, I, chap. 40, quotes these lines in connection with his remark, 'Qui n'a ouy parler a Paris de celle qui se fit escorcher pour seulement en acquerir le teint plus frais d'une nouvelle peau ?'

45. Propert. 3, 25, 13, 'vellere tum cupias albos a stirpe capillos.' The anecdote of Julia in Macrob. 2, 5, 7 suggests the apologue of Phaedrus, 2, 2.

46. **dempta pelle**: the story just quoted from Montaigne might suggest that the poet literally meant 'by removing the skin.' Cp. too, Johnson, *Rambler*, No. 133. *pellis* is especially used of animals, although in poetry it may be used of human beings (instead of *cutis*). 'dempta pelle,' however, corresponds to 'tollere albos capillos' in the hexameter and hence *pelle* is here pejorative (like our colloquial 'hide'). Further the emphatic contrast with *novam faciem* also aids in showing that *pelle* ('the wrinkled old hide') is really synecdoche, *i.e.* the whole instead of the part evidently meant (and so Heyne). *pelle* then would be equivalent to *rugis*. Doubtless too the phrase was suggested by the idea that the serpent renews his youth when he sheds his skin, cp. 1, 4, 35–36 n.

Many recipes for removing wrinkles were in use. Pliny and Seren. Sammon. recommend gum-mastic, cp. Pliny, 24, 43, 'mastiche lentisci replicandis palpebris et ad extendendam cutem in facie,' etc.; Seren. Sammon. 154, 'rugarum sulcos lentisci mastice tendens,' etc. It will be seen that the principle here, as far as it goes, is the same as that of modern massage. The second and more common method was not to try to remove the wrinkles but to conceal them. The process in this case was, so to speak, 'to putty them up' with various concoctions, cp. *lomentum* in the dictt.; Apul. *Met.* 8, 27, 'facie caenoso pigmento delita et oculis obunctis grafice'; Juv. 6, 461; Mart. 3, 42, 1, etc.; 6, 93, 9; Hor. *Epod.* 12, 10; Clemens Alex. *Paid.* 3, 2, 7; etc. These foreshadow the even more barbarous practice of 'enamelling' in modern times.

47–48. 1, 1, 69–74; 1, 4, 27 and notes.

47. **at tu**: that is, in distinction from those persons above who followed your present course until it was too late. The plain personal application of the lesson is reserved till the end. It is thus more emphatic and at the same time serves as a transition to the next point. This emphatic *at* is characteristic of Tib., cp. 1, 1, 33 n.—**primi temporis aetas**: the note on *aetas* in 1, 4, 27 will show that there is no real pleonasm here; cp. also Propert. 1, 4, 7, 'formosi temporis aetas'; 1, 7, 8, aetatis tempora dura'; Lucret. 1, 558, 'infinita aetas anteacti temporis omnis,' etc.

49–50. The poet returns to the charge of 29–30 and proceeds in the following lines to develop it from a different point of view.

49. **puero quae gloria**, etc. : 1, 6, 3, n.

50. **veteres senes**: 'tough seniors,' hardened old sinners. *veteres* brings out the contrast with *puero* above as well as with *tenero* below, 'a congruent

epitheton,' as Armado would say, 'appertaining to Marathus's young days.' For a similar use of *vetus* to bring out the particular characteristic of age demanded by the context cp. Hor. *Epod.* 8, 3, 'cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis vetus | frontem senectus exaret'; Ter. *Eun.* 688, 'hic est vietus vetus veternosus senex | colore mustelino'; Aristainet. 1, 1, καὶ γέροντες εὖ μάλα πρεσβῦται θαυμάζουσιν, etc.

51. **sontica causa**; the sudden appearance of this unique variant of a purely technical and very ancient legal phrase of course adds, as was intended, to the evident humour of the situation. A *morbus sonticus* occurs in the Twelve Tables as one of the legal causes for non-appearance in a suit, but the essential meaning of *sonticus* was evidently a matter of doubt even among the early commentators on Roman law. For example, Festus (*i.e.* Verrius Flaccus) says, p. 290, 'sonticum morbum in XII significare ait Aelius Stilo certum cum iusta causa; quem nonnulli putant esse qui noceat, quod sontes significat nocentes.' In other words, Stilo seems to have anticipated the modern view of Clemm, Curtius, Vaniček, and Brugmann that *sons* (with which of course *sonticus* is connected) is really the old pres. participle of *esse*. A *morbus sonticus* then would be a 'real, a genuine illness' (and as such a sufficient excuse for the sufferer's failure to appear). This theory is not universally accepted (see Walde's *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 583, for modern authorities, theories, and discussion), but on the whole, it is the best explanation of the later *sontica causa*. Later Roman authorities, however, followed unanimously the theory (stated by Festus above) that *sons* (on the analogy of *insons*) = *nocens*, hence that a *morbus sonticus* is an illness injuring or incapacitating the sufferer from appearance, cp. Festus, p. 111, 'insons, extra culpam, a quo dici morbus quoque existimatur sonticus, qui perpetuo noceat'; Lavolenus, Lib. 14 ex Cassio, *Digest*, 50, 16, 113, 'morbus sonticus est qui cuique rei nocet'; Iulianus, *id.* 42, 1, 60, 'sonticus autem existimandus est, qui cuiusque rei agendae impedimento est'; Gellius, 20, 1, 27, 'morbum vehementiorem . . . legum istarum scriptores . . . morbum sonticum appellant.' Hence we have *sontica causa*, the derivation and meaning of which is, as Festus himself says (p. 344), 'a morbo sontico, propter quem, quod est gerundum, agere nequimus'; and so Naevius, 128 R. 'sonticam esse oportet causam, quam ob rem perdas mulierem'; Cato, *frag. Orat.* 58 Iord. *sonticus* is glossed by *iustus* in Paulus, *Ex Fest.* 291 M. and the complete disappearance of *sontica causa* at an early date is doubtless due to the fact that it was replaced by the regular *iusta causa*, 'good and sufficient cause,' cp. 1, 4, 10. Here, however, *causa*, like αἴτιον, of which it is probably a translation, is a technical term of medicine meaning the underlying cause of a disease, cp. Celsus, 1, *prooem.* p. 3, 14, etc., then

the disease itself, and hence perhaps our 'case' (cp. the confusion of 'cause' and 'case' among the lawyers). Tibullus's *sontica causa* then, 'a real case for the doctor,' is a variant of *sonticus morbus* rather than a parallel of *sontica causa* as found elsewhere. As such it is unique.

52. The paleness of brunettes (the prevailing type in Greece and Italy) is more suggestive of yellow or even of green than of white. Hence *luto* here really = our 'paleness' or 'pallor,' cp. Hor. *Epod.* 10, 16, 'pallor luteus' (of extreme fright); Catull. 64, 100, 'quanto saepe magis fulgore expalluit auri'; 81, 4, 'inaurata pallidior statua'; Propert. 4, 7, 82, 'pallet ebur' (of ivory turning yellow with age); Stat. *Silv.* 4, 7, 15, 'pallidus fossor redit erutoque | concolor auro'; Sil. Ital. 1, 233; Ovid, *Met.* 11, 145; Lucret. 4, 336; Theokrit. 2, 88, καί μευ χρὼς μὲν ὁμοῖος ἐγίνετο πολλάκι θάψῳ· Lukian, *Somn.* 30, ὁμοῖος γίγνου τὸ χρῶμα χρυσῷ προτετηκὼς αὐτῷ, etc.; Mart. 1, 41, 4, 'pallentia sulphurata'; 8, 44, 10, 'superba densis arca palleat nummis,' etc. So of yellow violets, Verg. *E.* 2, 47, 'pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens'; Nemes. 2, 40, 'heu heu nulla meae tangit te cura salutis: | pallidior buxo violaeque simillimus erro'; Hor. *Od.* 3, 10, 14, 'nec tinctus viola pallor amantium,' where Orelli quotes Petrarch, *Son.* 1, 187, 'un pallor di viola e d'amor tinto.' So too of green, esp. light green, as of grass or otherwise modified, cp. Sappho, 2, 14, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας | ἔμμι, and the regular use of χλωρός in this sense throughout the language, cp. *e.g.* 'Chlorus,' the nickname of the Emperor Constantius. So in Latin, Verg. *E.* 3, 39, 'edera pallente'; 5, 16, 'pallenti olivae'; 6, 54, 'pallentis herbas'; *Culex*, 405, 'pallente corymbo'; 144, 'pinguntque aureolos viridi pallore corymbos'; Ovid, *Med. Fac.* 69, 'pallentes lupinos'; *Met.* 1, 373 (after the Flood), 'ad delubra deae quorum fastigia turpi | pallebant musco'; Martial, 5, 78, 10, 'pallens faba,' etc. 'And wakes it now, to look so green and pale | At what it did so freely?' *Macbeth*, 1, 7.

'The pale complexion of true love' alluded to by Tibullus, the *pallor amantium* (Hor. *Od.* 3, 10, 14 above) is traditional, indeed Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 729, insists upon it as de rigueur, 'palleat omnis amans: hic est color aptus amanti: | hoc decet: hoc stulti non valuisse putent! | . . . ut voto potiare tuo miserabilis esto, | ut qui te videat dicere possit "amas."' Propertius makes much of it, cp. 1, 1, 22; 1, 13, 7; 1, 5, 21; 3, 8, 28; etc. 'I shall see thee ere I die look pale with love,' *Much Ado*, 1, 1.

53. **absenti**: the dative with *conicere* occurs elsewhere only in Verg. *A.* 7, 346 and 456; 11, 194; Sil. Ital. 14, 306; Vitruv. 7, *Praefat.* 9, all in the literal sense. This is the one case in a tropic sense, cp. the simple verb in Propert. 2, 1, 77, 'taliaque illacrumans mutae iace verba favillae.'

54. Ovid, *Her.* 12, 64, 'invenit et lacrimis omnia plena meis'; 8, 75,

'omnia luctus, | omnia solliciti plena timoris erant'; Stat. *Theb.* 11, 417, 'cuncta madent lacrimis et ab omni plangitur arce'; Tasso, 19, 30, 'ogni cosa di strage era già piena.' So also in Greek, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 275, 8, 'Η δ' *ὑποπιμπλαμένη δάκρυσιν εἶπε τάδε·* Achill. Tat. 5, 15, *δακρύων ἐμπεπλησμένος*, etc. — **lacrimis plena**: Tib. never uses the genitive with verbs and adjectives of plenty and want.

55–66. Having first attempted to work upon her desire (27–38) by painting the attractions of a young lover (*i.e.* Marathus) and warning her that her time for securing such a lover will soon be over, the poet again (49–50) returns to the injunction of 27–28, and now attempts to work upon her sympathies by quoting the boy's own story. This is especially artistic because it not only reveals her and her eminently characteristic methods, but also reveals the boy himself, the spoilt minion who considers himself a finished man of the world, but whose vanity is such that he is left utterly bewildered by the treatment which he has received.

55. **poterat custodia vinci**: 1, 2, 15; 1, 6, 9; 2, 1, 75; 4, 6, 11–12 and n. The phrase suggests some of her own characteristic objections and excuses. — **poterat**: the indicative here is idiomatic. 'The Latin language expresses possibility and power, obligation and necessity, and abstract relations generally, as facts: whereas our translation often implies the failure to realize. Such expressions are *debeo — oportet — necesse est — possum*,' etc. 'The Imperfect, as the tense of disappointment, is sometimes used in these verbs to denote opposition to a present state of things: *debebam*, I ought (but do not); *poteras*, you could (but do not). These may be considered as conditionals in disguise.' Gildersleeve-Lodge, 254, Rem. 1. So 1, 9, 46; Propert. 3, 7, 70; Ovid, *Trist.* 5, 1, 49; etc.

56. 4, 6, 11–12 n. — **dedit fallere posse**: *dare* (= *concedere*) with object clause (not elsewhere in Tib.) is poetic and usually of gods as here, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 1, 487; 3, 338; 12, 558; 7, 692; *Trist.* 1, 1, 34; 2, 518; etc. The passive, on the contrary, with subject clause in the infin. is found in all styles. — **fallere**: sc. *custodiam* or *custodes*, so without obj. expressed, 1, 2, 53; 4, 6, 12; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 616; 629, etc. — **deus**: *i.e.* Cupido, cp. 7 and 1, 6, 43 n.

57–60. For Bertin's imitation see 1, 6, 77–84 n.

57–58. An eminently natural touch, though I have not found it elsewhere in elegy and epigram. For the situation, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 127; 294.

57. **Venus furtiva**: Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 275; Tib. 1, 2, 34; 4, 5, 7 and notes, and for the scene suggested, 1, 2, 17; 2, 1, 75.

58. As opposed (through necessity) to the *oscula legitima*, 'oscula mille sonent' is Claudian's wish (*Epithal. Palladii et Celerinae*, 131) — 'such a clamorous smack | That at the parting all the church did echo.' However,

μακρὰ φιλεῖ Γαλάτεια καὶ ἔμψυχα, μαλθακὰ Δημώ, | Δωρὶς ὀδακτάζει. τίς πλέον ἐξερέθει; is a dilemma the discussion of which Paul. Silent. (*Anth. Pal.* 5, 244) begins with the warning, *οὔατα μὴ κρίνωσι φιλήματα.* Elsewhere (5, 219) he states his preference for the 'oscula rapta.' In any case the sound is said to have remarkable carrying qualities, cp. Soph. *frag.* 494 N.

59–60, 1, 2, 10; 1, 6, 12 and 59–62 and notes.

59. quamvis: modifies *media nocte.* This use of *quamvis* is found throughout the language, in fact some authors, notably Caesar, Sallust, and Livy (except in 2, 40, 7), always use it thus with adjectives or adverbs. Elsewhere in Tib. with verbs, cp. 4, 8, 8 n.

61–66. For Bertin's imitation see 41–42 n.

61–62. 2, 4, 51.

63–66. 2, 6, 49–50 n. The *rendez-vous manqué* is a traditional theme, Propert. 2, 17; 3, 17, 11; esp. 2, 22, 43, 'aut si es dura, nega: sin es non dura, venito! | quid iuvat et nullo ponere verba loco? | hic unus dolor est ex omnibus acer amanti, | speranti subito si qua venire negat, | quanta illum toto versant suspiria lecto, | cum recipi quem non noverit illa putat'; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 119; 151; Catull. 32; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 82; Ariosto, 7, 23; etc.

63–64. 2, 1, 76 n.; 1, 6, 59–60; 1, 9, 43; Propert. 2, 22, 43 (quoted above), cp. Catull. 110, 5, 'aut facere ingenuae est, aut non promisse pudicae, | Aufilena, fuit, indeed in her own way Pholoe is very much like Aufilena. She is not as polite as Nemesis (2, 6, 49). The victim, however, is a Marathus, not a Tibullus.

63. promittit: semi-technical in this connection, *noctem* is generally understood, cp. 2, 6, 49; Propert. 2, 17, 1; 2, 23, 4; 4, 5, 33; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 2, 83; *Ars Amat.* 2, 523; 3, 461; *Rem. Amor.* 400; etc.

64. 1, 2, 76 n.; Propert. 2, 17, 3–4; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 119; etc.

65–66. Cp. the fine passage in Ovid, *Her.* 19, 19–49 (Hero to Leander), which Ariosto, 7, 24, evidently had in mind.

65. venturam: probably a participle here, not an infin., cp., however, 1, 5, 19–21 n.

66. illīus: 2, 6, 31 n.

67. The touch renders eloquent the dramatic pause which preceded it and prepares the way for the poet's last point, the appeal (68–74) to the girl's superstition.

68. The puer delicatus is naturally treated as if he were a girl, cp. 2, 6, 43; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 129, 'quid teneros lacrimis corrumpis ocellos?'; Catull. 3, 17; Juv. 6, 8; etc.

69 ff. The suggestion of Luigi Alamanni's sonnet, 'Ragion mi sforza,' etc.

69. 7–8 n.; 77; 1, 2, 89–96 n.; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 280, 7; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 385; Achill. Tat. 5, 12, and often throughout antiquity.

70. That is, the gods so angered cannot be appeased by gifts (in spite of 1, 5, 60 n.) because pride is impious and the law is (Cicero, *Leg.* 2, 22), 'impius ne audeto placare donis iram deorum.'

71–76. The sudden and apposite use of Marathus himself as an example (to our surprise as to his own) places the elegy in this series and takes us back to 1, 4, 81 ff. Note that his own sins match point by point the very ones of which he has been complaining in Pholoe.

72. 1, 9, 4 n.

73. **lacrimas**: for the dative (*lacrimis* is found in ψ) cp. Verg. *A.* 5, 358; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 72.

74. Mart. 7, 93, 4, 'te iuvat et lenta detinuisse mora.'

75–78. For Bertin's imitation see 41–42 n. See also Sir Thomas Wyatt, *To his Lute.*

75. **nunc . . . nunc**: for the anaphora, 1, 3, 49; 1, 9, 29; 2, 4, 11; 2, 5, 3 and 7; 4, 13, 19.

76. 1, 5, 71; 2, 1, 74.

77. Ends with the threat of 28 and 69.

1, 9

The last elegy of the cycle concerned with the boy Marathus, see Introd. p. 52. The vain and silly little popinjay has been carrying on a secret intrigue with a horrible old creature whose only possible attraction is his money. The poet becomes aware of the situation, taxes the boy with his perfidy, venality, and ingratitude, and definitely casts him off.

'If you intended to be false, why did you swear to be true? Do you not know that divine vengeance will surely overtake the perjurer at last? And yet have mercy, ye gods. When sinners are fair ye may justly overlook one offence. The rustic toiling daily at his task, the sailor tossing on the shifting seas, all men alike are in pursuit of gain. By gifts my boy was overcome. May they turn to ashes and running water in his grasp! His punishment is sure. Fatigue and exposure shall mar his attractions. How often did I warn him: "Stain not your beauty with gold. For such a sinner Venus has no mercy." And then as my heart melted I added "nay, goddess, rather pour out thy wrath upon me than upon him. If you think of sinning," said I to him, "don't hope that your sin will fail to be discovered. There is a god who decrees that secret guilt shall not be hid. He causes the confederate though sworn to silence to blab when in his cups, aye in their own despite men blazon their guilty secrets in their sleep." So I warned you then — and to think that I shed tears the while and cast myself at your feet! And then

you swore to be true with oaths strong enough to make me believe there were no stars in heaven and no glow in lightning. Nay, you even wept, and I, guileless that I was and all too ready to believe, wiped your tears away. What can I do — if you were not in love with a girl — but may she be as fickle as you have been! How often, hoping you would appreciate it, I have helped you to meet her! I should have known better. Nay, I even sang your praises. Now I am ashamed of myself and of my verses. Would they were in the fire or else in the river!

'Away with you all, ye bawds and seducers. And as for you who have dared to debauch the boy with bribes may your wife laugh in your face for a cornute dull and blind, and fool you to the top of her bent! May she even surpass your sister, that ribald votary of both Bacchos and Venus, your sister, whom, they say, the star of morning sees still at her cups. Really, however, your wife has nothing left to learn — though you are too stupid to read the signs. Do you imagine her daily attention to her hair, her jewellery, her costumes for the street, and all that, is on your account? Not, however, that any one blames her. Any woman of taste would flee from such a human ruin as you are, honeycombed with gout and tottering with age!

'Yet this is the man on whom my boy has bestowed himself. You shame to yourself and me, disgraced, degraded, forsworn! You will weep when you see another in your place. But your pain shall be my pleasure, and a golden palm dedicated to Venus and inscribed with my story shall record my gratitude for having escaped the slavery of a lying love.'

1–50. Imitated by Bertin, *Amours*, 2, 10.

1. **fueras laesurus**: the tense, like the subjunct. of the past, is a future of the past. It gives an action which from the point of view of *dabas* was prospective, but the time of which for that reason is now over. The longer periphrasis with the future participle (*i.e.* *fui* for *sum* and *fueram* for *eram*) was always very uncommon and in the classical period it is generally avoided. *fueram* for *eram* with a real difference of meaning is asserted for the only case in Cicero (*Att.* 4, 17, 4), for Livy, 10, 11, 4; 35, 42, 3; 45, 27, 7; for Pliny, *Epist.* 5, 16, 7; for Iustinus, 13, 5, 7; 27, 1, 8; and as a rule for later Italic and Gallic Latin. *fueram* as a mere substitute for *eram* without a distinction of meaning first appears, according to Blase, in Ter. *And.* 543 and 587. In addition he cites Ovid, *Met.* 2, 504; 9, 513; 14, 72, and notes that the use is frequent in the African writers. He also cites our passage as an example. Note, however, that, though *fueras* is metrically convenient, 'eras laesurus-dabas' would mean 'why did you swear if (at that very moment) you were intending to forswear yourself,' but that 'fueras laesurus-dabas' on the contrary means 'why did you swear if you had already

determined to forswear yourself.' Certainly the distinction in meaning seems to be clear despite the fact that, as in the choice of a present or perfect infin. with *pudet* and the like (cp. 1, 1, 29–32 n.), the final result is the same in either case. —**laesurus amores**: for *laedere* in this connection, 1, 3, 79; Ovid, *Her.* 7, 57–60, 'nec violasse fidem temptantibus aequora prodest: | perfidiae poenas exigit ille locus, | praecipue cum laesus amor, quia mater Amorum | nuda Cytheriacis edita fertur aquis.'

2. **foedera**: for *foedera* of lovers, cp. 1, 5, 7 n., and for *dabas*, *νόμον τιθέναι*, and 1, 4, 16 n.

3. **miser**: anticipates the horror of the boy's punishment and suggests pity for his wretched state. The interjection *a*, cp. 1, 10, 59; 2, 1, 79; 4, 11, 3 (Sulp.), is seldom used by Tibullus and for that reason is especially emphatic. —**periuria**: 1, 4, 25–26 n.

4. That is, 'sera venit Poena sed tamen venit . . . tacitis pedibus,' cp. Stat. *Theb.* 5, 689, 'sed videt haec, videt ille deum regnator, et ausis | sera quidem, manet ira tamen.'

Vengeance slow but sure dogs the sinner's footsteps and always overtakes him at last. The Tibullian version of this grim metaphor of Nemesis is so nearly that of Livy, 3, 56, 7, 'pro se quisque deos tandem esse et non neglegere humana fremunt, et superbiae crudelitatique etsi seras non leves tamen venire poenas,' that Stacey is probably right in his belief that the historian here is echoing the poet. Voltaire's verse, 'La peine suit le crime: elle arrive à pas lents,' has also been cited as an echo of Tibullus. Other exx. of this favourite antique conception are 1, 8, 28; 72; 77; Hor. *Od.* 3, 2, 31, 'raro antecedentem scelestum | deseruit pede Poena claudo,' where Keller quotes Prudent. *Contra Symmach.* 2, 181, 'rara reos iusta percellit paena securi'; Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, p. 111, cites Seneca Rhet. *Controv.* 10, *Praefat.* 6, 'sunt di immortales lenti quidem, sed certi vindices generis humani'; Val. Max. 1, 1, ext. 3, 'lento enim gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira'; Curt. 3, 13, 17, 'dii seri saepe ultores'; Juv. 13, 100, 'lenta ira deorum est'; Lactant. *Div.* 1, 1; Macar. 6, 85, *ὀψὲ θεῶν ἀλέουσι μύλοι, ἀλέουσι δὲ λεπτά* (hence Longfellow's 'Though the mills of God,' etc.); Zenob. 4, 11, *Ζεὺς κατεῖδε χρόνιος εἰς τὰς διφθέρας*, and compares Eurip. *Ion*, 1615. Sutphen (*A. J. P.* 22, 122) adds Eurip. *frag.* 979, 3 N., *ἡ Δίκη . . . σῖγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ | στείχουσα μάρψει τοὺς κακούς, ὅταν τύχῃ*. Others are Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 385, 'sequitur superbos ultor a tergo deus'; Propert. 2, 30, 7 (of Cupid, the relentless), 'instat semper Amor supra caput'; Soph. *Antig.* 1272; Aisch. *Pers.* 825; Paul. Silent. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 300, 8; Aisch. *Choeph.* 383, *ὑστερόποινον ἄταν*· *Frag. Trag. Graec. Adesp.* 564 N, *ὀπισθόπους δίκη*· Strato, *Anth. Pal.* 12, 229, 2, *ὑστερόπουν . . . Νέμεσιν*· Mesomedes, *Hymn. in Nem.* 9, *λήθουσα δὲ πὰρ*

πόδα βαίνεις· Suidas, Ποιναὶ Τιμωροὶ τοῖς κακοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσιν οὐχ ὡς σκιαὶ σώμασι πλησίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀψὲ τοῦ χρόνου· Cornutus, *Theol. Graec.* 13 (of Opis as a name of Nemesis), Ὄπις δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λανθάνουσα καὶ ὥσπερ παρακολουθοῦσα ὄπισθεν καὶ παρατηροῦσα τὰ πραττόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν κολάζειν τὰ κολάσεως ἄξια· Eurip. *frag.* 223; Grat. *Cyneget.* 455, 'discet commissa quantum deus ultor in ira | pone sequens valeat.' The genuinely popular form is seen in Petron. 44, 'dii pedes lanatos habent'; Porphyr. on Hor. *Od.* 3, 2, 32; Macrob. 1, 8, 5. The homely and expressive parallel in modern Italy is, 'Iddio non fa i conti ogni sabbato,' 'God does not balance accounts every Saturday.'

Martinon truly observes that Tibullus here is inconsistent with himself in 1, 4, 21. See, however, lines 5–6, below. Moreover, as has already been observed (see Introd. p. 44), each elegy of Tibullus is meant to be dealt with as an independent work of art. Finally, who expects lovers to be consistent? 'incerta haec si tu postules | ratione certa facere,' says Parmeno (Ter. *Eun.* 61), 'nihilo plus agas | quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias' — the origin apparently of Voltaire's definition of metaphysics as 'L'art de s'égarer avec raison.'

On the artistic arrangement of epithets in this line, cp. 2, 3, 40 n.

5–12. The touch of compunction which forms an artistic transition to the next topic is eminently characteristic of the kindly and generous poet, cp. *e.g.* 1, 5, 41; 1, 6, 55; 69; 85; 1, 10, 61; 2, 6, 41. But there are real and therefore artistic limits, and here shame has combined with sorrow to produce a situation not to be compared with the last of the elegies to Delia (1, 6), still less with any other poem of Tibullus. Here alone the characteristic impulse to condone occurs only at the beginning and then completely disappears before the crescendo of anger and disgust which accompanies the poet's growing realization of the boy's real character as well as of his own folly.

5–6. The plea is characteristic, cp. *e.g.* Propertius, 2, 28, 49 (in a prayer that Cynthia who is ill may be spared), 'sunt apud infernos tot milia formosarum: | pulchra sit in superis, si licet, una locis,' and on the other hand, in quite a different mood, the rhetorical and irreverent Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 3, 29, 'nobis (*i.e.* 'us men') flexibiles curvantur Apollinis arcus, | in nos alta Iovis dextera fulmen habet: | formosas superi metuunt offendere laesi | atque ultro, quae se non timuere timent. | . . . quid queror et toto facio convicia caelo? | di quoque habent oculos, di quoque pectus habent! | si deus ipse forem, numen sine fraude liceret | femina mendaci falleret ore meum: | ipse ego iurarem verum iurare puellas | et non de tetricis dicerer esse deus.'

6. **semel**, etc.: a genuinely popular touch, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 14, 43, 'di faciles, peccasse semel concedite tuto: | et satis est; poenam culpa secunda

ferat'; Terence, *Eun.* 853, 'unam hanc noxiam | amitte: si aliam admisero umquam occidito'; *Phorm.* 141, 'nunc amitte quaeso hunc: ceterum | posthac si quicquam, nil precor'; Petron. 49, 'deprecari tamen omnes coeperunt et dicere: "solet fieri: rogamus mittas: postea si fecerit, nemo nostrum pro illo rogabit."' 'This time don't count,' as Rip Van Winkle says.

7–10. The plea is really the *solet fieri* of Petronius just quoted, *i.e.* 'All men are greedy of gain, therefore Marathus deserves mercy.' The poet prefers to suggest it *per exempla* instead of stating it in so many words. The prototype of Tibullus here is such passages as Solon, *frag.* 12, 41 Crus. —

εἰ δέ τις ἀχρήμων, πενίης δέ μιν ἔργα βιᾶται,
κτήσεσθαι πάντως χρήματα πολλὰ δοκεῖ.
σπεύδει δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος· ὁ μὲν κατὰ πόντον ἀλᾶται
ἐν νηυσὶν χρῄζων οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄγειν
ἰχθυόεντ', ἀνέμοισι φορεύμενος ἀργαλέοισιν,
φειδωλὴν ψυχῆς οὐδεμίαν θέμενος·
ἄλλος γῆν τέμνων πολυδένδρεον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
λατρεύει, τοῖσιν καμπύλ' ἄροτρα μέλει· etc.

A few of the standard pursuits of mankind are constantly used by the poets, rhetoricians, and philosophers for purposes of illustration. The most common are the farmer, merchant, soldier, and iuris consultus, cp. *e.g.* the famous dramatic passage of Hor. *Sat.* 1, 1, 4–22, in which all four play their traditional parts. Pairing of the farmer with the soldier as contrasts or as here with the trader is frequent and always for the purpose of emphasizing some marked contrast between the simple life (idealized or not according to the author's mood and apart from the usual ambitions of the world at large) as opposed to the pursuit of fame and fortune by the soldier, or simply of a large bank account by the trader, in both cases at the peril of life and limb. The contrast is nearly always to the advantage of the simple life, cp. the vignette of 1, 10, 39–44; 1, 2, 65–75, and esp. 1, 1, and 1, 10, both elaborations of the theme that the idyllic peace and happiness of the simple country life are better than the soldier's feverish career of toil and danger. A favourite contrast between the farmer and the trader (cp. also 1, 3, 39-40 n.) is illustrated by Hor. *Od.* 1, 1, 11 (cp. *Sat. l.c.*), 'gaudentem patrios findere sarculo | agros Attalicis condicionibus | nunquam demoveas, ut trabe Cypria | Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare. | luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum | mercator metuens otium et oppidi | laudat rura sui: mox reficit rates | quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.' Another point often made is illustrated by Propertius, 3, 7, 43, 'quod si contentus patrio bove verteret agros, | verbaque duxisset pondus habere mea, | viveret ante suos dulcis conviva penates, | pauper, at in terra nil ubi flare potest.'

Most frequently, however, the contrast is suggested by or used in connection with the traditional discussion of the Ages of man. The theory — even in Hesiod (cp. *W. and D.* 236), but esp. since Aratos (*Phain.* 108) — was that husbandry was man's normal occupation, and hence that it was the only occupation during the Golden Age. Other occupations are abnormal and contrary to nature, esp. navigation, the first and the worst of those inventions of human greed through which the happy past was made to yield to the unhappy present. For these and further details see 1, 3, 37 ff. and notes. On the greed of gain, a favourite topic of philosophers and rhetoricians as well as poets, see 1, 10, 7–8 n. The standard example of it is the trader, cp. 1, 3, 39–40 n.; and on these typical occupations, esp. E. Norden, *Jahrb. Phil. Suppl.* 18 (1891), p. 293 f., and Heinze, *De Horatio Bionis Imitatore*, Bonn, 1889, p. 17, n. 2.

In the present passage the farmer and the trader typify the contrast between safe but grinding toil for a bare living and the pursuit of a possible fortune at the imminent risk of losing all. In this way a single statement tells us not only that all men are greedy of gain (cp. note on *lucra petens* below) but also that they are willing to endure anything to secure it. Thus the reader by the time he reaches the case of Marathus is disposed to be as lenient as possible.

7–8. On the husbandman as an unremitting toiler, etc. cp. 2, 1, 5–6; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 13, 15 (addressing Aurora), 'prima bidente vides oneratos arva colentes, | prima vocas tardos sub iuga panda boves'; Verg. *G.* 2, 401–402; Calvus, *frag.* 2 *M.*, 'durum rus fugis et laboriosum,' etc.

7. **lucra petens**: the anaphora, *i.e.* the introd. of the first example by *lucra petens* and the second by *lucra petituras* gives prominence to each illustration and at the same time indicates them as merely selected examples of a totality.

9. **petituras**: for the future part. as attrib. 1, 4, 44; 1, 10, 14; 2, 1, 61; 2, 3, 73; 2, 5, 35; 51. — **freta per parentia ventis**: (cp. Shakespeare's 'always wind-obeying deep' — *Com. of Errors*, 1, 1) emphasizes the peril and uncertainty of the sea, *instabiles rates*, the ships ever pitching and tossing, as contrasted with the fixed, unmoving stars above by which they are guided on their way. Note too that the active use here of *certa*, *i.e.* 'quae certam viam monstrant,' is also suggested, cp. Hor. *Od.* 2, 16, 3, 'neque certa fulgent | sidera nautis,' but Manilius, 1, 465, 'contenta et stellis ostendere sidera certis,' where, as in 1, 479, 'et certis quod legibus omnia parent,' *certis* means 'fixed' as here in Tibullus.

10. **instabiles**: of ships as here, Ovid, *Met.* 2, 163, 'utque labant curvae iusto sine pondere naves | perque mare instabiles nimia levitate feruntur'; Verg. *G.* 4, 195, 'ut cumbae instabiles fluctu iactante,' etc, On *dubiae* in the same connection see 2, 3, 40 and note.

11–12. 1, 4, 67; 1, 6, 53; 2, 4, 40; Propert. 2, 16, 43; etc. See Wheeler, *Class. Phil.* 6, 68.

11. **muneribus captus**, etc.: the parallelism with 'lucra petens . . . lucra petituras' above is obvious. Thus the poet suggests by mere juxtaposition that Marathus is no exception to the rule, and at the same time we are now ready for the natural and apparently unstudied transition ('at deus . . . aquas') to the next topic.

12. **cinerem et aquas**: an evidently popular curse upon ill-gotten gain which suggests that the old folk tale of 'fairy gold' was as familiar to the ancients as it is to us, cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 8, 66, 'o si neclecti quisquam deus ultor amantis | tam male quaesitas pulvere mutet opes'; Propert. 2, 16, 43, 'sed quascumque tibi vestes, quoscumque smaragdos | quosve dedit flavo lumine chrysolithos, | haec videam rapidas in vanum ferre procellas, | quae tibi terra velim, quae tibi fiat aqua,' where the last line appears to be an echo of Homer, *Il.* 7, 99, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε | ἥμενοι αὖθι ἕκαστοι ἀκήριοι, ἀκλεὲς αὔτως. For variations cp. 49–50 below ('fire and water,' cp. *Dirae*, 102); 2, 4, 40 ('wind and fire'), and the solemn symbolism of 1, 6, 53. Note, however, that in these variations the old element of marvel disappears, and that in its place we have a substitute suggested by the context and echoing the actual disasters of storm, fire, and flood by which property is regularly destroyed in the ordinary course of human experience. 'Fire, water, woman, are man's ruin,' as Mat. Prior remarks.

13–16. The point is seen by comparing 1, 4, 41–53 (the services of the lover), *i.e.* the boy's punishment may be safely left to the *senex* himself since the old brute will insist upon having him with him at all times. Note that here as elsewhere (cp. *e.g.* 1, 6, 53–54 n.) the poet selects a punishment to fit the crime. The boy is an example of vulgar greed, he is therefore cursed with the loss of his ill-gotten gain; he is inordinately vain of his personal appearance, he is therefore threatened with the loss of his beauty through excessive toil and suffering. Then too the poet naturally dwells upon the beauty of his former favourite, cp 1, 8, 68 n.

14. **et ventis . . . coma**: 1, 8, 9–10 n. The whole phrase is the second subject of *detrahet.*

15. **uretur . . . urentur sole**: *sole* goes with both. For this arrangement cp. 1, 1, 24 n.

For the anaphora with change of stress cp. 1, 8, 13 n., and for the thought, Nemes. 4, 45, 'tu quoque, saeve puer, niveum ne perde colorem | sole sub hoc,' etc.

16. As if addressing a woman, cp. Propert. 1, 8, 8, 'tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas, | tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives'; Verg. *E.*

10, 48 (Gallus to Lycoris), 'a, te ne frigora laedant! | a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!'

17. **admonui**: *e.g.* 1, 4, 67 f. — **auro**, etc.: 2, 4, 31–34 n.

19–20. 1, 8, 28, cp. 1, 9, 4 n.

21–22. Quoted by Montaigne, II, chap. 12. For the attitude of the slave here, cp. 1, 5, 5; 1, 6, 37 and 71–72; 2, 4, 1–6; 2, 6, 5 and notes. Note that these lines belong to the poet's speech of that earlier time. They do not represent his present point of view.

21. **flamma . . . ferro**: see 1, 10, 65 n. The original form of this old alliterative phrase, 'ferri flammae vis,' is found in Cicero, *Planc.* 71, elsewhere without asyndeton, cp. *Cat.* 2, 1; *Mur.* 85; *Sull.* 83; *Sest.* 90; *Pro Flacco*, 97; 102; Sall. *Hist.* 1, 48, 10; Livy, 1, 29, 2, etc.; Ovid, *Her.* 12, 181; *Ars Amat.* 2, 379; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 51; Ammian. Marcell. 17, 1, 4, etc. Reversal, as here (cp. our 'fire and sword'), was later, and due to euphony or metrical convenience, cp. Cicero, *Att.* 1, 14, 3; *Cat.* 3, 1; *Prov. Cons.* 24; *Verr.* 4, 78; *Div.* 1, 21; Florus, 2, 6, 14; Sidon. *Carm.* 4, 249.

23–28. Another theme familiar to popular and philosophical discussion as well as to the poets, cp. Lucret. 5, 1154, 'nec facilest placidam ac pacatam degere vitam | qui violat factis communia foedera pacis. | etsi fallit enim divum genus humanumque, | perpetuo tamen id fore clam diffidere debet; | quippe ubi se multi per somnia saepe loquentes | aut morbo delirantes protraxe ferantur | et celata diu in medium peccata dedisse'; Cic. *Fin.* 1, 50, 'si vero (improbitas) molita quippiam est, quamvis occulte fecerit, numquam tamen id confidet fore semper occultum. plerumque improborum facta primo suspicio insequitur, dein sermo atque fama, tum accusator, tum index: multi etiam, ut te consule, ipsi se indicaverunt'; *Top.* 20, 75 (enumerating trustworthy sources of testimony), 'cuius generis etiam illa sunt, ex quibus verum non numquam invenitur, pueritia, somnus, inprudentia, vinolentia, insania. nam et parvi saepe indicaverunt aliquid, quo id pertinerit ignari, et per somnum, vinum, insaniam, multa saepe patefacta sunt'; Ariosto, 6, 1 —

> Miser chi mal oprando si confida
> Ch' ognor star debbia il maleficio occulto;
> Chè, quando ognaltro taccia, intorno grida
> L' aria, e la terra istessa in ch' è sepulto:
> E Dio fa spesso che' l peccato guida
> Il peccator, poi ch' alcun di gli ha indulto,
> Che se medesmo, senza altrui richiesta,
> Innavedutamente manifesta.

23–24. A version of the proverbial 'Murder will out.' Many exx. are collected by Otto (*Sprichwörter der Römer*) and Sutphen (*A. J. P.* 22,

p. 378), *s.v. Tempus*, 5: cp. Pindar, *Olymp.* 1, 62; Soph. *frag.* 280 N.; Isokrat. *Demon.* 16; Plautus, *Capt.* 313; Cicero, *Deiot.* 18; Verg. *A.* 1, 542; Seneca, *Epist.* 97, 13; Gell. 12, 11; Ammian. Marcell. 29, 2, 12; etc. See Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon*, p. 78.

23. Tib. uses the gerund only in the genitive as here, 2, 3, 77; 4, 3, 5; 23; 4, 6, 12.

25–26. A frequent variation of the proverbial 'in vino veritas,' although this familiar form of the thought is not classical (perhaps a translation of the Greek proverb as given by Zenob. 4, 5, *ἐν οἴνῳ ἀλήθεια*, although the usual Greek form is *οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια* (Diogen. 7, 28) or rather *οἶνος καὶ ἀλάθεα*, cp. Alkaios, *frag.* 79 and 18 Crus.; Theokrit. 29, 1; and Otto and Sutphen, *l.c. s.v. Vinum*, 2). Other variations are Homer, *Odyss.* 14, 463; Theognis, 500; Athenaios, 37 E ff.; Hor. *Od.* 3, 21, 14; Seneca, *Epist.* 83, 9 (which shows that this was a regular theme for declamation in the schools).

27–28. For dreams as betrayers of secrets, see Lucret. 5, 1154, and Cicero, *Top.* 20, 75, quoted above, also Lucret. 4, 1018, 'multi de magnis per somnum rebus loquuntur | indicioque sui facti persaepe fuere.' Cp. *Macbeth*, 5, 1, 'unnatural deeds | Do breed unnatural troubles: infected minds | To their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets'; also, *Othello*, 3, 3, 416 ff. The dénouement of Byron's *Parisina* hinges, as every one knows, upon this motive, cp. 69, 'But fevered in her sleep she seems, | And red her cheek with troubled dreams, | And mutters she in her unrest | A name she dare not breathe by day,' etc. Leigh Hunt (*Autobiog.* 1860, p. 252) says that he himself suggested the idea to Byron. A similar case in this country was noted by the newspapers a short time ago.

29–30. For this eminently natural motive of wounded pride, cp. 47–50. This is the motive of Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 11, cp. also Propert. 3, 24 and 25.

31–34. For the regular division of wealth, 1, 1, 1–2 and n.

31. **divitis auri**: 1, 10, 7 n.

32. **pondere**: for the ablat. of price see also 2, 4, 39; 2, 6, 22.

33. The fertility of Campania was, and still is, proverbial, cp. Propert. 3, 5, 5; Ovid, *Pont.* 4, 15, 17; Pliny, 18, 111; Florus, 1, 11, 3 Rossb.; Verg. *G.* 2, 224.

34. Stat. *Silv.* 2, 2, 4, 'qua Bromio dilectus ager, collesque per altos | uritur et prelis non invidet uva Falernis'; Hor. *Od.* 2, 6, 15–20. — **Bacchi cura**: for the genitive, 1, 2, 89; 1, 9, 74; 2, 2, 11; 2, 3, 79; 2, 5, 113.

35–36. These are poetical versions of two of the so-called *ἀδύνατα* — a type of the superlative dear to the popular mind of all nations (cp. our 'He could make one believe that the moon was made of green cheese'), and regularly developed by the antique rhetoricians. The purely popular form of the first

is seen, *e.g.*, in Petronius, 37, 'mero meridie si dixerit illi tenebras esse, credet'; Titinius, 100 R., 'quod ea parasitus habeat, qui illum sat sciat | delicere et noctem facere possit de die'; Propert. 4, 1, 143, 'illius arbitrio noctem lucemque videbis,' etc. Every one remembers the conversation of Petruchio and Katharine, 'I say it is the moon.' 'I know it is the moon.' 'Nay, then you lie: it is the blessed sun,' etc. So on the contrary of one whose word no man relies on, as in Plautus, *Bacchides*, 699, 'si tu illum solem sibi solem esse diceres, | se illum lunam credere esse et noctem qui nunc est dies.'

35. Lit. 'With those words you might wrest from me that (*i.e.* my belief that) the stars of heaven shine and that the path of thunderbolts is bright,' *i.e.* 'convince me that the stars of heaven do not shine,' etc. No other example of *eripere* with an object clause appears to be quoted. For the passive with a subject clause cp. Ovid, *Met.* 2, 483, 'posse loqui eripitur,' *i.e.* the ability to speak, the power of speech, was taken away. For a clause with *quin* (analogy of *prohibere*) cp. Hor. *Sat.* 2, 2, 23, 'vix tamen eripiam . . . quin velis,' etc. More common with an object clause as here is *adimere*, but this too is rare and poetical, cp. (Thes.) Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 7, 47, 'nec vitam nec opes, nec ademit posse reverti'; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 19, 9; Sil. Ital. 9, 160; 425; Tertull. *De Anim.* 17; Plautus, *Miles Glor.* 588. So occasionally in Pindar and the tragedy, cp. Pindar, *Isthm.* 1, 60, *πάντα δ' ἐξειπεῖν . . . ἀφαιρεῖται βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχων ὕμνος·* Soph. *Phil.* 1302, *τί μ' ἄνδρα πολέμιον | ἐχθρόν τ' ἀφεῖλου μὴ κτανεῖν τόξοις ἐμοῖς*; Eurip. *Troad.* 1146; *Androm.* 913; *Hippol.* 1207; etc.

36. **puras**: 'clear,' 'bright,' but here, as in all similar connections (as demanded by its real meaning), always with the accessory notion of 'undimmed,' 'unclouded,' cp. 4, 1, 10, 'ut puro testantur sidera caelo,' *i.e.* in the unclouded, cloudless sky—when they can be seen; Hor. *Od.* 3, 29, 43, 'cras vel atra | nube polum pater occupato, | vel sole puro' (so Byron describing the sun of the South in his *Curse of Minerva* says 'Not as in northern climes obscurely bright, | But one unclouded blaze of living light'); 2, 5, 18, 'non Chloris, albo sic umero nitens, | ut pura nocturno renidet | Luna mari,' where *pura* is defined by the old Schol. as 'habens serena nocte lumen integrum.' In these phrases, therefore, the proper negative of *puras* would be *nebulosas*, or better still *obscuras*—and this is really what the poet is thinking of, because the ordinary form of the thought would not be 'wrest from me (the conviction) that the path of the thunderbolt is bright (*i.e.* undimmed)' but rather 'convince me that it is dim,' cp. *e.g.* the description of this phenomenon as a prodigy by Lucan, 5, 630, 'lux etiam metuenda perit, nec fulgora currunt | clara, sed obscurum nimbosus dissilit aer.'—**vias**: the plural is distributive, cp. *somnos*, 1, 1, 4 and note.

37. **fallere doctus**: 1, 7, 20 n.

39. Note that we have here in lieu of a regular apodosis a passionate rhetorical question in which the tense of *faciam* indicates that the question is practically independent, *i.e.* that the protasis was really an afterthought. The unusual syntax is an admirable reflection of the poet's high tension and of the rapid shift of mood so characteristic of his race, cp. 4, 13, 5–6 n. The cool logical statement would have been something like 'I should punish you as you deserve unless you were,' etc. But the poet is not cool. 'quid faciam,' he cries, for the moment thinking of nothing else. Then comes a protasis the entire regularity of which reflects the calming effect of a thought which in his rage he had failed to consider. 'What shall I do with you? But no: you yourself are in love with a girl — therefore I spare you.' — **et ipse**: *καὶ αὐτός*, here not 'you too,' but 'you yourself are also,' *i.e.* 'in spite of your other affair you are,' etc. — **fores**: for *esses*, cp. 1, 10, 11 and note. The rule in Catullus and very frequent in the Augustan period, esp. in the poets, notably in Ovid, cp. also Propert. 3, 14, 33; 2, 15, 46; 3, 8, 36; 24, 8; 1, 10, 20; 2, 25, 35; 29, 28; 4, 5, 74. Preferably as here in the protasis of an unreal condition, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 8, 46, 'sed nisi bella forent, numquid mihi cognitus esset?' Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 59; Plautus, *Trin.* 1127; 832; etc. (See Blase, in Stolz, *Hist. Gram. der Lat. Spr.* 2, p. 280.) — **in amore puellae**: *i.e.* 'nisi puellam amares,' the gen. is objective. If *puellae* were subjective gen. as *e.g.* in Script. Hist. Aug. *Had.* 2, 7, 'fuitque (Hadrianus) in amore Traiani,' or if *puellae* were dative as *e.g.* in Cicero, *Verr.* 4, 3, 'quae (civitas) tibi una in amore atque in deliciis fuit,' then 'nisi. . . puellae' would = 'nisi a puella amareris.' Note however that in any case the ambiguity is more apparent than real, since in the phrase 'esse in amore (or amicitia) alicuius, alicui, cum aliquo,' although emphasis may be laid on one side or the other according to the construction selected, the state of mind indicated is always mutual, 'mutuo amant amantur' — which of course adds a special sting to the wish of 40. The *puella* here is usually identified with the Pholoe of 1, 8.

40. 'nisi . . . puellae' had cooled the poet's wrath. But the mere mention of the girl instantly suggested another catalogue of wrongs. Hence the second burst of wrath in 40 which leads us to the enumeration of them. 'But I pray she may learn the lesson of fickleness from you,' 'Qu'elle soit, pour ta peine, autant que toi traîtresse,' says Martinon.

41–44. Two more examples of the *obsequium* inculcated by Priapus, cp. 1, 4, 39 f. and notes.

41–42. In antiquity (cp. 1, 2, 35 and notes), as *e.g.* in mediaeval London, the streets were not regularly lighted, hence, after dark, wayfarers were

habitually accompanied by one or more linkboys, cp. *e.g.* Propert. 1, 3, 9 (coming home late and in his cups), 'ebria cum multo traherem vestigia Baccho | et quaterent sera nocte facem pueri.' Constantly in the elegy as well as in everyday life the *lanternarii*, as they were called, are associated with illicit love affairs (hence the bitter sneer of Cicero, *In Pison.* 20, 'cum altero Catilinae lanternario consule') whether urged with unnecessary élan by the roystering blade (as in Herondas, 2, 69; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 4, 49, etc.) or conducted by an intriguer for whom as here (on account of the girl who is in the usual situation of the elegiac heroine, cp. Introd. p. 45) secrecy is a *sine qua non.* The office was servile and the wonderful escape of Antonius (Val. Max. 6, 8, 1) merely emphasized the rule that slaves cannot be trusted (cp. *e.g.* lines 25–26 above). By way of precaution, therefore, Tib. had taken the place of the usual *lanternarius.* This habit among friends of 'playing gooseberry' (for which, by the way, the modern Italian expression is *tenere il moccolo,* 'holding the candle') appears to have been not uncommon, cp. *e.g.* Propert. 1, 10.

41. **verbis**: *i. e.* between Marathus and the girl. For *conscius* with the dative see 1, 7, 48 n.

43–44. That is, Marathus goes to her house and the girl, who has already stolen her way (*venit*) to the door and is waiting for him inside, lets him in, her practical reason being to prevent the necessity of knocking or of anything else likely to cause detection. For the same reason, while waiting she conceals herself as much as possible (*latuit adoperta*) both from those within and from those who may be without. Her part of the programme is pictured in such scenes as 1, 2, 18–20 (where see notes); 1, 6, 59; 2, 1, 75; 4, 6, 11.

43. **munere**: here 'service,' 'favour.'

45. **confisus amari**: 'certain of being loved.' The present infin. with *confido* does not begin until Cicero, cp. *e.g. Fam.* 7, 14, 2, 'nosque a te amari cum volumus tum etiam confidimus,' and was never common afterwards. In a considerable proportion, even of these cases, *confido* is followed by *posse* with a pres. infin., as *e.g.* in Lucret. 5, 390, 'confido siccare posse,' and in Phaed. 1, 18, 6, 'confido finiri posse,' the only remaining exx. from the poets quoted by the Thesaurus. As, however, *posse* with the pres. infin. really = the future infinitive, all such examples are not to be included here. Hence, the Tibullian *confisus amari* appears to be unique in Latin poetry. For omission of the subject accus., also unique in this use with *confido,* cp. 1, 3, 27 n.

46. **poteram**: 1, 8, 55 n. — **ad**: *i.e.* 'toward,' 'with regard to.' *cautus* with *ad* is very rare. With the exception of Livy, 24, 32, 3 (not given by the Thesaurus, 3, 642, 35 f.) the usage appears only in the very late writers, viz.

Lamprid. *Alex.* 44, 2; Ammian. Marcell. 30, 9, 4; Explanat. in Donat. *Gramm. Lat.* 4, 507, 20 K; Claud. *De Cons. Stilich.* 1, 291. For *ad* itself in this not uncommon meaning cp. 2, 1, 31.

47–48. 29–30 n. The genitive with impersonal verbs of emotion is also found in 4, 12, 4.

47. **attonita mente**: *attonitus*, lit. 'thunderstruck' (*ad* + *tonare*), hence, like its parallel ἐμβρόντητος, used of any state of mind suggested by the more or less complete coma of one who has been so exposed, cp. Servius on Verg. *A.* 3, 172, 'proprie attonitus dicitur, cui casus vicini fulminis et sonitus tonitruum dant stuporem.' 'Bewildered,' 'confounded,' 'stupefied,' 'smitten,' cp. ὠμβρόντητε σύ, 'thou gaping fool,' Aristoph. *Ekkles.* 793; so frequently as here, of the upsetting, demoralizing effect of an overpowering passion, Ovid, *Met.* 10, 153, 'inconcessisque puellas | ignibus attonitas'; Seneca Rhet. *Controv.* 10, 3, 10, 'mulier praeceps, temeraria, insano flagrans amore et attonita'; Fronto, 20, 1 N. 'stupidum et attonitum ardente amore'; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 295 (advice to all lovers), 'sed te, cuicumquest retinendae cura puellae, | attonitum forma fac putet esse sua' (*i.e.* utterly overcome, 'flabbergasted'). This word is a marked favourite with Ovid (43 exx.), and occurs 10 times in Vergil with whom it appears first in poetry, but in Hor. and Tib. only once, and in Propert. not at all. Fondness for the word in prose begins with Livy (16 times).

48. **me nostri . . . pudet**: in spite of the proximity of *me*, *nostri* might be a mere rhetorical plural for *mei* (1, 2, 11 and n.). It is more likely, however, that the poet — as well he may — is including Marathus. — **Pieridum**: in its ultimate analysis the poet's thought is that he is ashamed of having written the verses and of the inspiration by which they were prompted. The personification, however, is practically complete (cp. 1, 4, 61 and 4, 7, 3 n.) and should be so indicated in translation. For *Pierides* = *Musae*, 4, 2, 21 n.

49–50. Cp. 12 n. and for this specific curse of fire and water, Martial, 5, 53, 2, 'materia est, mihi crede, tuis aptissima chartis, | Deucalion, vel si non placet hic, Phaethon' (imit. by Lucillius, *Anth. Pal.* 11, 214); Catull. 36, 7; Hor. *Od.* 1, 16, 1–4; Juv. 7, 25; Isokrat. *Panath.* 281; Galen, 7, p. 507, K.; etc.

51–52. Addressed to Marathus. Here for the moment the discussion concerning Marathus comes to an end — as usual, on the keynote, his common venality.

52. **plena manu**: of course intentionally drastic here as in 1, 5, 68, where see note.

53–74. Tibullus now turns on the old man. The passage is not pleasant, but it is undoubtedly a masterpiece of its kind. See Introd. p. 52.

53. **te rideat adsiduis dolis**: the addition of an (instrumental) ablative

to *ridere* in this sense does not seem to occur elsewhere. The analogy is such expressions as Terence, *Andria*, 583, 'dolis ut me deluderes' (quoted as 'deridere dolis' by Wunderlich *ad. loc.* and afterwards by Dissen and Némethy). As developed by Tibullus the expression becomes a work of art in the way of insult, 'May she make you her laughing stock, may she rejoice in making you contemptible, with her unceasing intrigues — and never fare the worse for it.' The implication is that an utter contempt for him shall be one of her leading motives for infidelity — a touch of genuine human nature.

55–56. *Priapea*, 47, 'quicunque vestrum qui venitis ad cenam, | libare nullos sustinet mihi versus, | illius uxor aut amica rivalem | lasciviendo languidum, precor, reddat, | et ipse longa nocte dormiat solus | libidinosis incitatus erucis.'

55. **usu**: *i.e.* 'Veneris usu,' cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 3 and 49; *Rem. Amor.* 357; etc.

56. Propert. 3, 21, 8, 'vix tamen aut semel admittit, cum saepe negarit: | seu venit, extremo dormit amicta toro'; 2, 15, 6; Lukian, *Dial. Mer.* 11, 4; Hor. *Epod.* 3, 22; etc.

57. **externa vestigia**, etc.: Livy, 1, 58, 7 (possibly an echo of this passage, acc. to Stacey), 'vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo'; Propert. 2, 9, 45; 2, 29, 35; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 97; Cicero, *Verr.* 3, 34, 79; etc.

58. **pateat semper aperta**: 'may your house be always open and accessible.' *semper* goes with *aperta*, but really qualifies the complex. — **cupidis**: *i.e. amatoribus*, so 1, 8, 56; etc.

59. The reference to strong drink in this connection is especially insulting because it at once puts the man's sister in the class with the *lenae*, *sagae*, and *meretrices*, and at the same time suggests that she is no longer young. The fondness of old women of this type for drink is constantly being mentioned, cp. Propert. 4, 5, 2; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 1; Hor. *Od.* 1, 36, 13; Plautus, *Curc.* 96–126; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 329; 353; etc.

60. **emeruisse**: ironical euphemism, *i.e.* 'bene meruisse de,' 'bene fecisse,' so always when *emereo* takes an accus. of the person after the analogy of *demereo* (rare; beside this ex. Harper quotes only Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 8, 52; *Amor.* 2, 8, 24; *Her.* 6, 138).

61–64. A re-statement, with rhetorical amplification, of the preceding distich, 61–62 of the hexameter (59), 63–64 of the pentameter (60).

61–62. The touch of high poetry seen in the circumlocution for the dawn is of course satiric. So Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 3 (of Dipsas the lena), 'ex re nomen habet: nigri non illa parentem | Memnonis in roseis sobria vidit equis.' For the motive cp. Martial, 1, 28, 'hesterno faetere mero qui credit Acerram | fallitur: in lucem semper Acerra bibit.'

61. **convivia ducere**: *i.e.* 'continue, keep up her revels.' The accessory

notion of prolongation, protraction, beyond the necessary or regular time is suggested by the context rather than inherent in the verb itself, cp. Hor. *A. P.* 376, 'poterat duci quia cena sine istis,' 'because a dinner could be conducted, could continue, without those things.' So of *trahere* in the same connection, as in 2, 3, 47. So too of Cicero's 'ducere aetatem litteris,' of Vergil's 'ducere vitam,' even of his 'producere vitam' (cp. our own expression 'to lead a sedentary life,' etc.). In many of these exx. the idea at the bottom is the continuity of the action or state. Cp. *e.g.* 1, 4, 5, 'hibernae producis frigora brumae' (in which 'hibernae frigora brumae' is really an expression of time) with Ter. *Adel.* 591, 'cyathos sorbilans paulatim hunc producam diem.'

62. Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 456, 'quod tepidum vigili provocet ore diem'; *Pont.* 1, 4, 58, 'quam primum roseo provocet ore diem.' — **rota Luciferi**: Lucifer, or Phosphoros, brightest and most glorious of all the stars (Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 3, 72; *Met.* 2, 723), rises from the Eastern Sea (*Fast.* 6, 474; *Pont.* 2, 5, 50) and summons (hence *provocet* here) the Day, putting to flight the throng of lesser stars (*Met.* 2, 115). He is constantly referred to (as here) as the Herald of the Dawn (so regularly in the *Anth. Pal.*; cp. 12, 114, 1, Ἠοῦς ἄγγελε, χαῖρε, Φαεσφόρε· Ovid, *Her.* 18, 112, 'praevius Aurorae'; etc.). He is given wings by Ion, *frag.* 7 Crus. Ἀοῖον ἀεροφοίταν ἀστέρα | μείνωμεν ἀελίου λευκοπτέρυγα πρόδρομον· cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 6, 65, quoted below, etc. According to another and probably later conception, he rides a horse, Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 11, 56, etc., quoted in 1, 3, 93–94 n.; *Met.* 15, 189, 'cumque albo Lucifer exit | carus equo'; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 240; Claud. 8, 562; *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 122; etc. The attribute of a chariot, which is doubtless Hellenistic, but occurs here (cp. also 1, 3, 94) for the first time, is confined to the Roman poets and is not supported by the remains of antique art; cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 6, 65, 'iamque pruinosus molitur Lucifer axes, | inque suum miseros excitat ales opus' (why does a winged god incommode himself with a chariot ?); *Eleg. in Maec.* 132; etc. See C. Pascal, *Bollettino di Filologia Classica*, 15, p. 114. — **rota**: *i.e.* 'chariot.' For the poetic singular (cp. 1, 1, 42 n.) and for the figure (*pars pro toto*), Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 230; *Met.* 1, 448; Propert. 2, 25, 26; etc.

63. **illa**: for the ablat. with comparatives, see also 1, 8, 31; 4, 8, 3. — **queat**: potential, 'no one could, etc., better than she.' — **consumere . . . disposuisse**: 1, 1, 29–32 n. Possibly no conscious distinction was made in this instance. Note, however, that the perfect *disposuisse* here would, if felt, emphasize the completion of the list and therefore be more insulting. *melius* is to be taken with both verbs.

64. **operum vices**: σχήματα συνουσίας; cp. note on *modis*, 2, 6, 52, and

for *disponere* in this connection, Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 7, 64, 'quos ego non finxi disposuique modos.'

65. **at**: corrects the statement of 63, 'illa nulla queat,' etc. — **tua**: sc. *uxor;* cp. 1, 5, 42 n. — **perdidicit**: note the insulting force of *per*. The implied object of the verb is the accomplishments of the old man's sister, described in 63–64; hence the force of 66. — **nec tu**, etc.: so Catullus, 17, 20 (of a stupid man in the same situation), 'tantundem omnia sentiens quam si nulla sit usquam | talis iste meus stupor nil videt, nihil audit'; 83, 3, 'mule, nihil sentis,' etc.

66. **non solita**, etc.: 1, 5, 4 n. The implication is indirectly explained by 67–74. For an antique variant, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 175.

67–70. On this dressing for the street parade — *pro aliquo* (or *pro aliqua*, cp. 1, 8, 9 f.) — see 2, 3, 51–58; Propert. 1, 2; etc.

67. **disponere crines**: 1, 8, 9–10 n.

68. **denso dente**: the meaning, as often with circumlocutions of this type, is plainly indicated in the verb. *dente* of course = *dentibus*. This comparatively uncommon type of the poetic singular is rarely without an attributive (*denso* here; *innumerus*, 2, 3, 42; esp. *multus*, 1, 3, 28 and n.; 1, 4, 76; 2, 5, 72) or some other word by which its actual value as a plural is clearly defined (*e.g. circum* or *circa;* cp. 1, 2, 95; 1, 3, 87 and notes). For *densus* with a singular, as here, cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 13, 7 (*arbor*); *Fast.* 2, 165 (*ilex*); *Met.* 2, 557 (*ulmus*); Verg. *A.* 10, 361 (*vir*); Juv. 1, 120 (*lectica*); 14, 144 (*oliva*); etc.

69–76. For Bertin's imitation see 1, 5, 69–76 n.

70. The simple subjunctive ('vinciat . . . prodeat') with *persuadeo* is cited elsewhere only from Sallust, *Jug.* 35, 2, 'huic Sp. Albinus . . . persuadet . . . regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat.' More common with *suadeo*, Plaut. *Asin.* 644; Petron. 35; Nepos, *Con.* 4, 1; etc. See 1, 2, 25a n. — **prodeat**: used regularly of women 'going out' (cp. Hor. *Od.* 2, 8, 7, etc.), so also *incedere*, cp. 2, 3, 52; 4, 2, 11 and notes. So 'Tyrio sinu,' *i.e.* 'Tyria palla,' is part of the conventional street costume for ladies, cp. 4, 2, 11 n. — **sinu**: for the figure, 1, 6, 18; Propert. 3, 8, 8; Ovid, *Her.* 5, 71, and often.

71. **tibi**: for the dative of reference cp. 2, 6, 31; 4, 13, 4; 5; 16. — **bella**: this popular equivalent of *pulchra* belongs rather in the sphere of the epigram. Its presence here is symptomatic of this type of elegy, cp. 4, 13, 5 n.

72. **remque domumque tuam**: 'your fortune and your family.' For the phrase cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Her.* 17, 159, 'resque domusque'; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 2, 51, 'sic domus et res'; etc.

73–74. The point of view (in this case quite excusable) is that of Psyche's

sister in Apul. *Met.* 5, 10, 'ego vero maritum articulari etiam morbo complicatum curvatumque ac per hoc rarissimo Venerem meam recolentem sustineo, plerumque detortos et duratos in lapidem digitos eius perfricans, fomentis olidis et pannis sordidis et faetidis cataplasmatibus manus tam delicatas istas adurens, nec uxoris officiosam faciem sed medicae laboriosam personam sustinens'; Catull. 71, 'Si quoi iure bono sacer alarum obstitit hircus, | aut si quem merito tarda podagra secat, | aemulus iste tuus, qui vestrum exercet amorem, | mirifice est a te nactus utrumque malum. | nam quotiens futuit, totiens ulciscitur ambos: | illam adfligit odore, ipse perit podagra'; esp. the famous epigram of Hedylos in the *Anth. Pal.* 11, 414, λυσιμελοῦς Βάκχου καὶ λυσιμελοῦς Ἀφροδίτης | γεννᾶται θυγάτηρ λυσιμελὴς Ποδάγρα.

Perhaps Robert Greene was thinking of this passage of Tibullus when he wrote in his *Mamillia* (1583), 'How can a yoong woman fixe her affection vppon an olde man who in the night time in steed of talke telleth the clocke, crieth out of the gout, complaineth of the Ciatica, is combred with crampes, and troubled with the cough, hauing neither health to ioy himselfe, nor youth to enioy her.'

73. **facit**: 1, 8, 22 n. — **foeda podagra**: the antique remedies, bandages, and poultices regularly used for gout made the sufferer especially repulsive, cp. Apul. above; Verg. *G.* 3, 299, where Servius says of *turpisque podagras*: 'respexit ad curam, quae sine pannis et medicaminibus sordidis non fit'; esp. Celsus, 4, 24 (31, Daremberg). Doubtless too *foeda* here was also meant to suggest the appearance of the sufferers, cp. Ovid. *Pont.* 1, 3, 23, 'tollere nodosam nescit medicina podagram'; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 1, 31, etc.

74. **senis amplexus**: 1, 8, 30 n. — **culta puella**: *i.e. elegans, venusta*, 'a girl of refinement,' 'a cultivated woman of the world,' (together with the manners, dress, and appearance in harmony with that character). A favourite word of Ovid's, cp. *e.g. Ars Amat.* 1, 97, 'sic ruit in celebres cultissima femina ludos'; 2, 175, 'proelia cum Parthis, cum culta pax sit amica'; 3, 51, 'cultas ne laede puellas,' etc. 'A woman of fashion,' 'the smart set' are partial equivalents.

75. **accubuit**: from *accumbo* and for *concubuit*. A rare use. The Thesaurus records only Propert. 2, 3, 30; 3, 15, 12, and without the dative, Propert. 2, 32, 36; Apul. *Flor.* 49; Vulg. *Gen.* 19, 33.

76. The evident adaptation of an even more drastic popular expression.

77. **blanditias meas**: *i.e.* belonging to me, cp. Ovid, *Her.* 20, 145, 'iste sinus meus est, mea turpiter oscula sumis,' etc.; Achill. Tat. 4, 8, οὐ μοιχεύσεταί μου τὰ φιλήματα, etc.

79–80. The conventional atmosphere of the elegy to which we return with this naïve threat is preserved until the close of the piece.

79. **flebis . . . me iuvet**: 'you will be sorry — but I shall be pleased,' *i.e.* the situation hitherto existing will be reversed. — **vinctum**: 1, 1, 55; 2, 4, 3; etc.

80. **geret regna**: a poetic variation of the regular prose usage *gerere rempublicam*, *potestatem*, *magistratum*, etc. — **regno regna**: 'lord it in your domain.' For the immediate repetition of the substantive see 4, 7, 10 n. Observe however that here the substantive is repeated in another sense, *i.e.* *regnum* = 'kingdom' (a common use in the erotic sphere, cp. 2, 3, 59; 4, 5, 4 n.) and *regna*, the poetic plural here = 'rule,' 'sovereignty' (Propert. 4, 7, 50; 4, 10, 18; Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 15; etc.). This is an artistic but uncommon development of the figure.

81–82. 1, 3, 33–34 and notes. The palm wreath or branch was a symbol of victory, hence its significance here.

83–84. The votive inscription, like the epitaph (cp. 1, 3, 55–56 n.), is a regular motive of the elegy. So *e.g.* Propertius 2, 14, 27, 'has pono ante tuas tibi, diva, Propertius aedis | exuvias, tota nocte receptus amans'; 2, 28, 43, 'pro quibus optatis sacro me carmine damno: | scribam ego "Per magnum est salva puella Iovem"'; 4, 3, 72; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 11, 27; 2, 13, 25; etc.

83. Maximianus, 1, 61, has been quoted here as an echo, but the statement seems more than doubtful. The distich is 'sed mihi dulce magis resoluto vivere collo | nullaque coniugii vincula grata pati,' cp. 1, 2, 19–20 n. and Introd. p. 61–62. For the cadence, see 1, 2, 27 n.

84. **grata sis mente**: for the ablative of quality, cp. 1, 3, 71; 1, 6, 86; 1, 7, 8; 2, 5, 104; 1, 3, 54. *grata* is of course active, cp. 4, 6, 19 and Antipater Thess. *Anth. Pal.* 6, 209 —

> Βιθυνὶς Κυθέρη με τεῆς ἀνεθήκατο, Κύπρι,
> μορφᾶς εἴδωλον λύγδινον εὐξαμένα.
> ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ μακρῇ μεγάλην χάριν ἀντιμερίζου,
> ὡς ἔθος ἀρκεῖται δ' ἀνδρὸς ὁμοφροσύνᾳ.

— **rogat**: on *rogare* with the simple subjunctive see 70 and 1, 2, 25a with notes.

1, 10

See Introd. p. 35. The poet has been called to military service. As a contrast between war and carnage, as opposed to peace and the quiet country life, this poem has much in common with the first and third of this book. The date cannot be determined (cp. l. 25 below with n.), although the fact that no love affair is mentioned has led to the conclusion that it was prior to the affair with Delia, if not to the composition of the group to Marathus.

Imitated by Loyson and Andrieux, translated by Morell into Greek.

'Who was it that first invented the sword? Surely, a savage, a veritable

man of iron. Or have we misused a gift that was meant for a protection against the beasts? All is due to our greed of gold. There was no war in primaeval times when luxury was unknown. Would I were living in those times. I would not now be going to war, and, who knows, perhaps to my death. Protect and preserve me, Lares, even as when I was a little boy and played at your feet. Ye good old gods, I give you the simple worship of my fathers. Ah, those were better days, those days of simplicity and of peace. Let others win fame on the bloody field. To hear them rehearse their deeds over the wine is enough for me. What madness it is to summon Death by violence. At best he comes upon us all too soon, and then the barren world below is forever ours, the joyless realm of dust and shadow. How much better a good old age, with one's wife and boys, in a happy country home. May this be my fate, and may Peace bestow her blessings upon us all.'

1–14. The characteristic diatribe on war, cp. 1, 2, 65; 1, 3, 47–48 and note. Cp. Cowley's *Sylva*, Ode 5, 'Curst be that wretch (Death's factor sure) who brought | Dire swords into the peaceful world, and taught | Smiths, who before could only make | The spade, the ploughshare, and the rake, | Arts in most cruel wise | Man's life t'epitomize. | Then men (fond men alas) rid post to th' grave, | And cut those threads, which yet the Fates would save. | Then Charon sweated at his trade, | And had a bigger ferry made, | Then, then the silver hair, | Frequent before, grew rare,' etc.

1–2. For a punning trans. see Steele in the *Guardian*, No. 143. Professor Mustard finds an echo of this distich in Joannes Secundus, *Eleg.* 3, 2—

ah, pereat duros primum qui protulit enses,
ille fuit ferro durior ipse suo.

1. **protulit**: so Propert. 2, 6, 31; Hor. *A. P.* 58 and 130, and often. For this interest in the discoverers and inventors of things see Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* p. 138 (2d edit. 1912, p. 151), etc.

2. **ferus et ferreus**: this alliterative quasi-punning phrase finds its prototype as early as Ennius, *Ann.* 183–184 V, 'feroque | ornatur ferro,' cp. Cicero, *Quint. Frat.* 1, 3, 3, 'quem ego ferus ac ferreus e complexu dimisi meo.' The phrase is, perhaps, an echo from the popular speech, cp. 1, 10, 65 n., and note that it is not repeated in Lygdamus's imitation of this distich in 3, 2, 1–2.

3–4. 1, 10, 33; 1, 3, 49–50 n. On *mortis via*, 1, 3, 50. *dirus* (= δεινός) is a Sabine word (Servius on Verg. *A.* 3, 235) applied to prodigies (Festus, 69). Note that *nata* (neut. plur.) does duty for the missing *nata* (fem. sing.) with *caedes*, and that *est* ('aperta est') does duty for the missing copula with both, cp. 1, 5, 36 n.

5–6. This rhetorical question states a maxim of the philosophers which is

often repeated, cp. *e.g.* Seneca, *N.Q.* 5, 18, 15, 'nihil invenies tam manifestae utilitatis quod non in contrarium transeat culpa.' Frequently as here in connection with the sword because the first sword often introduces the topic of war so frequently dwelt upon in discussing the history of mankind, cp. 1, 3, 37–40 n. For Tibullus and for the poets in general who believe (at least for purposes of their art) in a fall from grace the first sword and the first ship mark the beginning of our long downward path since the Golden Age. A fragment of Parthenios, *ὅστις ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἔξυσεν αἰγανέην*, indicates how faithful our poet is here to the traditional themes of the idyllic erotic elegy, cp. also Ovid, *Met.* 15, 106 f. Opponents of the fall from grace (*i.e.* esp. the Epicureans) contended that the sword merely marked an important period in the long chronicle of homicide. It succeeded the club and the large rough stone, cp. Lucret. 5, 968, 'missilibus saxis et magno pondere clavae'; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 3, 100, 'mutum et turpe pecus glandem atque cubilia propter | unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro | pugnabant armis quae post fabricaverat usus'; Val. Flacc. 5, 145 (of the Chalybes); Plato, *Rep.* 358 E, etc.

6. **in feras**: for *in* = 'towards,' *i.e.* 'against,' cp. 1, 3, 52; 1, 8, 50; 4, 4, 14. For *in* = 'into' (of place), note esp. 1, 3, 6; 36; 80; 1, 5, 38; 1, 9, 12; 4, 7, 4 (see n.). Of time, 'for,' only 4, 2, 23. Of purpose, 'for,' 1, 5, 48; 2, 4, 44; 4, 3, 3. See 1, 10, 29 n.

7–10. In 1, 1, 5 f. Tibullus described the life he desired to lead; in 1, 2, 71 f., the life he would be happy to lead with Delia; in 1, 3, 35 f., the Golden Age; in 1, 5, 19 f., the life he had once hoped to lead with Delia here, the simple life of old Rome, cp. 2, 5, 21 f.; and in 1, 10, 39, of to-day, cp. 2, 1, 47 f. So far as his personal experience enters into this characteristic multiplicity of variations upon a single theme, the model before him, we may be sure, was the happy days of his own childhood. For this favourite contrast of the desirable past with the undesirable present, cp. 1, 3, 35 f. with notes.

7–8. Vergil's 'auri sacra fames quid non mortalia cogis | pectora' (*A.* 3, 56) is a theme of which the ancients never tire; cp. Lucret. 5, 1423; Seneca, *Phaedra*, 527; Rutilius, 1, 357, etc. The most of our troubles are due to it, above all navigation (1, 3, 37–40 n.) and war (1, 3, 47–48 n.); cp. 1, 1, 1; 1, 1, 49; 1, 1, 75; 2, 3, 37; Plato, *Rep.* 373 D; *Phaedo*, 66 D; Aristot. *Pol. Ath.* 8, etc. We usually find it as here, cp. 1, 3, 47, etc., connected with the preachment of old-fashioned simplicity as contrasted with the present luxury, cp. Propert. 2, 20, 25; 3, 2, 19; 3, 5, 4; Sen. *Phaedra*, 483–564; Boeth. *Cons. Phil.* 2, met. 5, etc.

7. **divitis auri**: for the figure, 1, 9, 31; 3, 3, 11; Manilius, 5, 16; etc.

8. **faginus**: beechen cups are often associated with the idyllic life of other

days; cp. Ovid, *Met.* 8, 659; *Fasti*, 5, 521; Val. Max. 4, 3, 5; Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 653; Pliny, 16, 185; Sil. Ital. 7, 193; Mart. 2, 43, 10.

10. The picture is Homeric, cp. *Odyss.* 4, 413 (of Proteus), λέξεται ἐν μέσσῃσι νομεὺς ὣς πώεσι μήλων. — **varias oves**: cp. Verg. *G.* 3, 387; Varro, *De Re Rust.* 2, 2, 4; Columella, 7, 3. — **dux gregis**: in antiquity, as in the Orient at the present day, the sheep follow their shepherd, cp. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 575; Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 786; etc. Of the old theory that *dux gregis* here means the ram (as *e.g.* in Ovid, *Met.* 7, 311) Martinon effectually disposes with the dry observation, 'ainsi quand les béliers dormaient tranquillement les hommes étaient heureux.'

11–12. Henri Estienne, *Apologie pour Hérodote*, chap. 4 ('Comment et pourquoy aucuns poëtes ont fort regretté le premier siècle') quotes this distich and translates —

Las pleust à Dieu que j'eusse esté né lors,
Sans essayer de Mars les durs efforts,
Et sans ouïr la trompette sonner,
Qui de frayeur me fait tout frissonner.

11. **foret**: on *foret* here instead of *esset*, cp. 1, 9, 39 n., and on the omission of the conditional sign, 1, 6, 53 n.; and *e.g.* Pliny, *Epist.* 1, 12, 8, 'dedisses huic animo par corpus, fecisset quod optabat.' The use of the imperfect *foret* instead of *fuisset*, 'denotes opposition to a general statement which holds good both for Past and for Present' (Gild.-Lodge, 597, R. 1), *i.e.* 'I did not and do not live, never have lived, in that time,' cp. Seneca, *Epist.* 29, 10, 'si pudorem haberes, ultimam mihi pensionem remisisses'; 'if you had (= you had not, as you have not) any delicacy,' etc. — **vulgi**: apparently = *duri militis* of 49. For this use of *vulgus* Schulze quotes Ovid, *Met.* 13, 1, 'consedere duces et vulgi stante corona surgit . . . Aiax'; Livy, 22, 30, 7, 'dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam volgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata'; Tac. *Hist.* 1, 25, 'vulgus et ceteros'; Nepos, *Alcib.* 8, 2, 'ibique praesente vulgo agere coepit'; Curtius, 7, 2, 33, 'carus principibus, vulgo militum acceptior.' Cp. *id.* 3, 6, 19, 'militari gratiora vulgo.' The usage is rare, but the passage from Ovid suggests that the reading of the Ambrosianus here is probably sound. — **tristia arma**: for the phrase, 1, 10, 49; Verg. *E.* 6, 7; Hor. *A. P.* 73.

12. **corde micante**: for the expression in this connection cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 722; *Fasti*, 6, 338. Cyllenius quotes a satiric variation from Juv. 14, 199.

13. **nunc . . . iam**: 'now (as it is)' . . . 'now (at this very moment).' For 'iam . . . nunc' see 1, 5, 71 n.; for 'nunc . . . nunc,' 1, 8, 75 n.; for 'iam . . . iam,' 1, 1, 70; 1, 2, 47; 2, 5, 41; 4, 4, 23; 'huc . . . illuc,' 1, 3, 70 n.; 'interdum . . . interdum,' 4, 4, 13. — **trahŏr et**: 1, 5, 33 n., cp. 2,

2, 5. Return to the original long vowel at the caesura is more common when *et* or *aut* follows, *i.e.* words like *et* or *aut* serve to emphasize the pause. — **quis forsitan hostis**: *quis* for *aliquis* after *si, seu, ne, neu, nisi, etsi*, is common in all styles and periods (so Tib. except here). Otherwise *quis* for *aliquis* is found for the most part with relatives (but this, too, is rare, only 8 times, *e.g.* in the orations of Cicero). The remaining cases are usually in dependent clauses with particles like *quo* (Cic. *Vat.* 37; *Cluent.* 144; 148), *quod* (*Verr.* 5, 168), *quamvis* (*Phil.* 2, 44), *ut* (*Acad.* 1, 7), *quotiescumque* (*Fin.* 5, 29), *cum* (*Prov. Cons.* 5), etc. In exx. like Hor. *Sat.* 1, 3, 63, 'simplicior quis et est . . . "molestus" . . . inquimus'; Cicero, *Paradox.* 44, 'filiam quis habet, pecunia est opus; duas maiore'; Terence, *Eun.* 252, 'negat quis: nego; ait: aio,' the sentence is really conditional (*i.e. si quis negat*, etc.). *quis* for *aliquis* in principal sentences as here is occasional in the older authors (see dictt.), but otherwise it is very rare. In the orations and the philosophical writings of Cicero we find only *Fin.* 3, 71, 'alienumque a sapiente non modo iniuriam cui facere verum etiam nocere,' and *Fin.* 1, 53; *Off.* 3, 76; 102; 110, the phraseological *quis dixerit*. Still more rare is the Tibullian combination here of *quis* with an appositive (*hostis*). Possibly the influence of *forsitan* is to be considered (*quis forsitan* = τύχων τις), hence *gerit* indic. instead of subjunctive (cp. however Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 419, 'forsitan haec aliquis (nam sunt quoque) parva vocabit.')—**forsitan**: Leo (Seneca, *Trag.* 1, p. 63) notes the rarity of this word with the present indicative. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 6, 45; *Her.* 2, 103; 20, 136; *Trist.* 1, 1, 69; 5, 10, 40; *Pont.* 4, 1, 27; 4, 13, 13, complete the record for the elegy. Usually avoided by Seneca in his tragedies, but not uncommon in his prose, especially in his letters.

14. **haesura**: 1, 9, 9 n.—**nostro**: for *nostro* (for *meo*) as compared with *trahor* above cp. 1, 2, 11 n.—**latere**: a word of far wider application than the English words 'side' or 'flank' by which it is generally translated. It is often used of a mortal wound as here, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 9, 412, 'cognatumque latus Phegeius hauserit ensis'; Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 1165; *Eleg. in Maec.* 30; etc. In such cases we naturally think of 'heart' or 'vitals' rather than 'flank.' Sometimes, esp. in Ovid, *latus* stands for virility or masculine vigour. In such cases a favourite Elizabethan equivalent is 'back.'

16. 2, 2, 22.

17–18. Hardwood gods, like the beechen cups of 8, are conventionally associated with primaeval simplicity, cp. 20; 2, 5, 28 n.; Juvenal, 11, 115; etc. The preference for them and the continuation of the type long after the art of the statuary was fully developed is an interesting illustration of Roman conservatism.

17. **e stipite**: for the ablative of material with *ex*, cp. 2, 1, 24; 2, 5, 97;

with *de*, 1, 1, 40; 2, 1, 59. *ex* is used of the whole, 2, 6, 54, and of origin, 1, 2, 40, otherwise local.

18. **veteris avi**; cp. *antiquo avo*, 1, 1, 42. Tibullus's fondness for *vetus*, *antiquus*, *priscus*, and synonyms has often been observed.

20. **exigua aede**: the *lararium*. — **deus**: 1, 6, 43 n.; 2, 5, 30, etc.

21–24. 1, 1, 20; 1, 3, 34 and notes.

21. **placatus erat**: imperfect, *i.e.* *placatus* is an adjective, not a participle.

22. Martial, 7, 63, 4, 'credis et Aoniae Bacchica serta comae,' also Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 10, 36; *Fasti*, 4, 616 are quoted here as imitations; cp. also 1, 3, 66.

23–24. Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 652, 'stat puer et manibus lata canistra tenet, | inde ubi ter fruges medios immisit in ignis, | porrigit incisos filia parva favos.'

23. **atque**: connects with the previous sentence, *que* the two parts of the sentence introduced by *atque*. So 'atque . . . et,' 2, 1, 65; 2, 2, 8; 2, 4, 47, 'et . . . que,' 1, 9, 48, etc. Doubled *atque* is found only in 2, 5, 73. — **liba**: 1, 7, 54 n.

25. Voss sees in *aerata* here a reference to the bronze weapons of the Celts of Aquitania. If so, the coming campaign referred to here would be the one which the poet afterwards described in 1, 7, 3 f. See below. — **nobis**: for the dative, 4, 4, 1 n.

26. The line is very troublesome as it stands. Some, *e.g.* Ramsay, (cp. also, Korn, *Rhein. Mus.* 20, 168; Wilhelm, *Jahrb. Phil.* 1895, p. 125) construe *hostia*, etc., with *Lares* as a second subject of *depellite* (*i.e.* both the Lares and the pig offered to them are asked to protect the worshipper). Others, *e.g.* Schulze, supply an *erit vobis* with *hostia* and make *que* = 'and then' (as in Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 13, 16; *Met.* 10, 252), *i.e.* *depellite*, etc. = the protasis and *hostia* (*erit vobis*), etc. = the apodosis of a conditional sentence. The imperative as a protasis is not uncommon, but I find no parallel for the combination of such a protasis with an apodosis consisting of a mere nominative and modifiers hanging in mid-air. It seems far better therefore to follow the Itali and such modern editors as Baehrens and Postgate in indicating a lacuna between 25 and 26. *aerata tela* plainly indicates 'barbarous weapons,' as Postgate remarks, but the reference is not clear enough as it stands. We need, and Tibullus would naturally write, a pentameter giving the epithet more definite form and perhaps even adding some detail sufficient to identify the particular enemy referred to. 26 is best explained as the end of a sentence (describing some detail of sacrifice to the Lares) the beginning of which has been lost. If so at least two lines have dropped out, the original pentameter with 25, and the original hexameter with 26.

On the offering of a pig to the Lares (a favourite victim with the Romans) cp. Plautus, *Rud.* 1208; Hor. *Od.* 3, 17, 15; 23, 4; *Sat.* 2, 3, 165; etc.

27. **pura cum veste**: 1, 1, 38; 1, 3, 25 and notes; Servius on Verg. *A.* 4, 683; 12, 169; etc. The ablat. of attendance takes *cum* as here except in 4, 2, 11 where see note. On myrtle for the Lares cp. *e.g.* Hor. *Od.* 3, 23, 16.

29–30. The wish is that of 1, 1, 1 f. etc.

29. **fortis in armis**: *in*, of condition, only here. Otherwise the regular ablative of respect without a preposition as in 2, 3, 68; 5, 62; 75; 105; with adjectives, 4, 2, 24; 1, 7, 47; 4, 3, 7; 1, 6, 40; 4, 2, 22; 4, 4, 2; with comparatives, 1, 9, 63 and note. See also 1, 10, 6 n.

For the consecutive clause with *ut*, cp. 2, 6, 42; with *qui*, 1, 1, 3; 1, 6, 13; 1, 2, 53; with *quin*, 1, 6, 70.

31–32. This touch of nature appealed especially to Ovid, cp. *Her.* 1, 29 (the fine passage describing the soldier's return from Troy) —

mirantur iustique senes trepidaeque puellae,
  narrantis coniunx pendet ab ore viri,
atque aliquis posita monstrat fera proelia mensa
  pingit et exiguo Pergama tota mero:
"hac ibat Simois, haec est Sigeia tellus,
  hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis;
illic Aeacides, illic tendebat Ulixes,
  hic lacer admissos terruit Hector equos."

For a variation see also *Ars Amat.* 2, 131 f. (Ulysses telling his story to Calypso). Ramsay quotes Voltaire's lines on the old soldier —

Et le vieux nouvelliste une canne à la main,
Trace au Palais Royal Ypre, Farne et Denain.

Plutarch calls attention to the habit, *Mor.* 630 B (*Quaest. Conviv.* 2, 2), *διὸ καὶ περὶ χώρας ἀποίκου καὶ ξένης θαλάττης ἐθῶν τε βαρβαρικῶν καὶ νόμων οἱ πεπλανημένοι καὶ πεπλευκότες ἥδιον ἐρωτῶνται, καὶ προθύμως διηγοῦνται καὶ διαγράφουσι κόλπους καὶ τόπους, οἰόμενοι καὶ χάριν τινὰ τῶν πόνων ταύτην καὶ παραμυθίαν κομίζεσθαι* · cp. Macrob. 7, 2, 6 (discussing Vergil's 'forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit'), 'nec non et qui obierunt maria et terras gaudent cum de ignoto multis vel terrarum situ vel sinu maris interrogantur, libenterque respondent et describunt modo verbis modo radio loca, gloriosum putantes quae ipsi viderint aliorum oculis obicere.' With us, the grave-digger in *Hamlet* is the classical illustration of the inability of the untrained man to tell a story at all without diagrams.

For the use of wine to write on the table cp. also 1, 6, 19 n.

33–34. That is, in any case, Death is upon us, etc. Note the picturesqueness here of *imminet.*

34. **tacito pede**: the 'stealing steps' of Death (1, 1, 70 n.), like those of

Age (1, 1, 71 n.), and of Retribution (1, 9, 4 n.), are proverbial. The ancients had a very keen perception of these relentless figures, dogging our footsteps unseen, unheard, unsuspected, and, when they finally reach us, always a surprise.

35–38. This is the Hades which recurs again and again in the classical poets from Homer down, the abode of dust and shadow, the place of Death worse than Death himself, cp. Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 697—

AMPH. Estne aliqua tellus Cereris aut Bacchi ferax?
THES. Non prata viridi laeta facie germinant
nec adulta leni fluctuat Zephyro seges;
non ulla ramos silva pomiferos habet:
sterilis profundi vastitas squalet soli
et foeda tellus torpet aeterno situ . . .
immotus aer haeret et pigro sedet
nox atra mundo: cuncta maerore horrida
ipsaque Morte peior est Mortis locus.

So too Milton, *P. L.*, 2, 618—

Through many a dark and dreary vale
They passed, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp,
Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,
A universe of death . . .
Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable and worse
Than fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimaeras dire.

For Elysium and Tartaros, see 1, 3, 59 f. and notes.

35. **seges**: 1, 3, 61 n.; Seneca, quoted above, etc. — **infra**: natural enough in this connection but extremely rare. I find no other case. More usual is *ad* or *apud inferos*, *apud Orcum*, and the like. — **audax**: found only here of Kerberos but describes well the Dog of Hades who recks of naught, cp. *improbus* applied to him by Propertius, 4, 11, 25. For Kerberos see 1, 3, 71 n.

36. **navita turpis**: Charon, the boatman of the Styx, is post-Homeric (Eustath. 1666, 36). He appeared first in the epic *Minyas* and was afterward represented in the famous picture of Hades by Polygnotos (cp. 1, 3, 69-70; 77-78; 79-80, and notes) in the Lesche at Delphi (Pausan. 10, 28, 2.). He is a favourite figure in the comedy and in Lukian (*e.g.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 183; *Lysist.* 606; *Plut.* 278; Eurip. *H. F.* 432; *Alkest.* 254 and 361;

Hermesianax ap. Athen. 13, 597 B, 3; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 764; Juv. 3, 266, etc.), frequently occurs in the epitaphs, is a striking figure in the remains of Etruscan art, and among the modern Greeks, by whom he is called Charos or Charontas, he has usurped the place and functions of Hades himself. ***turpis*** as an epithet of him is found only here, but both literature and art unite in attesting the fitness of it. See, for example, Vergil, *A.* 6, 298 —

> Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
> terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
> canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma,
> sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.
> ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat
> et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,
> iam senior; sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.

The inner man is mirrored in his outward semblance and hence ***turpis***, ***αἰσχρός***, 'foul' (in its old and new sense), may apply to personal appearance as well as to personal character.

37–38. That is, the ghosts bear upon them traces of the funeral fires by which their mortal parts were destroyed. Sometimes the face is pictured as flattened or disfigured by the waters of Lethe (*i.e.* the features are blurred more or less by decomposition). The two ideas together give a touch of peculiar horror to Propertius, 4, 7, 7 (the dead Cynthia appearing to her lover in a dream) —

> eosdem habuit secum quibus est elata capillis,
> eosdem oculos; lateri vestis adusta fuit,
> et solitum digito beryllon adederat ignis,
> summaque Lethaeus triverat ora liquor.

So wounds or any mutilation by which a man came to his death reappear upon his shade in the other world or when he returns thence to appear to us in our dreams, cp. *e.g.* 2, 6, 39; Verg. *A.* 2, 274; 6, 450; 495; Ovid, *Met.* 10, 49; 11, 691; Sil. Ital. 12, 547; etc. This naïve idea is universal. We cannot disassociate the appearance of people in the other world from their appearance in this world at death or after death and interment. The risen Redeemer bears the scars of his sufferings upon him, the ghost of one foully murdered shows the gaping wound forever dripping blood, he wears white because the corpse traditionally wears white, he is pale because the dead are pale, etc. The idea is firmly fixed among the Chinese, and is said to be the reason why they inflict such horrible mutilation upon their criminals. See 1, 4, 60 n.

38. obscuros . . . lacus: Edgar says in *King Lear*, 3, 6, 'Frateretto calls me; and tells me Nero is an angler in the lake of darkness.'

39–44. The peaceful idyllic old age of the *aurea mediocritas* is a favourite theme. One of the best examples is Claudian's epigram on the Old Man of Verona (*Carm. Min.* 20) so often translated by our eighteenth century poets. See also *Anth. Lat.* 433 R. 'est mihi rus parvum, fenus sine crimine parvum; | sed facit haec nobis utraque magna quies,' etc.; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 196, 'me mea tellus | lare secreto tutoque tegat. | venit ad pigros cana senectus, | humilique loco sed certa sedet | sordida parvae fortuna domus: | alte virtus animosa cadit'; especially, however, Hor. *Epod.* 2, 39 f., 'quod si pudica mulier in partem iuvet | domum atque dulcis liberos, | Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus | pernicis uxor Apuli, | sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum | lassi sub adventum viri | claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus | distenta siccet ubera | et horna dulci vina promens dolio | dapes inemptas apparet,' etc.

39. **hic . . . quem**: so 'hic . . . qui,' 1, 5, 35; 'ille . . . qui,' 1, 2, 65; 1, 6, 31; 2, 3, 55; 'ipse . . . qui,' 2, 2, 5; 2, 3, 59. Reversed, 'qui . . . ille,' 1, 4, 67; 'qui . . . is,' 1, 10, 66; 'qui . . . hic,' 4, 5, 1 (where see n.) —**hic**: so Lucret. 2, 387; 1066; 6, 9; Verg. *A.* 4, 22; 6, 791. These appear to be the only examples in the classical poets (Postgate).—**prole parata**: for the alliteration see 65 n.

40. **occupat**: 'takes possession of.' So used of old age, *e.g.* by Hor. *Epist.* 1, 20, 18.

The homoeoteleuton in this line (four cases of final *a* in succession) has been illustrated by Propert. 4, 10, 20, 'et galea hirsuta compta lupina iuba,' and Verg. *G.* 4, 366, 'omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra.' But the monotony is visual rather than audible. In all three lines two are long and two, at least, are short, as well as unstressed, and in Propertius the first (*galea*) is elided. In Cicero's unfortunate line, 'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!' 'O what a consolation my consulship was to the nation!' (G.), which the critics never forgot, there was no escape. Moreover, the fault was aggravated by the nasal *m* and by the ill-advised jingle.

41. For the division of labour, which in a general way still holds good in country districts, cp. *e.g.* Eurip. *Kyklops*, 27 f. Achilles Statius quotes Kallimach. *frag.* 127, Schn.

43. For the alliteration, see 65 n. — **canis**: *i.e.* 'canis capillis,' cp. Ovid, *Met.* 3, 516; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 1249; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 76, 3, *ἠλλάχθη δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ γήραϊ καὶ πολιαῖσι*, etc., and our own expression 'to grow grey.'

44. Since Homer's Nestor the fact that old men like to talk of the past remained more or less of a commonplace, not only of poetry, but of rhetoric and philosophical discussion, cp. 3, 3, 31; 3, 5, 26; Hor. *A. P.* 173; Aristot. *Rhet.* 2, 13, 12, *καὶ ζῶσι τῇ μνήμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἐλπίδι· τοῦ γὰρ βίου τὸ μὲν*

λοιπὸν ὀλίγον τὸ δὲ παρεληλυθὸς πολύ, ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐλπὶς τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἡ δὲ μνήμη τῶν παροιχομένων. ὅπερ αἴτιον καὶ τῆς ἀδολεσχίας αὐτοῖς· διατελοῦσι γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντες· ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι γὰρ ἥδονται.

45–63. The praises of Peace — a favourite theme, but one which had a peculiar significance just at this time because the poet is addressing the generation to which Tacitus refers when he described Augustus (*Ann.* 1, 1) as the one 'qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accepit.' Among the most striking passages on this subject are Eurip. *Bacch.* 413; Theokrit. 16, 88; Philippos, *Anth. Pal.* 6, 236 (quoted in 49–50 n., below). We also owe to Stobaios (chap. 53) Eurip. 453 N.; 369 N.; *Suppl.* 481; Aristoph. 109 K.; 387 K.; Philemon, 71 K., esp. Bacchylides, *frag.* 4, Blass, with which Tib. has some points in common —

> *Τίκτει δέ τε θνατοῖσιν εἰρήνα μεγάλα*
> *πλοῦτον μελιγλώσσων τ' ἀοιδᾶν ἄνθεα,*
> *δαιδαλέων τ' ἐπὶ βωμῶν*
> *θεοῖσιν αἴθεσθαι βοῶν ξανθᾶι φλογὶ*
> *μηρί' εὐτρίχων τε μήλων,*
> *γυμνασίων τε νέοις*
> *αὐλῶν τε καὶ κώμων μέλειν.*
> *ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις*
> *πόρπαξιν αἰθᾶν ἀραχνᾶν ἱστοὶ πέλονται·*
> *ἔγχεά τε λογχωτὰ ξίφεα τ' ἀμφάκεα*
> *δάμναται . . . εὐρώς.*
> *χαλκεᾶν δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος,*
> *οὐδὲ συλᾶται μελίφρων*
> *ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων,*
> *ἀῶιος ὃς θάλπει κέαρ.*
> *συμποσίων δ' ἐρατῶν*
> *βρίθοντ' ἀγυιαί, παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται.*

It will be observed that in this passage of Tibullus Peace practically performs the tasks, etc., ascribed to Osiris in 1, 7, 29 f. and to the rustic deities in 2, 1, 37 f.

45. **candida**: *i.e.* dressed in white, cp. 68; 2, 1, 16; etc.

46. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 318, 'iussit et inmeritam sub iuga curva trahi'; *Pont.* 1, 8, 54, 'ducam ruricolas sub iuga curva boves.'

For a similar detail in descriptions of Peace, cp. Aristoph. *frag.* 387, 4 K.

47–48. Philemon, *frag.* 71, 9 K. speaks of Peace as the giver of wine. From a different point of view, cp. Hor. *Od.* 2, 14, 25, 'absumet heres Caecuba dignior | servata centum clavibus et mero | tinguet pavimentum superbo, | pontificum potiore cenis.'

49–50. A favourite detail in descriptions of Peace, cp. *e. g.* Bacchyl. *frag.* 4, 8 quoted above; Eurip. 369 N., *κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναις, | μετὰ δ' ἡσυχίας πολιῷ γήρᾳ συνοικοίην* (cp. Eustath. *Odyss.* 1793, 40); Theokrit. 16, 96 (cp. *Odyss.* 8, 280), *ἀράχνια δ' εἰς ὅπλ' ἀράχναι | λεπτὰ διαστήσαιντο·* Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 928, 'sarcula nunc durusque bidens et vomer aduncus, | ruris opes, niteant; inquinet arma situs. | conatusque aliquis vagina ducere ferrum, | astrictum longa sentiat esse mora'; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 1, 43; Seneca, *Thyest.* 565; Sil. Ital. 7, 533; etc. Mustard, *Classical Echoes in Tennyson*, p. 23, quotes *Maud*, 3, 6, 2, 'And the cobweb woven across the cannon's throat | Shall shake its threaded tears in the wind no more,' and Ben Jonson, *Prince Henry's Barriers*, 'shields and swords cobwebbed and rusty.' He also notes for the cobweb as an ancient type of desolation or disuse, Homer, *Odyss.* 16, 35; Hesiod, *W. and D.* 475; Plaut. *Aul.* 84; Catull. 13, 8; Propert. 4, 6, 83. Among the 'Emblems' of Alciati, a book immensely popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one of the special favourites was the one representing Peace, a swarm of bees issuing from a soldier's helmet. References to it are numerous, cp. *e.g.* *The True Trojans*, 1, 1 (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, XII, p. 453), 'Hang up thy rusty helmet, that the bee | May have a hive, or spiders find a loom.' Here, too, should be included Mustard's citations from the 'sonnet' appended to Peele's *Polyhymnia*, 'His helmet now shall make a hive for bees,' and Lyly's *Campaspe*, 4, 3, 'Bees to make their hives in soldiers' helmets.' The prototype of Alciati's idea is seen in passages like Philippos, *Anth. Pal.* 6, 236, 1 —

> Ἔμβολα χαλκογένεια, φιλόπλοα τεύχεα νηῶν,
>   Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου κείμενα μαρτύρια·
> ἠνίδε σιμβλεύει κηρότροφα δῶρα μελισσῶν,
>   ἑσμῷ βομβητῇ κυκλόσε βριθόμενα.
> Καίσαρος εὐνομίης χρηστὴ χάρις· ὅπλα γὰρ ἐχθρῶν
>   καρποὺς εἰρήνης ἀντεδίδαξε τρέφειν.

51–52. Ends what was originally the brief description of a rural merry-making in honour of the gods, cp. Bacchylides quoted above; 2, 1. — This amusing picture may have been partially responsible for Ovid, *Fasti*, 6, 785, 'ecce suburbana rediens male sobrius aede | ad stellas aliquis talia verba iacit'; etc. A state of exhilaration such as that to which Tibullus alludes was, one might almost say, *de rigeur* on these occasions; cp. 2, 1, 29–30 n.; Hor. *A. P.* 224; etc.

51. luco: *i.e.* the grove by which an ancient temple was usually surrounded; cp. Propert. 4, 6, 71; Verg. *A.* 11, 740; Hor. *Od.* 1, 4, 11; Quintil. 10, 1, 88; and often. Schulze notes that as *e luco* is practically one word, the displace-

ment of *que* (cp. 1, 1, 40 n.) is not as extreme as would appear at first sight. —**male sobrius**: 'anything but sober,' *i.e.* very drunk. *male* is often used with things desirable in the sense of a polite but decided negative; cp. *e.g.* *male sanus*, 'far from being in his right mind,' the suggestion being that as a matter of fact the man is stark, staring mad, *male fidus*, *male gratus*, etc.; so we say, 'I can ill afford,' etc. *male* in this use betrays the personal equation of the speaker, it emphasizes the prominence or the desirability of the thing negatived. On the other hand, *male* with things undesirable often acts as a superlative; cp. *male raucus*, 'dreadfully hoarse,' *me male odit*, 'he hates me horribly,' *male metuo*, 'I am much afraid.' Compare our expression 'to be badly scared,' 'badly hurt,' and the like. For adverbs with adjectives as here, 2, 6, 53; 4, 10, 2.

53–66. Lovers' quarrels, 'rixae, pax, et oscula,' also belong to the piping times of peace, cp. 1, 1, 74; 1, 6, 73–74 and n.; 2, 5, 101.

53–54. scissos capillos . . . perfractas fores: no antique love affair of the type referred to seems to have been complete without these somewhat primitive diversions, cp. Introd. p. 45; 1, 1, 74 n.; Propert. 2, 5, 21; 3, 8, 1; Ter. *Adel.* 101, 'non est flagitium, mihi crede, adulescentulum | scortari neque potare: non est: neque fores | ecfringere,' and often whenever a love affair *à la mode* is mentioned. It is interesting, however, to observe that then, as now, an indemnity for such 'nocturna bella' was sometimes demanded in the police court the next morning, cp. *e.g.* Herondas, 2, 63, where the plaintiff one Battaros, a leno, addressing the jury, says —

πὺξ ἐπλήγην, ἡ θύρη κατήρακται
τῆς οἰκίης μευ, τῆς τελέω τρίτην μισθόν,
τὰ ὑπέρθυρ' ὀπτά. δεῦρο Μυρτάλη καὶ σύ·
δεῖξον σεωυτὴν πᾶσι· μηδὲν αἰσχύνευ·
νόμιζε τούτους οὓς ὁρῇς δικάζοντας
πατέρας ἀδελφοὺς ἐμβλέπειν. ὁρῆτ', ἄνδρες,
τὰ τίλματ' αὐτῆς καὶ κάτωθε κἄνωθεν
ὡς λεῖα ταῦτ' ἔτιλλεν ὡναγὴς οὗτος,
ὅθ' εἷλκεν αὐτὴν κἀβιάζετ' — ὦ Γῆρας,
σοὶ θυέτω ἐπεὶ τὸ αἷμ' ἂν ἐξεφύσησεν,
ὥσπερ Φίλιππος ἐν Σάμῳ κοτ' ὁ Βρέγκος.

55. et ipse: for *et* = 'even,' or 'too,' cp. 1, 1, 77; 1, 7, 39; 1, 9, 39; 1, 10, 28; 2, 1, 63.

57–58. As in Hor. *Od.* 2, 8, 13, and in the Lovers' Paradise, cp. 1, 3, 64 n. so here Amor sits by unmoved (*lentus*) and eggs on the combatants, knowing from long observation what the end will be, and mindful of the proverbial

'amantium irae amoris redintegratiost'; cp. also Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 19, which deals at length with the principle that unless the honey of love is dashed with the piquancy of an occasional quarrel the emotional digestion cannot absorb it beyond a certain point.

57. Thomas Watson tells us himself in a note that his verse, 'Love is a wanton Childe and loves to brawl' (*Passionate Centurie of Love*, 89, 11) is an imitation of this line.

58. **lentus**: Cupid himself is a proverb of heartlessness; cp. *e.g.* *Anakreont.* 31 Crus.; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 2, 8; 3, 1, 20; Propert. 1, 1, 6; Seneca, *Phaedra*, 334; etc.

59–60. Cp. Ariosto (who in the midst of treating this favourite theme of the elegy, says, *O. F.* 5, 3)—

> Parmi non sol gran mal, ma che l' uom faccia
> Contra natura, e sia di Dio ribello,
> Che s' induce a percotere la faccia
> Di bella donna, o romperle un capello.

59. **a, lapis**, etc.: 1, 1, 63–64 n. The interjection *a* is very emphatic; cp. 1, 9, 3; 2, 1, 79; Lygd. 3, 4, 61; 62; 82; 6, 27; Sulp. 4, 11, 3.

60. That is, he is impious; cp. Ariosto above. An allusion to the Titans, a proverb of impiety; cp. 1, 6, 30 n.

61–66. The contrast of 53–60 and the comment upon them; cp. 1, 6, 73–74 and notes. Hence *rescindere*, 'pull off or open' (without tearing, hence *tenuem* still further emphasizes the gentleness of the chastisement recommended) in lieu of the usual destruction of raiment; *ornatus dissolvere*, mere disarrangement of coiffures (the plural is generic) in lieu of the lamentable *scissos capillos* of 53; *lacrimas movere*, merely 'starting' her to crying, in lieu of the melancholy spectacle of *teneras subtusa genas* in 55. Note that the perfects here, *dissoluisse* and *movisse*, despite the fact that the present, as *e.g.* in the case of *rescindere* (cp. 1, 1, 29–32 n.), might have been used, nevertheless, have their full force, 'be it enough when you have,' etc.; *i.e.* 'let it go no further.'

63–64. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 447, 'o quater et quotiens numero comprendere non est | felicem de quo laesa puella dolet, | quae simul invitas crimen pervenit ad aures, | excidit, et miserae voxque colorque fugit! | ille ego sim cuius laniet furiosa capillos; | ille ego sim teneras cui petat ungue genas, | quem videat lacrimans, quem torvis spectet ocellis, | quo sine non possit vivere, posse velit!'; Catull. 83, 3, 'si nostri oblita taceret, | sana esset: nunc quod gannit et obloquitur, | non solum meminit sed, quae multo acrior est res, | irata est, hoc est, uritur et loquitur'; cp. 92; Propert. 3, 8; etc. All this is

old-said sooth. Better tears, or even rage, than indifference. As Charles Webbe (1678) says —

Give hopes of bliss or dig my grave:
More love or more disdain I crave.

For Bertin's imitation see 1, 2, 79–94 n.

63. **quater ille beatus**: the traditions and flavour of this phrase suggest the epic in an exalted mood; cp. *Odyss.* 5, 306, *τρὶς μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις*, etc.; Verg. *A.* 1, 94, 'o terque quaterque beati | quis ante ora patrum,' etc.; Propert. 3, 7, 6, 'obruis insano terque quaterque mari'; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 447, quoted above, etc. In the midst of a comparatively trivial subject this sudden rise to the dignity and solemnity of epic is a sly touch showing that the poet is not as serious as he would have us believe.

64. **quo irato**: ablative absolute standing for a clause.

65. **scutumque sudemque**: this alliterative combination is doubtless popular. The remaining exx. quoted by Wölfflin are Juv. 6, 248, 'quem cavat adsiduis sudibus scutoque lacessit'; Livy, 22, 1, 8 (which is not a parallel). The phrase is one of the few in Tibullus illustrating alliteration in the sense demanded by Wölfflin's investigation (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische Akademie zu München*, 1881, p. 1 f.), *i.e.* as applying to the combination or parallelism of similar parts of speech, of members syntactically coördinated. We generally have nouns as here, so 'caput collum,' 1, 7, 52 (cp. Seneca, *Dial.* 1, 6, 8; Gellius, 10, 12, 3), 'caedes cruor,' 2, 3, 38 (cp. Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 11, 32; *Fasti*, 6, 599; Seneca, *Agam.* 47), 'ferro flamma,' 1, 9, 21 (frequent in prose and poetry), 'vincla verbera,' 2, 3, 80 (see n.); cp. 'chorus et cantus,' 1, 7, 44, and 'cithara carminibusque,' 2, 5, 2; then adjectives, as, 'ferus ferreus,' 1, 10, 2; occasionally adverbs (as 'satis superque'); rarely verbs ('vivo valeo,' 'sentire sapere,' etc.). Such combinations are usually in pairs; three of a kind (*e.g.* 'veni, vidi, vici,' 'quod felix faustum fortunatum sit') is naturally rare, and four or more, extremely so. The words may be synonyms; they may be different but belonging together and together extending and emphasizing a single concept, or lastly, they may form two links in a chain of ideas or represent the beginning and end of a series and thus include all between. The Tibullian exx. all appear to belong to the second class.

As in many other languages this type of alliteration is frequent in popular speech, in proverbs and proverbial phrases, even in proper names ('Titus Tatius,' 'Iuno Iuga,' 'John Jordan Jenkins,' etc.), but above all in Latin it is characteristic of the old formal speech of law and religion and here it is always asyndetic (*i.e.* 'fortis fidelis,' etc.). The use of connectives is due to the influence of later literary art. *-que -que* as here, and *-que et* are especially

characteristic of poetry. The order of the words has a strong tendency to remain fixed. Changes begin with the classical writers, in whom they are dictated by a finer feeling for euphony, and in the poets, with whom the influence of metre is to be considered.

Archaic Latin was the period of its greatest popularity. But even Plautus uses it far more than Terence, and fondness for it diminished rapidly at the end of the Republic, although Cicero appears to have invented some new phrases which he bequeathed to later prose. The avoidance of it as a rule by Tacitus and even by Quintilian (a great lover of Cicero) shows that many such expressions had been done to death by over-use. New life was given by Fronto and the Archaists, and it always clung to the folk speech, cp. Tertullian, who in the use of such expressions is the most notable of all the Church Fathers.

Alliteration, however, as a distinctive ornament of poetry covers a much wider field. Here one of the most interesting phenomena is the use of triple alliteration in the second half of the hexameter (see Wölfflin, *Archiv f. Lat. Lexicographie*, 14, 515–523). The single example in the elegy is Tib. 1, 10, 43, 'caput candescere canis.' This device was, characteristic of the Saturnian (cp. 'obliti sunt Romae loquier latina lingua,' one of three similar verses in the four lines of Naevius's epitaph), was taken over from thence by Ennius for the artistic epic and thus became a tradition of the higher style in later times. The comparative frequency of it in the Aeneid is merely another indication of Vergil's well-known Ennian proclivities. Wölfflin cites no less than 14 exx. from the *Aeneid* (2, 303; 28; 3, 58; 183; 4, 29; 7, 189; 482; 486; 8, 603; 9, 563; 635; 10, 95; 194; 11, 348), and the feeling for it at this time is shown by the fact that Ovid never uses it except in passages for which a flavour of the antique and solemn is appropriate (*e.g. Met.* 2, 77; 6, 667; 10, 492; 723; 3, 481; 5, 473; 13, 84; 93; 15, 24). But it was already fading out and the occasional reappearance of it in the later epic is more due to Vergil than to Ennius (*e.g.* Lucan, 1, 353; Val. Flacc. 3, 441, of solemn ritual; 3, 33; Sil. Ital. 5, 324; Stat. *Theb.* 2, 584, cp. 2, 443; 10, 193 and 375; Avienus, 2, 573). Servius on Verg. *A.* 3, 183, says, 'haec compositio iam vitiosa est quae maioribus placuit,' (cp. Mart. Capella, 171, 22 Eyssenh. 'vitanda sunt ab isdem litteris incipientia'). As Wölfflin suggests, this note of Servius was occasioned by one of these lines, and he doubtless refers to this type rather than to alliteration in general. That Tibullus should supply the single example to be found in the entire elegy is an interesting illustration of his conservatism and still another proof of his kinship with Vergil. Perhaps this type is more or less distantly responsible for the tendency of alliteration (as Keller has observed) to appear in the last two feet of the verse. This

is not especially common in Tibullus, cp., however, the ex. before us; 'prole parata,' 1, 10, 39; 1, 1, 53; 1, 2, 55; 57; 1, 3, 41; 1, 4, 83; 1, 5, 17; 55; 1, 6, 45; etc. (not all of which were necessarily deliberate). See also 1, 6, 38; 1, 9, 21; 2, 3, 80; 2, 4, 32, and notes.

For other types see 2, 4, 50; 2, 5, 2, 70, and 120; 2, 6, 11, and for the subject in general, consult, in addition to the authorities already cited, Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, p. 59, ff.

66. sit procul: for the adverbial predicate with *esse*, 2, 5, 64 and 122; 2, 6, 20; 4, 4, 18.

67–68. The description of Peace follows closely the conventional representations of her in art. Cp. also Kallimach. *Hymn to Ceres*, 44; Theokrit. 7, 156; Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 407, etc.

2, 1

The setting of this charming elegy is the celebration by the country folk of some regular feast day of the Roman year. Which feast day, however, is not beyond dispute. Preller and most modern commentators of Tibullus contend for the Ambarvalia (early in May), Marquardt and some more recent authorities, for the Feriae Sementivae or Paganalia (late in January). It seems clear that our choice lies between these two, but every attempt to reach a more definite conclusion is met by the facts that our knowledge of both is incomplete, that Tibullus's description cannot be made to agree at all points with either, and that either is in itself attended by certain difficulties of interpretation (see the notes on 1–26).

The Ambarvalia as a *sacrum privatum* (which would be its character here) occurred early in May when the crops had begun to ripen and bad weather and blight were most likely to be fatal (18–20 n.). The ceremony is most fully described by Cato, *De Agri Cult.* 141, cp. also Verg. *G.* 1, 338, and Servius *ad loc.* The most important detail is pictured in the name itself. This was the procession of victims along the boundaries of the land to be purified followed by the throng of worshippers crowned with olive (16 n.). The procession went around the field three times (*lustramus*, 1 n.). At the end of the third round the victims were led to the altar, sacrificed, and a regular prayer offered (15–24 notes). The full quota of victims consisted of a pig, sheep, and bullock (hence 'suovetaurilia'), but a single victim could be and apparently often was substituted for three (*agnus*, 15 n.). The regular Ambarvalia for the purification of the Roman state — which still survives in Italy as the formal 'Litania Maior' of Rogation Week — was performed by the *Fratres Arvales*, and though modified in at least one respect by the growth of Rome from a village community to an empire, remained to the last a magnified copy of the primitive rite.

The Feriae Sementivae or Paganalia occurred not far from Jan. 25 (the date was not fixed) and marked the pause in farm work before the appearance of the crops. The best and most complete description of it is given by Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 663–696, which is appended here for purposes of comparison. The student will observe that the similarity to certain passages in the account of Tibullus is close enough to suggest imitation. Imitation, however, is no proof in itself that Tibullus was describing the Paganalia, nor is it at all certain that the details common to both accounts refer to the ritual of either festival as opposed to the other.

State coronati plenum ad praesaepe iuvenci:
  cum tepido vestrum vere redibit opus.
rusticus emeritum palo suspendat aratrum:
  omne reformidat frigida volnus humus.
vilice, da requiem terrae, semente peracta:
  da requiem terram qui coluere viris.
pagus agat festum: pagum lustrate, coloni,
  et date paganis annua liba focis.
placentur frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque,
  farre suo gravidae visceribusque suis.
officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur:
  haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum.
consortes operis, per quas correcta vetustas,
  quernaque glans victa est utiliore cibo:
frugibus immensis avidos satiate colonos,
  ut capiant cultus praemia digna sui.
vos date perpetuos teneris sementibus auctus,
  nec nova per gelidas herba sit usta nives.
cum serimus, caelum ventis aperite serenis:
  cum latet, aetheria spargite semen aqua.
neve graves cultis Cerialia dona, cavete,
  agmine laesuro depopulentur aves.
vos quoque, formicae, subiectis parcite granis:
  post messem praedae copia maior erit.
interea crescat scabrae robiginis expers,
  nec vitio caeli palleat aegra seges.
et neque deficiat macie, neque pinguior aequo
  divitiis pereat luxuriosa suis.
et careant loliis oculos vitiantibus agri,
  nec sterilis culto surgat avena solo.
triticeos fetus passuraque farra bis ignem
  hordeaque ingenti faenore reddat ager!
haec ego pro vobis, haec vos optate coloni,
  efficiatque ratas utraque diva preces.

'Let all be silent! We purify our fields and crops after the ancient traditional rite. Come to us, Bacchos, and thou too, Ceres. On this holy day let all work cease and let every one don festal garb and do honour to the god.

'See, the sacred lamb is approaching the altar, and behind it walks the throng clad in white and crowned with olive.

'Gods of our fathers, we purify field and folk; do ye banish all mischief from our bounds, and grant that our grain be abundant, that our sheep be safe from the wolves. Then shall all be hopeful, happy, and prosperous.

'My prayers are answered. See the favouring signs in the victim's liver.

'Now bring the old Falernian. 'Tis a holiday, therefore drink deep and never flinch, drink till all goes round.

'Let every man join in a health to our absent Messalla, the conqueror of Aquitaine, the glory of his ancient house. Do thou be with us in spirit and inspire my song of thanksgiving to the rustic divinities. They lifted us from savagery and taught us agriculture and the arts, the orchard, the garden, the vineyard. In the country are the cornfields and the bees; in the country the Lares received their first offering. Aye, it was none other than the farmer in his respite from toil that to do honour to his gods upon their holy days invented song and music, also the dance from whence our drama sprang. Here too grew the fleece, and here was discovered by woman her specific task of spinning and weaving.

'Even Cupid himself, they say, was a country lad reared in the fields and amid the flocks. There he made his first attempts at archery. Ah me, his aim is unerring now, nor does he practise on the flocks alone as of old. He loves to transfix the girls, he delights in humbling the proud spirit of men. Happy are those upon whom he looks with favour. Holy one, come now and partake of our cheer. But, prithee, leave thy arrows and thy torches behind thee. Invoke him, all of you, — openly for the flocks, secretly for yourselves. Nay, speak out even for yourselves. In all this noise no one will hear you.

'Let joy abound! Night yokes her steeds anon, and the golden Stars dance merrily along behind their mother's chariot. And after them comes Sleep poised amid his tawny pinions and sable Dreams scarce conscious of their steps.'

1. **quisquis adest, faveat**: the poet who as head of his house acts as chief priest begins the ceremonial with the regular 'favete linguis, favete vocibus,' which was always addressed to those present, the object being to prevent even the chance utterance of some word of ill omen upon such an important occasion, cp. *e.g.* Servius on Verg. *A.* 5, 71, 'in sacris taciturnitas necessaria est, quod etiam praeco magistratu sacrificante dicebat "favete linguis favete

vocibus," hoc est bona omina habete aut tacete'; Macrob. 1, 16, 3, 'cum hostia caeditur, fari nefas est, inter caesa et porrecta fari licet, rursus, cum adoletur, non licet.' The phrase frequently occurs, cp. 2, 2, 1–2; Hor. *Od.* 3, 1, 2; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 268; Cicero, *Div.* 2, 40, 83, and often. The corresponding phrase used by the Greeks for the same purpose was εὐφημεῖτε, cp. *e.g.* *Iliad*, 9, 171; Eurip. *Bacch.* 70; Aristoph. *Thesm.* 39; etc.

2. **prisco avo**: see 1, 1, 42 n. and cp. 1, 10, 18. Usually explained as 'ancestor.' So occasionally in the poets (the Thes. cites Vergil, *A.* 7, 220; 12, 164; Val. Flacc. 6, 518, *al.*; Propert. 2, 34, 56). The plural in this sense (also poetical) is much more common.

3. **cornibus**: symbolizing fertility and masculine strength. Hence, the river gods are frequently represented with the horns of a bullock. The horns of Bacchos appear to have been given him in the Alexandrian Age and he is frequently thus represented on the coins of the Diadochi. Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* 35 (*Mor.* 364 F) says that in his time this conception of Dionysos was common in Greek art, cp. also Philost. *Imag.* 1, 15; etc. Among the occasional references in the Roman poets may be mentioned Hor. *Od.* 2, 19, 30; Ovid, *Met.* 4, 19; Propert. 3, 17, 19; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 3, 62; etc.

4. **spicis**: Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 10, 3; Tib. 1, 1, 16, and often. Offerings to the gods (cp. *uva*) are regularly suggestive of their attributes or of the worshipper's wants at the time.

5–12. Imitated by Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, p. 35, ed. Scherillo (Milan, 1888).

5–10. The injunction that all work shall cease upon a holy day was a notable article, as Plutarch observed (*Quaest. Rom.* 25), of the old Roman religion. It was felt that the day belonged to the god and to his service. Another reason—and this is characteristically pagan—was that if the officiating priest happened to see any one at work upon that day he became ceremonially unclean, and therefore the sacrifice lost its virtue, cp. Servius on Verg. *G.* 1, 268, 'sunt enim aliqua quae si festis diebus fiant ferias polluant: qua propter et pontifices sacrificaturi praemittere calatores suos solent (see dict. *s.v.* 'praecia' and 'praeclamitator') ut, sicubi viderint opifices adsidentes opus suum, prohibeant ne pro negotio suo et ipsorum oculos et caerimonias deum attaminent: feriae enim operae deorum creditae sunt (cp. Tib. 9). sane feriis terram ferro tangi nefas est, quia feriae deorum causa instituuntur.' Theological discussion—of which considerable survives—was mainly concerned, as in the case of the Jewish sabbath, with just what might or might not be done, cp. *e.g.* Cato, 2, 4 and 138; Verg. *G.* 1, 268; esp. Macrob. 1, 16, 10, who among other things quotes the opinion of Scaevola that 'si bos in specum decidisset eumque paterfamilias adhibitis operis liberasset, non est visus ferias polluisse'—an interesting prototype of *Matthew*, 12, 11; *Luke*, 14, 5.

5–6. Cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 665, quoted above. The antique plough was so light that it could be and regularly was hung up when not in use. The same thing may still be seen in the remoter districts of Italy, but it is now rapidly disappearing.

7–8. The oxen, being sacred to Ceres (Varro, *De Re Rust.* 2, 5, 4, etc.), always had these privileges at the Ambarvalia. In the same way the mules had their 'day off' at the Consualia (Dionys. Hal. 1, 33, etc.), and on the day sacred to Vesta the ass that turned the mill rested from his toil (Propert. 4, 1, 21; Ovid, *Fasti*, 6, 311; Lactant. 1, 21, 26; etc.). Plutarch, *Mor.* 276, calls especial attention to this pretty custom.

7. **iugis**: the simple ablative with *solvere* is uncommon, cp. Verg. *A.* 1, 562 (echoed by Sil. Ital. 12, 324); Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 237; Phaed. 3, 7, 20; etc. Cp. 28 n.

9–86. These lines and 2, 3, 1–10 are imitated by Bertin in his *Amours*, 3, 5.

9. **audeat imposuisse**: the perf. infin. with *audeo* is very rare. The Thes. quotes only Lucan, 1, 258; 8, 552; Statius, *Theb.* 12, 101; Ammian. Marcell. 14, 5, 6; 27, 2, 9; 28, 1, 14; Macrob. 5, 1, 4, and omits this example. All are perfect forms of *audeo* as well except Lucan, 8, 552; Macrob. *l.c.* The derivation of *audeo* (cp. *avidus*) suggests that the cons. is due to the analogy of verbs of wishing, esp. *velle* and *nolle*, which often take perf. infin., cp. 1, 1, 29–32 n. Note that in all the exx. above cited the perf. is emphatic. — **non**: to be taken with *ulla* (= *nulla*) rather than *audeat* (potential). — **ulla**: subst., see 1, 6, 69 n.

10. Auson. 15, 4, 4, 'fama pudicitiae lanificaeque manus'; 15, 18, 4, 'morigerae uxoris lanificaeque manus,' are quoted as echoes of this line.

12. Traces of restrictions like this are to be found all over the world, see Fehrle, p. 65 (*l. c.* 2, 5, 64 n.) — **cui**: for incorporation of the antecedent cp. 1, 2, 13; 1, 4, 65; 1, 5, 35; 2, 1, 79 and 80; 2, 3, 31.

13–14. Quoted on the title page of the first edition of *England's Helicon* (1600).

13. **casta placent superis**: sums up the details of 11–14 just as 'omnia sint operata deo' (9) sums up the details of 5–10. On 'pura cum veste' and 'manibus puris' see 1, 3, 25 n.; Hesiod, *W. and D.* 724; Soph. *O. K.* 469; etc.

15–16. The procession to the altar. The *sacer agnus* ('ambarvalis,' cp. Macrob. 3, 5, 7) had previously been thrice led around the poet's estate, cp. *e.g.* Verg. *G.* 1, 345, 'terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges, | omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes | et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta.' The poet omits it here because too much detail would have detracted from the artistic effect. The lamb was led by a loose rope (Juv. 12, 5; Servius

on Verg. *A.* 2, 134, etc.) because there should be no knots in a sacrifice, cp. 1, 1, 67; 1, 3, 31; 1, 5, 15 notes.

16. **candida turba**: at the Cerealia white was prescribed (Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 619, etc.), and of the matter, in general, Cicero says (*Leg.* 2, 18, 45), 'color autem albus praecipue decorus deo est quom in cetero tum maxime in textili: tincta vero absint nisi a bellicis insignibus.' He is translating Plato, *Leges*, 12, 956 A.

On the importance of colours in religion see 1, 7, 46 n.

17–24. The company is now assembled at the altar, and the poet offers the prayer by which the sacrifice was regularly preceded. The actual prayer to be used on this occasion is preserved by Cato, *De Agri Cult.* 141, 2. It will be observed that in its general drift, the poet's prayer (esp. of course, 17–20) corresponds to the form prescribed by Cato, 'Agrum lustrare sic oportet. impera suovitaurilia circumagi, "cum divis volentibus quodque bene eveniat, mando tibi, Mani, uti illace suovitaurilia fundum agrum terramque meam, quota ex parte sive circumagi sive circumferenda censeas, uti cures lustrare." Ianum Iovemque vino praefamino, sic dicito, "Mars pater, te precor quaesoque uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae, quoius rei ergo agrum terram fundumque meum suovitaurilia circumagi iussi, uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas averruncesque; utique tu fruges frumenta vineta virgultaque grandire beneque evenire siris, pastores pecuaque salva servassis duisque bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae: harumce rerum ergo, fundi terrae agrique mei lustrandi lustrique faciendi ergo, sicuti dixi, macte hisce suovitaurilibus lactentibus inmolandis esto: Mars pater, eiusdem rei ergo macte hisce suovitaurilibus lactentibus esto,"' etc. Tibullus is imitated by Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, p. 44, ed. Scherillo (Milan, 1888).

17. **di patrii**: a genuine liturgy, as we have just seen, would have been rigidly specific. Bacchos and Ceres (3 and 4) are necessarily included, also the Lares (1, 1, 19–24; 1, 10, 15), and doubtless Mars (Cato). — **purgamus . . . purgamus**: Schulze observes that anaphora at the trithemimeral and hephthemimeral caesuras of the hexameter is not uncommon, and cites Catullus, 67, 1; Verg. *E.* 10, 54; Hor. *A. P.* 269; Hom. *Il.* 24, 516; *Odyss.* 4, 149.

18. Cp. Cato's 'uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque,' etc., quoted above. — **pellite** for *depellite* (1, 10, 25) belongs more or less to the language of poetry and religion, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 379; Hor. *Epist.* 2, 1, 136, etc., and on the use of the simple verb for the compound, 1, 3, 44 n.

19. The metaphor is gladiatorial, cp. also Verg. *G.* 1, 225, 'sed illos exspectata seges vanis elusit avenis'; Propert. 2, 15, 31, 'terra prius falso partu deludet arantis,' etc.

20. For the prayer against wolves, 1, 1, 33.—**celeres tardior**: for the contrast by juxtaposition, 1, 8, 30 n.

21–24. A general reference to the rustic merry-making by which the Ambarvalia and other religious festivals of a similar nature were regularly accompanied; cp. 1, 10, 51; 2, 5, 95; the charming *Pervigilium Veneris;* Verg. *G.* 2, 527; esp. in this connection, Ovid, *Fasti*, 3, 523—

Idibus est Annae festum geniale Perennae.
  haud procul a ripis, advena Thybri, tuis
plebs venit ac virides passim disiecta per herbas
  potat, et accumbit cum pare quisque sua.
sub Iove pars durat, pauci tentoria ponunt,
  sunt quibus e ramis frondea facta casa est;
pars, ubi pro rigidis calamos statuere columnis,
  desuper extentas imposuere togas.
sole tamen vinoque calent, annosque precantur,
  quot sumant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt.
invenies illic, qui Nestoris ebibat annos,
  quae sit per calices facta Sibylla suos.
illic et cantant quidquid didicere theatris,
  et iactant faciles ad sua verba manus;
et ducunt posito duras cratere choreas,
  cultaque diffusis saltat amica comis.
cum redeunt, titubant et sunt spectacula volgi,
  et fortunatos obvia turba vocat.
occurri nuper: visa est mihi digna relatu
  pompa: senem potum pota trahebat anus.

22. Bonfires are meant; cp. *e.g.* Verg. *G.* 2, 527, 'ipse dies agitat festos fususque per herbam, | ignis ubi in medio, et socii cratera coronant,' etc. Those who think the Paganalia (*i.e.* a winter festival) is referred to take 22–24 as an indoor scene in which the *vernae* are little slave children who play at 'making houses' (*casae*, cp. Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 247) in front (*ante*) of the fire on the hearth (*foco*); see *e.g.* Postgate *ad loc.*

23. Here for a moment emerges the practical Roman. One is reminded of the Elder Cato's advice to the prospective purchaser of a place (*De Agri Cult.* 1, 2), 'vicini quo pacto niteant, id animum advertito; in bona regione bene nitere oportebit'; cp. Seneca, *Epist.* 66, 23, 'alioqui hoc erit ex servorum habitu dominum aestimare'; Hor. *Epod.* 2, 65, 'positosque vernas, ditis examen domus, | circum renidentis Laris,' etc.

24. **ex virgis**: the only exception to the rule of *e* and *a* before consonants in Tibullus, see 1, 6, 21 n.—**ante**: *i.e. ante focum.*—**casas**: the temporary shelters against sun, etc., regularly built for use on such occasions. The

casae here, for example, are the *umbracula* of 2, 5, 97, the *casae* and *tentoria* of Ovid, *Fasti*, 3, 523 f. quoted above, the *casae* of the *Pervig. Ven.* 5, 'cras amorum copulatrix inter umbras arborum | implicat casas virentis de flagello myrteo'; cp. 42, 'iam tribus choros videres feriantis noctibus | congreges inter catervas ire per saltus tuos | floreas inter coronas, myrteas inter casas.'

25–26. Meanwhile, *i.e.* between 24 and 25, the lamb (15) is sacrificed, and with 'eventura precor,' etc., the poet announces that the signs are all favourable.

25. **viden ut significet**: the form *viden ut* does not occur in Propertius or Ovid (?). For the subjunctive *significet*, cp. *e.g.* Sil. Ital. 12, 713. Catullus (61, 77; 62, 8) and Vergil (*A.* 6, 779) use the indicative, and the indicative after *ut* in this construction is on the whole more common. Tib. always uses the subjunctive, as here; cp. 2, 1, 15; 1, 7, 17 and 19; 1, 8, 57; 2, 5, 72. — **felicibus**: active; cp. 1, 1, 8 n. — **extis**: cp. 1, 8, 3–4; 2, 5, 14 and notes. They were examined by the haruspices, who derived the attitude of the gods on the given occasion from the shape of these parts, their size, position, etc. The elaborate complication of the doctrine is in itself an indication of Etruscan influence. For religious purposes the *exta* were the liver, gall sack, lungs, *omentum*, and after the time of Pyrrhus (Pliny, 11, 186) the heart. In a sacrifice like this, *i.e.* a *sacrificium consultatorium* — 'in quo voluntas dei per exta disquiritur' (Trebatius ap. Macrob. 3, 5, 1) the gods were asked whether the sacrifice was acceptable. The haruspices examined the *exta*, and if they were normal answered in the affirmative. By far the most important of the *exta* from this point of view was the liver, *i.e.* by eminence the *nuntia fibra* of 26; cp. 1, 8, 3; Propert. 4, 1, 104, 'fibra locuta deos,' etc. It was divided into a *pars familiaris* and a *pars inimica*. Unusual size of the former portended good, of the latter, bad luck (Cicero, *Div.* 2, 12, 28, etc.). A *fissura* or division on either side was of special importance here (Cicero, *Div.* 2, 13, 32, etc.), also the *caput*, or protuberance on the right lobe. Complete absence of it was a very bad sign, etc.; see esp. the exx. in Pliny, 11, 189 and 28, 11. If the examination of the *exta* (the technical word is *litare*) portended a favourable result, they were carefully prepared — again by a complicated process — and then sacrificed to the gods upon the altar. The *viscera*, *i.e.* the flesh of the animal, was eaten; cp. Serv. on Verg. *A.* 6, 253.

27–34. 21–24 contained a general reference to rustic jollity. It was artistically interrupted by 25–26, which opens the way for the announcement (27 f.) of the merry-making on this particular occasion.

27. **fumosos**: the old Romans, esp. of the Republican era, in order to secure the even and slightly raised temperature requisite for the proper

ripening of their wine, sealed the jars carefully and placed them where the heat of the hearth fire could reach them. As a matter of course, the smoke reached them also. *fumosos*, which is therefore suggestive of age, applies to the appearance of the jar, and also to the taste of the wine. In the Augustan Age this smoky flavour, as in our own time the 'reek' of Scotch whisky (originally due to the same cause), was much admired; cp. Columella, 1, 6, 20, 'apothecae recte superponuntur his locis unde plerumque fumus exoritur: quoniam vina celerius vetustescunt quae fumi quodam tenore praecocem maturitatem trahunt.' In Martial's time (10, 36) the reek was less admired, owing to the fact that the vintners of Gaul, and esp. of Marseilles, had long been flooding the market with inferior wines to which this method of development had been applied with too great rapidity.—**veteris consulis**: wine was dated by the name of the consul for the year in which it was made, cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 21, 1; 3, 8, 9; etc. Hence *vinum consulare* in Martial's time corresponded in value and rarity to old Madeira of the twenties and thirties in our day.

Varro, *De Re Rust.* 1, 65, writing in Cicero's time, classes Falernian among those wines 'quae quanto pluris annos condita habuerunt tanto cum prompta sunt fructuosiora.' Pliny, however, was a far better judge, for writing a full century later he says (23, 34) of Falernian that 'media eius aetas a XV annis incipit'; cp. also, Athen. 26 C. In that case Tibullus's fine old Falernian would hardly be old enough to remember Caesar's campaigns in Gaul.

Chian was a mild vintage often mixed at table with the somewhat strong and heady Falernian, cp. Hor. *Sat.* 1, 10, 24, 'suavior ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est'; Pliny, 14, 97; etc. — **Falernos**: supply *cados* from *cado* below.

28. **solvite vincla**: Schulze compares Archil. 4, 2 Crus. *κοίλων πώματ' ἄφελκε κάδων*, and Theokrit. 7, 147, *πίθων ἀπελύετο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ*. For the simple ablative, *cado*, cp. 2, 1, 7 and note.

29–30. For the sentiment and point of view see 1, 10, 51–52; 2, 5, 87; Ovid, *Fasti*, 3, 539, above; Livy, 40, 14, 1, 'non est res qua erubescam, pater, si die festo inter aequales largiore vino sum usus'; Macrob. 1, 11, 39, 'viros plurimo vino provocaverunt diem festum apud se esse simulantes.'

30. **errantes et male ferre pedes**: Volpi (1749) translates by the expressive Italian phrase *andare a spinapesche*, 'walking à la herring-bone (stitch).'

31. **bene Messallam**: sc. *valere iubeo*, so Plaut. *Stich.* 709; Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 637, etc. With the dative, as *e.g.* Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 601, 'et "bene" dic "dominae,"' *sit* is to be supplied (if anything). — **sua ad pocula**: a good English parallel for *ad* here is the use of 'at' in expressions of time, *e.g.* 'at ten o'clock,' *i.e.* when it is or was ten o'clock. Hence *ad sua pocula dicat* is

equivalent to 'quotiens biberit totiens dicat,' the idea of repetition being furnished by *pocula*, a distributive plural like *somnos*, cp. 1, 1, 4 n.

32. Except for *absentis*, which adds the information that Messalla is not present, the pentameter amplifies the hexameter simply by repeating the content of it in another form. 'nomen absentis' = 'bene Messallam,' 'singula verba sonent' = 'quisque dicat.' *singula* therefore really = *cuiusque*. This use of an adjective instead of a genitive is common in the poets. The familiar ex. in ordinary prose is *aes alienum*, 'other people's money,' *i.e.* debt. For this type of amplification in the pentameter, see 1, 1, 44 n.

On the custom of drinking to the absent, see esp. Theokrit. 14, 18 f. According to the old Scholiast *ad loc.* unmixed wine was taken, and as it was poured on the ground the name of the absent friend or sweetheart was uttered aloud, cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 19, 9; Alexis, 2, 336 K.; Argentar. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 110; Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 136 and 137; etc. The famous words of Theramenes, Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ (Xen. *Hell.* 2, 3, 56; cp. Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* 1, 96), refer rather to the game of kottabos and are not a parallel here.

33. **celeber**: here = *clarus*. Perhaps the earliest example of the word in this sense so familiar to us. In classical prose it is very rarely used of persons as here, cp. also 1, 3, 33; 1, 6, 17 and notes. — **triumphis**: see for the plural 1, 7, 5 n. The use of the genitive with *triumphus* is not uncommon in prose, cp. Livy, 6, 7, 4; 33, 37, 10; etc.

For the event referred to see Introd. p. 35, and 1, 7.

34. **intonsis avis**: often applied to the old Romans, esp. by the poets, cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 30; 6, 264; Hor. *Od.* 1, 12, 41; 2, 15, 11; Plutarch, *Romul.* 16; etc. Varro, *De Re Rust.* 2, 11, 10, and Pliny, 7, 211, tell us that the first barbers came to Rome in 300 B.C.

The dative with a substantive (*gloria avis*) is used by Tib. only here. More common in Vergil and Propertius.

35–86. Now that the festivities announced in 27 f. are on the way and that a neat compliment to Messalla has been turned, the poet proceeds with his next topic, the formal announcement of which is 'rura cano rurisque deos.' In the lines which follow he again displays his surpassing gift of concealing the utmost care and skill of development under the garb of unstudied simplicity. As usual, too, the theme was already well worn. Lines 35–36 serve, while paying another compliment to Messalla, as the transition.

36. **agricolis**: the reference is purposely indefinite and the word returns to its rare adjectival use, see 1, 1, 14; 1, 5, 27 and notes.

37. Here the poet again takes up a favourite theme with the antique poets and thinkers, the growth of civilization, cp. 1, 7, 29–48; 1, 3, 35 ff. and notes; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 10, 9; etc.

38. querna glande: refers to the widespread tradition in antiquity that acorns formed the staple food of primaeval man, cp. 2, 3, 69 and *e.g.* Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 10, 9; *Fasti*, 1, 676; 4, 399; Verg. *G.* 1, 8 and 159; Pliny, 16, 1; etc., etc. *desuevit*, etc., is therefore tantamount to stating that the invention of agriculture was due to the rural gods, cp. Juvenal's method of stating the same thought (14, 181), 'panem quaeramus aratro, | qui satis est mensis: laudant hoc numina ruris, | quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae | contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus.

39–40. The negative *desuevit*, etc., in lieu of the positive, 'agriculture was discovered' (37–38), is followed (39–40) by the reverse arrangement, *i.e.* the positive, 'men lived in houses' in lieu of the negative, 'men ceased to live in caves,' etc. On the theory of primaeval men as cave dwellers, cp. *e.g.* Lucret. 5, 956 and 1012; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 121; Juv. 6, 1, f.; etc. On the development of domestic architecture see *e.g.* Vitruv. 2, 1. The ancient thinkers had a strong tendency to attach all inventions to some definite name. Here *e.g.* Pliny reports, 7, 194, that 'laterarias ac domos constituerunt primi Euryalus et Hyperbius fratres Athenis. . . . tegulas invenit Cinyra Agriopae filius.' For *αἴτια* as a theme of elegy see Introd. p. 19

41. 1, 3, 41 n.; *Pan. Messal.* 4, 1, 171; Aisch. *Prom.* 462.

42. A homely detail, but marking one of the most important epochs in the history of civilization. I find no mention of it elsewhere. For the phrasing cp. Vergil, *A.* 2, 235, 'accingunt omnes operi pedibusque rotarum | subiciunt lapsus,' etc. The invention of four-wheeled vehicles was ascribed to the Phrygians, Pliny, 7, 199, etc.

43. 1, 3, 43 n.

44. Antique methods of irrigation are described by Vergil, *G.* 1, 106 f. It was common in Homer's time, cp. *Iliad*, 21, 257 f.—**irriguas**: active. So *e.g.* Verg. *G.* 4, 32, cp. 25 n. above.

45–46. 1, 5, 23–24 n.

45. **aurea uva**: the epithet suggests that the poet's vineyards yielded a variety of white wine like those which are still to be had in the immediate neighbourhood, otherwise *aurea* must be taken as in 1, 6, 58, where see n.

46. **securo**: active (cp. *irriguas*, 44 above), as in Verg. *A.* 6, 715, which refers to the river of Lethe, cp. Plato's name for Lethe (*Rep.* 10, 621 A) τὸν Ἀμέλητα ποταμόν, where the adjective is used in the same way. See also Ovid, *Pont.* 2, 4, 23, 'securae pocula Lethes.'—**sobria**: 1, 6, 28 n. Vergil, *G.* 1, 9, also refers to this discovery as a stage in the evolution of civilization. Pliny, 7, 199, says that this invention is attributed to Staphylus, the son of Silenus.

47–48. 1, 5, 21.

48. Mother Earth has her hair cut, *i.e.* of course, the grain is reaped. A variation of the more common *coma* = the foliage of the trees, cp. 1, 7, 34 n. Tibullus is followed *e.g.* by Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 10, 11, 'prima Ceres docuit turgescere semen in agris | falce coloratos subsecuitque comas.' In the *Pervig. Ven.* 4, we have another version of it, 'vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites, | et nemus comam resolvit de maritis imbribus.' 'The beautiful uncut hair of graves' (perpetrated by Walt Whitman, 'Song of Myself') illustrates the effect of the figure used by Tibullus when appearing in English. — **annua**: *i.e. quotannis*, adjective for adverb. This use of the adjective (poetical) is similar to that of *verno* in the next line.

49–50. Regarding honey and the nature and habits of bees see 1, 3, 45 n. In this passage *flores* stands of course for *sucus florum*. The bees do not carry off the flowers, they extract something from the flower. We should say of course that that something was the honey, and the following lines would appear to indicate that Tibullus agrees with the modern view, which indeed had already been promulgated before his time. Another view, however, was widely disseminated. It is clearly set forth *e.g.* by Aristotle, *De Animal Hist.* 5, 22, 4 (passage quoted in 1, 3, 45 n.). According to this view the combs were made from the flowers, the honey fell from the skies, cp. also Verg. *G.* 4, 39; Pliny, 11, 11 ff.

49. verno: the work of the bees at this period and in the fall is discussed at length by Columella, 9, 14 and Palladius, 7, 7. — **alveo**: pronounced here as a dissyllable. The only case of synaeresis in Tibullus, cp. Introd. p. 100.

51–58. Here, too, among rustics inspired by their desire to do honour to their gods on holy days are to be found the beginnings of music, song, and the dance, from which the tragedy was afterward developed, cp. 1, 7, 37–42 n. The subject was much discussed at this time, and the statements and conclusions of the Roman scholars, especially as regards the origin and development of their own drama, have given rise to much discussion in the last few years. For a thoroughgoing examination and criticism of the destructive theories of Leo and Hendrickson, see Charles Knapp, *A.J.P.* 33 (1912), 125 ff. The substance of Varro's account probably survives in Diomedes (*Com. Dor.* p. 57, Kaibel), 'Tragoedia, ut quidam, a τράγῳ et ᾠδῇ dicta est, quoniam olim auctoribus tragicis τράγος, id est, hircus, praemium cantus proponebatur qui Liberalibus die festo Libero patri ob hoc ipsum immolabatur quia, ut Varro ait, depascunt vitem; et Horatius in Arte Poetica (220) et Vergilius in Georgicon 2 (380). . . alii autem putant a faece, quam Graecorum quidam τρύγα appellant, tragoediam nominatam, per mutationem litterarum *υ* in *α* versa, quoniam olim, nondum personis a Thespide repertis, tales fabulas peruncti ora faecibus agitabant, ut rursum est Horatius testis (*A. P.* 275–277).

alii a vino arbitrantur, propterea quod olim *τρύξ* dictitabatur, a quo *τρύγητος* hodieque vindemia est, quia Liberalibus apud Atticos, die festo Liberi patris, vinum cantoribus pro corollario dabatur, cuius rei testis est Lucilius in 12 (437 Marx).'

51. That is, on feast days in the spring and fall, the only times when he had leisure and also occasion to develop in the direction indicated. Aristotle says (*Eth. Nik.* 8, 9, 6), *αἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖαι θυσίαι καὶ σύνοδοι φαίνονται γίνεσθαι μετὰ τὰς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδάς, οἷον ἀπαρχαί· μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τούτοις ἐσχόλαζον τοῖς καιροῖς*, see also Hor. *Epist.* 2, 1, 139, etc.

52. **certo pede**: the development of regular rhythm in song which was followed by the invention of an instrument by which it might be accompanied when sung to the gods in their holiday attire (*ornatos*), *i.e.* on feast days, cp. 1, 7, 49–54 n.; 2, 1, 3; etc.

53. That is, the fistula or syrinx, described more particularly in 2, 5, 31. In Greek mythology its invention was ascribed to Pan (story in Ovid, *Met.* 1, 690). Hence its modern name of 'Pan's pipe.' The line itself is suggestive of Vergil, *E.* 1, 2, 'silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena,' which is variously imitated by the later poets.

55. Here as in 1, 1, 17 and 1, 7, 5–8 (see notes) the use of red paint was ceremonial. On this primitive ancestor of the mask, which was afterwards used in the old satyr drama (from which the tragedy in its artistic form was finally developed) see Diomedes above. If Tibullus was thinking of a similar use of wine lees in this connection he followed Horace, *A. P.* 275, in confusing the origins of comedy with those of tragedy.

56. **ab arte**: 1, 5, 4 n. — **choros**: *i.e.* the combination of dancing with the music and poetry which had previously been developed. The poet is probably thinking of the dithyramb, to which Aristotle rightly traced the origin of tragedy (*Poet.* 4).

57–58. Tibullus evidently has in mind the conventional explanation of *τράγος* in *tragoedia* as the goat given as a prize to the victorious poet. It was also accepted by Horace, *A. P.* 220, cp., too, Dioskorides, *Anth. Pal.* 7, 410, and the first sentence of Diomedes quoted above. The explanation now generally accepted is that *τράγος* refers rather to the costume of the actors in the primitive satyr drama, cp. Aisch. *frag.* 207 N.; *Etymol. Mag.* 764, 6, *τραγῳδία ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ χοροὶ ἐκ Σατύρων συνίσταντο, οὓς ἐκάλουν τράγους*. I find no tradition of this explanation in the Roman writers. Among recent discussions of this subject see esp. A. Dieterich, 'Entstehung der Tragödie,' *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1908, p. 163, ff.

Here, of course, *dux pecoris* = *hircus*. For this generic use of *ovile* ('goat-house' as well as 'sheep-fold') cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Met.* 13, 828, 'sunt,

fetura minor, tepidis in ovilibus agni, | sunt quoque, par aetas, aliis in ovilibus haedi.'

58. **auxerat**, A (*hauxerat*); *hauserat*, V. *curtas . . . opes*, Waardenburg, *Opusc.* 180; *hyrcus . . . oves*, A; *dux hircus pecori: duxerat hircus oves*, ψ. Robert and Knaack, *Hermes*, 19, 480 and 341, suggest, the former, 'dux pecoris: vites roserat ille novas,' the latter, 'dux pecoris vites hauserat hircus olens.' Both these emendations are suggested by the *hauserat* of V, and are due to the theory that Tibullus was thinking here of the reason why goats were sacrificed to Bacchus, 'quia, ut ait Varro, vitem depascunt' (see Diomedes, quoted in 51–58 n.). This reason, which seems to have often been mentioned in Tibullus's time, is traced by Maass to the *Erigone* of Eratosthenes (see Hygin. *Astronom.* 2, 4; Verg. *G.* 2, 376; *Anth. Pal.* 9, 99). The emendation would be more satisfactory if we knew whether the *hauserat* of V really goes back to Tibullus or is merely a guess suggested by the *hauxerat* of A, or, finally, was itself due to some unknown predecessor of Robert, Knaack and Maass in the interpretation of this line. See Schulze, *Beiträge*, II, p. 20 f.

59–60. The mention of *puer* here is probably meant to suggest the well-known significance of the Lares for the entire slave population. The Lares, in distinction from Vesta and the Penates, extended their protection to the entire household, *i.e.* to the *familia* in its widest sense — which included the slaves. The Lares were the most important figures in the old Roman religion. Their worship embodied and supported the unity and integrity of home life and the household.

On flowers as an offering to the Lares see *e.g.* Juv. 9, 138; 12, 87; Pliny, 21, 11; Plaut. *Trin.* 39; esp. Cato, *De Agri Cult.* 143, who tells us that upon the day set apart for that purpose (cp. 1, 3, 34 n.) it was the duty of the *vilica* (a slave) to crown the Lar Familiaris and pray to him for the prosperity of the family.

61–66. It was to country folk that Minerva first taught her arts. Here woman first undertook her own peculiar tasks of spinning (63–64) and weaving (65–66).

63–64. This method of spinning with the distaff (*colus*) and spindle (*fusus*) was universal in antiquity. It is still common in Greece and Southern Italy and lasted even in Great Britain until the present generation. The locus classicus is Catullus, 64, 312, cp. also 1, 6, 78 above, and Claudian, *In Eutrop.* 2, 381. The distaff with the mass of wool at the top was held in the left hand. The right hand was held palm uppermost and the fingers gradually shaped the fibres which the twirling of the spindle formed into thread. The spindle was set in motion by the thumb of the right hand turned downwards. This is Tibullus's 'fusus et apposito pollice versat opus,' cp. also Ovid, *Her.* 19,

37, 'tortaque versato ducentes stamina fuso'; *Met.* 4, 34, 'aut ducunt lanas aut stamina pollice versant', etc. The impetus given to the spindle was prolonged by a weight at the bottom. As the new thread lengthened, the spindle of course approached the ground. At convenient intervals therefore the new thread was wound up on the spindle and the process repeated as before. The spinning wheel of our grandmothers was more rapid and convenient, but the process was very much the same.

For *pensa* see 1, 3, 87 n.

65–66. The ancient loom was vertical and the *tela* or warp hung down from the upper cross beam. Sinkers (*pondera*, Sen. *Epist.* 90, 20, here *lateres* because made of baked clay) were attached to the several threads to keep them taut and equidistant. Every time a thread of the woof was driven home by the comb or 'lay' (*pecten*, 'woof' is *subtemen*) the *lateres* of course rattled against each other, hence 'applauso tela sonat latere.' For a complete description of the process see Ovid, *Met.* 6, 54.

65. For Minerva as the patroness of spinning cp. Propert. 2, 9, 5; Ovid, *Met.* 4, 32; Hor. *Od.* 3, 12, 5; Verg. *A.* 5, 284; 8, 409; etc.

66. **cantat**: 2, 6, 26 n. The classic writers contain many references to women singing at their work. The prototype is Homer, *Odyss.* 5, 61 (Kalypso); 10, 221 (Kirke). See also, among other references, Eurip. *Iphig. Taur.* 221; Theokrit. 24, 74; Leonid. Tarent. *Anth. Pal.* 7, 726; Verg. *G.* 1, 293; Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 1, 5; etc. Cp. *Twelfth Night*, 2, 4—

> 'O, fellow, come, the song we had last night.
> Mark it, Cesario, it is old and plain;
> The spinsters and the knitters in the sun
> And the free maids that weave their thread with bones
> Do use to chant it: it is silly sooth,
> And dallies with the innocence of love,
> Like the old age.'

67–82. Ceres, Bacchos, the Lares, Minerva, have all received their due mention. The poet reserves his surprise for the end, although the reference to woman's work in the preceding lines effects an easy transition to it—'Cupid, too, was born in the country and served his apprenticeship there.' In this way Tibullus returns to the conventional atmosphere of the erotic elegy and then (81 f.) to the festivities of the day and his conclusion. In tone, as well as in thought, the passage has touches which remind one by turns of the epigram, the comedy, and the pastoral, as well as of the elegy itself as a department. Here, too, should be reckoned the *Pervigilium Veneris*.

67–69. Cp. William Cartwright, *Love's Convert*, 3, 7, 'Thus then Love

whether he be found i' the fields | 'Mong beasts (where some think he was born, and as | He grew up practised shooting upon them) | Or else,' etc.

67–68. *Pervig. Ven.* 76, 'rura fecundat voluptas, rura Venerem sentiunt: | ipse Amor puer Dionae rure natus dicitur, | hunc ager cum parturiret, ipsa suscepit sinu, | ipsa florum delicatis educavit osculis' (cp. Plato, *Symp.* 196 A).

67. agros armenta: 'flocks and fields,' cp. 1, 10, 65 n.; Stat. *Theb.* 5, 334.

68. indomitas equas: 2, 4, 57; Verg. *G.* 3, 266.

69–72. The power of love over the animal creation was a favourite theme with the poets and the philosophers, cp. *e.g.* Soph. 855, 9 N. —

εἰσέρχεται μὲν ἰχθύων πλωτῷ γένει,
χέρσου δ' ἔνεστιν ἐν τετρασκελεῖ γονῇ·
νωμᾷ δ' ἐν οἰωνοῖσι τοὐκείνης πτερόν,
ἐν θηρσίν, ἐν βροτοῖσιν, ἐν θεοῖς ἄνω.

So also *Antig.* 785; Eurip. *Hippol.* 1272; Lucret. 1, 19; Verg. *G.* 3, 242; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 10.

The graceful, half-humorous, half-sentimental turn which Tibullus gives to this old theme strongly suggests the atmosphere of the Alexandrian idyll or epigram at their best. Cupid first practised on the small game about him. But, like every other born hunter, the ambition for larger game kept pace with his increasing skill. It is thus that the once unsophisticated country boy has become the redoubtable archer who spares no living thing, and never misses his aim; cp. esp. Seneca, *Phaedra*, 277–357.

70. 'Great Cupid, | Archer of archers both in men and women' (Chapman); 'Young Adam Cupid, he that shot so trim' (Shak.); Seneca, *Phaedra*, 277, 'iste lascivus puer et renidens | tela quam certo moderatur arcu'; Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 16, 213, etc. — **ille**: the frequency of pronouns, esp. of personal and demonstrative pronouns, is characteristic of the elegy in general and of Tibullus in particular. *ego* occurs 43 times; *tu*, 39; *vos*, 8; *nos*, 3. The demonstrative pronouns are also lively and dramatic, and are especially needed in the type of sentence development commended by the emotional attitude of the poet and the construction of the distich. *ille* occurs not less than 100 times; *hic*, 87; *iste*, 5; *is*, but 4; *ipse*, 35. The derived adverbs are also common.

71–72. Alkaios, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 10 —

Ἐχθαίρω τὸν Ἔρωτα· *τί γὰρ βαρὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ θῆρας*
ὄρνυται, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐμὴν ἰοβολεῖν κραδίην;
τί πλέον, εἰ θεὸς ἄνδρα καταφλέγει; ἢ τί τὸ σεμνὸν
δῃώσας ἀπ' ἐμῆς ἆθλον ἔχει κεφαλῆς;

Oppian, *Halieut.* 4, 11 ff., etc.

72. **gestit perdomuisse**: for the tense, see 2, 1, 9; 1, 1, 29–32 and notes. I have found no other case with *gestio*. The analogy is *volo*, etc. The tense here appears to emphasize the process; 'he delights in taming,' as well as the completion of it, 'he is delighted whenever he has,' etc.

73–74. The prodigal lover is a stock character of the comedy. Occasionally, like Philolaches in the *Mostellaria*, he has only his own folly and thoughtlessness to blame. For the most part, however, his substance is gradually appropriated by the girl and her household, notably the lena, in the form of gifts. All this is stock material for the elegy and epigram. 2, 3, 47 f. is an excellent commentary on the line; cp. also 1, 5, 61–68 with notes; Hor. *Od.* 2, 8; esp. the fine passage of Lucret. 4, 1121 —

adde quod absumunt viris pereuntque labore,
adde quod alterius sub nutu degitur aetas.
labitur interea res et Babylonica fiunt,
languent officia atque aegrotat fama vacillans.
unguenta et pulchra in pedibus Sicyonia rident
scilicet et grandes viridi cum luce zmaragdi
auro includuntur teriturque thalassina vestis
assidue et Veneris sudorem exercita potat.
et bene parta patrum fiunt anademata, mitrae,
interdum in pallam atque Alidensia Ciaque vertunt.
eximia veste et victu convivia, ludi,
pocula crebra, unguenta coronae serta parantur,
nequiquam, quoniam medio de fonte leporum
surgit amari aliquid quod in ipsis floribus angat,
aut cum conscius ipse animus se forte remordet
desidiose agere aetatem lustrisque perire,
aut quod in ambiguo verbum iaculata reliquit
quod cupido adfixum cordi vivescit ut ignis,
aut nimium iactare oculos aliumve tueri
quod putat in vultuque videt vestigia risus, etc.

The old man of 74 has already been illustrated, cp. the dramatic scene of 1, 2, 89 f., where see the notes.

73. **detraxit . . . iussit**: gnomic perfects (denoting that which has been and shall be). The usage begins with Catullus, under the influence of the Greek gnomic aorist; cp. 62, 42, 'multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae, | idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui, | nulli illum pueri nullae optavere puellae.' Cp. also Verg. *A.* 11, 582; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 353; Cicero, *Div.* 1, 14 (trans. from Greek).

The Roman gnomic perfect, however, is not a mere Grecism. The majority of the examples, which, as Blase (p. 165, cp. Brugmann, *Indogerm. Forsch.*

1885, p. 200) points out, occur in descriptive passages, are due to the rapidly shifting point of view of the narrator (*enallage temporum*) and fall under categories idiomatic to Latin. Here for example we have *petit* and *gestit*, picturesque presents (habitual), then *detraxit* and *iussit*, a question of experience (he has always done it), finally *venit* and *praetemptat*, again presents as before; cp. *e.g.* Propert. 3, 11, 5, 'melius praesagit navita mortem, | volneribus didicit miles habere metum'; Ovid, *Her.* 19, 109, 'quis enim securus amavit?' (*i.e.* 'who has ever'); *Ars Amat.* 1, 412; Hor. *Od.* 1, 34, 16; 3, 29, 16; *Epist.* 1, 2, 48; 2, 1, 102; Juv. 10, 7; etc. This the only case in Tibullus. The construction belongs to poetry and rhetorical prose. In prose it begins with Sallust and is especially common in Seneca. For *enallage temporum* in Tibullus see 1, 1, 24 n.).

75–78. 1, 2, 19–20 n.; 1, 6, 59–62 n. Imitated by Bertin, *Amours*, 3, 3 and 3, 7 (cp. 1, 8, 41–42 n.).

75. **iacentes**: *i.e.* 'buried in slumber.' The girl has to step over the guards and feel her way on tiptoe through the dark to her lover.

76. Goldbéry cites here as an imitation Voltaire, *Isabelle et Gertrude* —

Cependant elle hésite, elle approche en tremblant,
Posant sur l'escalier une jambe en avant,
Étendant une main, portant l'autre en arrière,
Le cou tendu, l'œil fixe, et le cœur palpitant,
D'une oreille attentive avec peine écoutant.

— **tenebris**: 1, 2, 25 n.

77–78. 'These two lines,' says Ramsay, 'give not a narrative but an attitude.' It may be added that this influence of art is characteristic of antique poetry — especially after the Alexandrian Age. We are continually finding passages which suggest the statuesque and descriptions which remind us of *e.g.* the Hellenistic frescoes, cp. 1, 5, 45 f. and notes. For this motive see *e.g.* Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 425, 'surgit amans, animamque tenens vestigia furtim | suspenso digitis fert taciturna gradu'; 2, 336; *Met.* 10, 455; *Ciris*, 208; Ariosto, *O. F.*, 28, 62 f.

79. Eurip. *Hippol.* 443, Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητός, ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ, and often.

80. For the figure in this connection cp. Theokrit. 12, 10, εἴθ' ὁμαλοὶ πνεύσειαν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν Ἔρωτες | νῷιν · Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 13, 'si quis amat quod amare iuvat, feliciter ardet, | gaudeat et vento naviget ille suo'; Propert. 2, 25, 27; so also the proverb in 1, 5, 76 and note.

81–82. *Pervig. Ven.* 28, 'it puer comes puellis, nec tamen credi potest | esse Amorem feriatum, si sagittas vexerit. | ite, Nymphae, posuit arma, feriatus est Amor, | iussus est inermis ire, nudus ire iussus est, | neu quid arcu, neu sagitta, neu quid igne laederet. | sed tamen, Nymphae, cavete, quod

Cupido pulcher est: | totus est in armis idem, quando nudus est Amor'; cp. 2, 5, 105–6; Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, 1, *Prol.* 3—

> And thou, most dreaded impe of highest Jove,
> Faire Venus sonne, that with thy cruell dart
> At that good Knight so cunningly didst rove,
> That glorious fire it kindled in his hart;
> Lay now thy deadly heben bowe apart,
> And, with thy mother mylde, come to mine ayde, etc.

The torch, bow, and quiver are standing attributes of Cupid throughout Hellenistic and Roman poetry. They appeared in art somewhat earlier than the fourth century B.C.

81. **dapibus**: not a mere substitute for *ad* with the accus. The force of the dative here as often is better rendered by 'for' than 'to,' cp. *pecori* below. In other words, 'veni dapibus festis' is not only an invitation to come but also to take part. Or again, as *e.g.* in Propert. 1, 15, 8, 'ut formosa novo quae parat ire viro,' *i.e.* go to, and become his, cp. 2, 5, 44 n.; 1, 5, 27 n. *dapibus* here is probably a *dativus commodi* rather than a dative of the object for which.—**pone**: for *depone*, cp. 1, 3, 44 n.

83–84. The invitation to Cupid (81–82) naturally brings the poet back from his long digression to the festal scene before him.

83. **vos**: 1, 1, 33 n.—**celebrem**: *i.e.* 'to whom many resort,' cp. 1, 3, 33; 1, 6, 17; 2, 1, 33 and notes.—**vocate voce**, *i.e.* 'call aloud upon,' old-fashioned and formal, cp. n. on *edidit ore*, 1, 4, 73.

84. **clam**, etc.: according to antique belief a prayer (like a charm, which is really the same thing) must actually be uttered (or written) in order to reach the ears of the gods. Hence, 1, 2, 45, where see n., and the naïve practice to which the poet here alludes of making one's 'vota parum honesta' in a whisper so that one's fellow worshippers may be none the wiser, cp. Hor. *Epist.* 1, 16, 60, 'labra movet metuens audiri: "pulchra Laverna, | da mihi fallere, da iusto sanctoque videri, | noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem!"' Persius, 2, 6; Seneca, *Epist.* 10, 5, 'quanta dementia est hominum! turpissima vota dis insusurrant: si quis admoverit aurem, conticescent et, quod scire hominem nolunt, deo narrant,' etc.

86. **tibia**: the Phrygian *tibia* was a straight tube of wood with a curved piece of horn or metal (κώδων) at the end. Hence, the epithet *curva* here. It was much used in the orgiastic worship of Kybele (1, 4, 68 n.) and hence would be an able second to the noisy merriment of the crowd in drowning the sound (*obstrepit*) of prayers to the gods.

87–90. Tibullus shows at his best in these exquisite lines which remind one

so strongly of some dainty Hellenistic fresco of the best period. They are, moreover, eminently fitting here since they suggest the stillness and peace of night as the fitting close of a long day of innocent enjoyment.

87–88. The chariot and horses of Night are common enough both in art and literature, cp. Aisch. *Choeph.* 660; Verg. *A.* 5, 721; and often. The stars are the children of Night in Eurip. *Elekt.* 54, *ὦ νὺξ μέλαινα, χρυσέων ἄστρων τροφέ· Orphic Hymns,* 7, 3, *ἀστέρες οὐράνιοι,* Νυκτὸς *φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης*; etc. It is Euripides, too, who sees the stars accompanying the chariot of Night (cp. *Ion,* 1150, *μελάμπεπλος δὲ* Νὺξ *ἀσείρωτον ζυγοῖς | ὄχημ' ἔπαλλεν, ἄστρα δ' ὡμάρτει θεᾷ*), and the idea reappears in Theokrit. 2, 165, *χαίρετε δ' ἄλλοι | ἀστέρες, εὐκήλοιο κατ' ἄντυγα νυκτὸς ὀπαδοί.* But, so far as I can discover, the combination of both ideas, as in this passage, is unique. The touch of quaint tenderness thus gained is very characteristic of our poet. Interesting by way of comparison is the conceit of Ariosto, *O. F.* 12, 68, describing the dawn as the time when, 'The Stars had cast their veils about their head, | Departing from their revels in the sky.'

89–90. Sleep too is usually esteemed the son of Night (Hesiod, *Theog.* 212; Eurip. *Kykl.* 601; Nonnos, 31, 117; etc.). Mustard cites Tennyson, *The Gardener's Daughter*—

> Night slid down one long stream of sighing wind,
> And in her bosom bore the baby, Sleep.

Wings are not mentioned in connection with Sleep until the Alexandrian Age (Kallimach. *Hymn to Apollo,* 234), but after that time they occur regularly in art and literature. Tibullus's description suggests a majestic figure more or less enveloped (*circumdatus*) in his own great pinions. The picture is striking and very unusual, since the wings conventionally ascribed to Sleep are small and more or less suggestive of the *talaria* of Hermes, cp., too, Fronto in his charming allegory of the creation of Sleep (trans. by Pater in his *Marius the Epicurean*), 229 N., 'post id Iuppiter alas non ut Mercurius talares sed ut Amori humeros exaptos Somno adnexuit. non enim te solis aut talari ornatu ad pupulas hominum et palpebras incurrere oportet curruli strepitu et cum fremitu equestri, sed placide et clementer pinnis teneris in modum hirundinum advolare, non ut columbae alis plaudere' (which suggests the *ἀηδονίου πτερὸν* Ὕ*πνου* of Nonnos, 5, 411; etc.).

Tibullus, however, or some predecessor, leaves one with the impression that he has added appropriate wings to the Hypnos of Hesiod, *Theog.* 762, that majestic but gentler brother of Death, who *γαῖαν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης | ἥσυχος ἀνστρέφεται καὶ μείλιχος ἀνθρώποισι·* cp. also the Orphic *Argonautica,* 1007—

κοιμήσας δ' ὅγε φῦλα πανημερίων ἀνθρώπων
καὶ ζαμενεῖς ἀνέμων πνοιὰς καὶ κύματα πόντου
πηγάς τ' ἀενάων ὑδάτων ποταμῶν τε ῥέεθρα
θῆράς τ' οἰωνούς τε τά τε ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει
εὐνάζων, ἤμειψεν ὑπὸ χρυσέαις πτερύγεσσιν.

89. **furvis alis**: cp. *e.g.* the *nigras alas* of Sleep in Claudian, *In Ruf.* 2, 325, and the epithet κυανόπτερος in Nonnos, 31, 175.

90. Dreams, too, are the children of Night (Hes. *Theog.* 212; Eurip. *Hek.* 70; Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 662;, etc.). They also accompany Sleep as here in *e.g.* Ovid, *Met.* 11, 613, and Stat. *Theb.* 10, 112, two famous passages often imitated in mediaeval and modern poetry. Cp. also Lukian's 'Isle of Dreams' (*Vera Hist.* 2, 32) in which Sleep is king. But apparently nowhere else do Sleep and Dreams follow the chariot of Night. The picture with which Tibullus closes this elegy is, so far as I know, unique in classical literature. — **incerto pede**: the phrase is apparently meant to convey the unsubstantial quality, the confused and confusing unreality of dreams. Lukian, *l.c.*, says of the 'Isle of Dreams,' εἶχε δὲ καὶ αὐτή τι τοῖς ὀνείροις παραπλήσιον· ὑπεχώρει γὰρ προσιόντων ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπέφευγε καὶ πορρωτέρω ὑπέβαινε.

2, 2

This piece was occasioned by a birthday of the poet's young married friend Cornutus. Is he to be identified with the Cerinthus of 4, 2–12? If so, this would probably be the ideal epilogue of an unusually interesting love affair, see Introd. p. 86.

Tibullus assumes the character of the officiating priest at the regular sacrifice to the Genius on this occasion and pretends to interpret his will.

'Let us utter words of good omen. The Genius comes to his altar. Let all be silent until he has received his full meed of sacrifice and praise.

'May he grant you whatsoever you ask, Cornutus. — There, why do you hang back? He says he will. Ask him!

'I prophesy that you are going to ask that your wife's love may always be yours. By this time, methinks, the gods themselves have learned that request of yours by heart. Aye, rather her love than all the wealth of Ormus and of Ind!

'Your wish is granted. May you both be lovers still when both of you are old and grey, and may the omen thou hast given, Natalis, prove true and ere long bring little folk to play about thy feet.'

1. **bona verba**: *i.e.* 'of good omen.' So often in ceremonial usage, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 72, 'prospera lux oritur. linguis animisque favete! | nunc

dicenda bona sunt bona verba die'; *Trist.* 5, 5, 6; esp. Cicero, *Div.* 1, 102, 'neque solum deorum voces Pythagorici observitaverunt, sed etiam hominum, quae vocant omina. quae maiores nostri quia valere censebant, idcirco omnibus rebus agendis "quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset" praefabantur, rebusque divinis quae publica fierent, ut "faverent linguis" imperabatur inque feriis imperandis, ut "litibus et iurgiis se abstinerent." itemque in lustranda colonia ab eo qui eam deduceret, et cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nominibus, qui hostias ducerent eligebantur, quod idem in delectu consules observant ut primus miles fiat bono nomine,' etc.

For the caesura cp. 1, 2, 27 n. Of the 25 cases in Tibullus no less than four (1; 3; 9; 21) occur in this elegy.

2. 1, 6, 39 n. — **vir mulierque**: *i.e.* 'omnes quisquis ades,' cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Ibis*, 118, 'gaudeat adversis femina virque tuis.' This method of emphasizing the idea of totality by enumerating the factors of which it is composed is an interesting paragraph in the history of any language. Such combinations are generally phraseological. In a vast number of cases the choice of the factors is determined by alliteration, cp. 1, 10, 65 n. Again the influence of some metaphor, etc., is to be considered. The order of arrangement is generally due to considerations of euphony and offers a strong resistance to change. Our arrangement, for example, of 'faith, hope, charity' (1 *Cor.* 13, 13), is fixed, and corresponds to that of both Greek (πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη) and Latin ('fides, spes, caritas'). Cp. also 'men, women, and children,' 'gentle and simple,' 'bond and free,' 'all sorts and conditions,' etc.

3–8. 1, 7, 49–54 n.

3. Martial's 'pia tura' in 8, 8, 3 is cited by Friedländer as an imitation of this line. — **úrantúr . . . uréntur**: 1, 8, 13 n.

4. **tener Arabs**: the classical writers habitually ascribe effeminacy to the Orientals, cp. Catull. 11, 5; Verg. *G.* 1, 57 (with the note of Servius); Manil. 4, 654; etc. On Arabia as the land of perfumes see 1, 3, 7 n.; 4, 2, 17–18. — **divite**: *i.e.* 'the possessor of riches,' not *fertilis*. The Arabian has the proverbial wealth of the Oriental, cp. 1, 1, 51 n.

5. **Geniūs**: 1, 10, 13; 1, 5, 33 and notes. — **adsit**: 1, 1, 37–38 n. — **visurus**: this use of the future participle active to express purpose appeared as early as C. Gracchus, acc. to Gellius, 11, 10, 4, who cites 'qui prodeunt dissuasuri' from one of his speeches. But although exx. like Cicero, *Verr.* 1, 56, 'Servilius adest de te sententiam laturus' (which is much like the ex. before us) may be called an extension of the periphrastic conjugation, it points the way, as Schmalz says, to the regular use especially with verbs of motion which begins to show itself in prose with Sallust, increases with

Livy, and henceforth remains a genuine and valuable possession of the language. Unless we include 1, 10, 46 (which seems to me not certain) this is the only ex. in Tibullus.

8. **atque . . . et**: 1, 10, 23 n.

9–10. The poet pretends to interpret the will of the Genius. Note the conversational language and tone of 10, and for similar dramatic touches cp. 1, 5, 75; 1, 6, 3; 4, 4, 15; Hor. *Od.* 1, 27, 10; etc.

11. **amores**: cp. 1, 2, 59. This idiomatic emotional plural (cp. our word 'feelings') is found in prose as well as in poetry, cp. *e.g.* Verg. *A.* 4, 28, 'ille meos primus qui me sibi iunxit amores | abstulit,' and Thes. *s.v.* Sometimes this plural is due to the idea of reciprocity as in 1, 3, 81, where see n. Or, again, this plural involves a number of incidents, manifestations, etc., as *e.g.* in Plaut. *Merc.* 2, 'meos amores eloquar,' *i.e.* 'my love affair.'

12. That is, the gods have already heard you make the prayer so often. — **edidicisse**: compounds of *disco* always retain the reduplication of the perfect.

13–16. For the conventional division of wealth, 1, 1, 1–2 n.

13. **tibi**: 1, 6, 63 n. — **malueris**: potential subjunctive, cp. 4, 11, 4; 1, 6, 74 n. 'The perf. subjunctive as a potential seems to have been very rare in early Latin. Cicero extended the usage slightly and employed more persons; thus, first person plural and second singular occur first in Cicero. From Cicero's time the usage spreads, perhaps under the influence of the Greek aorist. It was always rare with deponents and passives.' Gildersleeve–Lodge, 257, 2, n. 1. Blase (p. 205) quotes no other ex. of the second pers. as here, from the elegy. In Ovid, *Met.* 10, 560, 'forsitan audieris,' the perfect has its full force.

14. **valido**: a common epithet of the ox, but perhaps in this passage intended also to suggest a heavy and unusually fertile soil.

15–16. 1, 1, 51 n.

16. The *Mare Rubrum*, Ἐρυθρὴ Θάλαττα, of the classical writers is not the Red Sea of modern parlance, but the Persian Gulf, cp. Strabo, p. 1086–7 Mein., etc. *unda rubet* shows that Tibullus accepted (at least for poetical purposes — which indicates his good taste) the traditional explanation of the name. He doubtless knew better, as did the more important authorities of his time, cp. *e.g.* Strabo, *l.c.*, etc. It was commonly believed that in that part of the world the beach was strewn with jewels and pearls cast up by the sea, cp. 2, 4, 30; 4, 2, 19–20; Propert. 4, 5, 21, 'si te Eoa Dorozantum iuvat aurea ripa'; Curt. 8, 9, 19, 'gemmas margaritasque mare litoribus infundit,' etc.

17. **vota cadunt**: *i.e. rata sunt*, cp. 1, 5, 57; 1, 6, 85; etc.

18. **flava vincula**: *flava* here is usually interpreted as = *lutea*, the colour

of festivity, of weddings, etc., and thus as betokening happiness and good fortune, cp. 1, 7, 46 n. — **coniugio** : 'your union,' both husband and wife are meant. This seems better than Postgate's explanation of *coniugium* = *coniunx*, despite the fact that Lygdamus (3, 4, 74 and 79) uses *coniugium* in this not unusual sense.

19. **tarda senectus** : 1, 10, 40; 1, 1, 8 n.

21–22. I wish you a long life (*avis*), children (*prolemque ministret*), and grandchildren (22).

22. **turba novella**: the adjective is regularly applied to the young of animals, 'a brood of little ones.'

2, 3

This poem, though addressed to Cornutus (2, 2, 9), really belongs to the group (3–6) concerned with Nemesis; see Introd. p. 52–53. This young person has left town with a wealthy lover and is now at his country place taking part in the merriment of the vintage season. The poet was not invited.

The condition of the text has given rise to the theory (far from proved) that this elegy was still unfinished at the time of the poet's death.

Imitated closely by Ercole Strozzi, *Amor.* 1, 'Ad Petrum Bembum de discessu amicae ab urbe.'

'My Nemesis has gone to the country. Is there any man unfeeling enough to stay in town now? Venus has moved to the fields and Cupid is acquiring the ploughman's vocabulary. Oh, if I might look upon my mistress I would not shrink from toiling like the veriest hind! Did not Apollo do as much for Admetos? His glorious beauty, his wonderful music, availed him nothing, nor could the divine healer heal himself — love will not yield to physic. This god milked cows and made cheese with his own hands. Many a time his sister flushed with mortification at the sight of him carrying a calf across the fields. Many a time while he was singing in some deep dell did his bovine audience drown out the divine singer with their bellowing. He neglected his duties as a prophet, which brought dismay to men; he neglected his personal appearance, which nearly broke his mother's heart. Love bade him dwell in a lowly hut, and what to him was all the world beside?

'Ah, those were happy days when even the immortal gods were not ashamed to be the slaves of Venus! A scandalous story now. Yes, but better to be a scandal with love than to be even a god without it. — [All for love and the world well lost — that was the Golden Age, indeed.] — This heartless Age of Iron is all for lucre and love well lost — lucre, the cause of battle, murder, and sudden death; lucre, the discoverer of peril by sea; lucre, the nurse of mad extravagance.

'Can't you be content with simplicity, Nemesis?—Alas, women prefer wealthy lovers, I see that.—So be it, then. She shall blaze with jewels at my expense; she shall be brave in Coan silk and Tyrian purple wrung from my estate.

'Every one knows 'tis all they care for. Otherwise she would not be at the beck and call of that foreign boor who time and again has been knocked down to the highest bidder—and proved a poor investment.

'You take Nemesis away from the city. May your crops never grow and your wine never be fit to drink! If the girls will only keep away from the country, the fruits of the field are welcome to go and we will return to acorns and spring water, the diet of primitive man. A meagre diet, perhaps, but they loved where they pleased, and without hindrance. Their garments were plain; but if my love is to be thwarted, fine clothes are a poor consolation. Away then to the country, and to the life of a slave, since my mistress has willed it so.'

1–10. Imitated by Bertin, *Amours*, 3, 5 (cp. 2, 1, 9–86 n.).

1. **rura villaeque**: 'villas and country places.' The plural is indefinite and typical. He really means the particular *rus* and *villa* of *ipse* in 59.

2. **ferreus**: 1, 10, 2; 1, 2, 65.—**heu heu**: cp. 1, 4, 81; 1, 6, 10; 2, 3, 49; 2, 5, 108; 4, 13, 17. *Geminatio*, common in modern Italian, is correspondingly uncommon in literary Latin, where it is most frequently found in interjections as here. It is therefore much more emphatic even than in English. Hence, the very exaggeration here may lead us to suspect that the poet is not so serious after all as he would have us believe. For the well-worn theme of the lover as a slave, see 1, 5, 5, with notes and references.

3. The gods accompany their favourites as in 1, 3, 58 (where see n.); 2, 6, 2; Verg. *E.* 5, 25; etc.—**iam nunc**: 1, 5, 71 n.

4. Cp. 2, 1, 67 f. For the motive of Cupid as a ploughman, see esp. Moschos, 8 (= 6 Ahrens, 4 Wilamowitz) (trans. by Poliziano and André Chénier)—

Λαμπάδα θεὶς καὶ τόξα βοηλάτιν εἵλετο ῥάβδον
οὖλος Ἔρως, πήρην δ' εἶχε κατωμαδίην,
καὶ ζεύξας ταλαεργὸν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐχένα ταύρων
ἔσπειρεν Δηοῦς αὔλακα πυροφόρον.
εἶπε δ' ἄνω βλέψας αὐτῷ Διί· 'πλῆσον ἀρούρας,
μή σε τὸν Εὐρώπης βοῦν ὑπ' ἄροτρα βάλω.'

5. The willingness of the lover to endure every sort of hardship is a commonplace of the elegy, cp. 1, 4, 39–56 and n.; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 9, 9; etc.—**o ego**: very emphatic, cp. 2, 4, 7; Hor. *Epod.* 12, 25, etc.—**cum aspicerem**: for the elision of a monosyllable in thesi, which is rare, see 1, 4, 56 n.—**cum**:

'what time I might,' *i.e.* 'if meanwhile I might.' The temporal particles *cum*, *quando*, and (the locative) *ubi* are used to indicate conditional relations in which the idea of time or space is involved (Gild.-Lodge, 590, n. 3), cp. 1, 5, 9 n. No other cases of this use occur in Tibullus.

6. **validō pingue**: a strong hoe for a fertile soil (which was esteemed the best soil for vines, cp. Verg. *G.* 2, 184, etc.).

7. **modō**: 'in the manner of.'—**curvum**: *i.e.* because the plough stock (*buris*) is curved (Verg. *G.* 1, 170).

8. **arva serenda**: 1, 2, 70 n.

9–10. Introd. p. 56. The ideal lover of the elegy is not endowed with an especially strong physique, partly, no doubt, because great bodily strength or rude health is suggestive of those who have to work for a living and are therefore no better than slaves, cp. Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 5, 72, 'invalidae vires ingenuaeque mihi'; Martial, 3, 46, 6, 'invalidum est nobis ingenuumque latus'; 10, 47, 6, etc.

So too sunburn and blistered hands are mentioned here not only because they suggest pain and discomfort as well as great bodily fatigue, and imply work which no man of the poet's position would think of doing, but also because the lover's appearance is injured by them. The elegiac lover should be pale (1, 8, 52 n.), and his hands should be delicate, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 8, 19 (reproaching his mistress for preferring a rich rival), 'cerne cicatrices veteris vestigia pugnae: | quaesitumst illi corpore quidquid habet.'

9. **quererer quod**: 1, 8, 23 n.

11–32. This characteristically Alexandrian version of the old story of Apollo and Admetos began with Rhianos (Schol. on Eurip. *Alkest.* 1) and henceforth became one of the most common illustrations, as here, of the power of love, cp. Kallimach. *Hymn.* 2, 49; Ovid, *Her.* 5, 151; *Met.* 2, 680; etc. The Church Fathers often use it in their attacks on the old gods, cp. Minuc. Fel. 23, 5; Augustin. *C. D.* 18, 13; Lactant. 1, 10, 3; etc.

The older version was that Apollo was ordered by Zeus to serve Admetos one year (Eurip. *Alkest.* 8) as a punishment for having slain the Kyklopes (Hesiod, Val. Flacc. 1, 444), the sons of the Kyklopes (Pherekydes), or the Python (Alexandrides of Delphi). Many echoes of Tibullus's version are found in Carducci, *Juvenilia*, 27 ('A Febo Apolline'). For a fine modern variation of the theme see George Meredith's poem, *Phoebus with Admetus.*

11. Nemes. 2, 72, 'di pecorum pavere greges, formosus Apollo, | Pan doctus, Fauni vates et pulcher Adonis,' is cited as a reminiscence of this line.

12–13. That is, neither his music nor his beauty helped him to win Admetos, nor, when he saw that to win was impossible, did (13) his knowledge of physic help him to cure himself.

12. **cithara**: Apollo is the divine musician, cp. 2, 5, 2–10 n. — **intonsae comae**: the chief glory of Apollo's immortal youth and beauty is constantly referred to, cp. 1, 4, 37–38 n. The frequency of this particular reference in Tibullus himself is esp. noticeable. — **profuĕrunt**: *i.e.* to win Admetos, cp. 1, 8, 9; 2, 4, 15; etc. For the prosody cp. 4, 5, 4. *ĕrunt* for *ērunt* in the perf. indic. act., as here, 'though it is in the classical and later period more prominent in Dactylic Poetry than in other verse, owing to its suitableness for the dactylic metre, is not by any means unknown in the older (and later) dramatists. . . . Plautus appears, however, to use it only at the end of a line or hemistich, so must have regarded its use as a licence to be resorted to under metrical necessity. It does not appear to have been used in Tragedy, nor by the earlier Epic writers like Ennius, and not very frequently by Lucretius (cp. Munro on 1, 406), which points to its having been a pronunciation of colloquial Latin that won its way only gradually into the higher literature' (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 532). — **ve**: for the position, 1, 1, 40 n.

13–14. Thus Apollo, the divine healer (4, 4, 1 f.), becomes in himself a striking illustration of the old maxim that Love will not yield to physic; cp. Theokrit. 11, 1, *Οὐδὲν πότ' τὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο,* | *Νικία, οὔτ' ἔγχριστον, ἐμὶν δοκεῖ, οὔτ' ἐπίπαστον,* | *ἢ ταὶ Πιερίδες.* Philetas, the old shepherd in Longus, 2, 7, 7, also represents the traditional atmosphere of the bucolic. He sums up a lifetime of experience with, *Ἔρωτος γὰρ οὐδὲν φάρμακον, οὐ πινόμενον, οὐκ ἐσθιόμενον, οὐκ ἐν ᾠδαῖς λαλούμενον, ὅτι μὴ φίλημα καὶ περιβολὴ καὶ συγκατακλιθῆναι γυμνοῖς σώμασι.* Ovid, *Her.* 5, 149, has 'me miseram, quod amor non est medicabilis herbis'; *Met.* 1, 523, 'ei mihi quod nullis amor est sanabilis herbis,' etc. See also 1, 5, 43–44 n.; 1, 2, 59–62 n. Theokritos's prescription of the Muses and Philetas's homoeopathy have both been the theme of many epigrams, ancient and modern. Cp. the echo of Tibullus in Carducci (*l.c.*, 11–32 n.) —

> Né bastò l'arte medica
> Verso la cura nova:
> Ahi, sol di furie e lacrime
> Il nostro iddio si giova.

14. **quidquid artis**: for this emphatic expression of totality, see 1, 1, 51 n.

14a–16. The remains of a passage on the making of cheese as first taught by Apollo himself at this time. It was, doubtless, brought in here to emphasize the ancient conception of Apollo the divine Herdsman as seen, for example, in the Homeric hymn to Hermes.

For a detailed account of the antique methods of making cheese, see esp. Columella, 7, 8, 1 f.

14b. **docuisse**: evidently depends on some word like *dicitur* in the missing line above. — **coagula**: 'rennet'; cp. *e.g.* Columella, *l.c.*, 'id (lac) plerumque cogi agni aut haedi coagulo; quamvis possit et agrestis cardui flore conduci, et seminibus cneci, nec minus ficulneo lacte quod emittit arbor si eius virentem saucies corticem. verum optimus caseus est qui exiguum medicaminis habet.'

15. Nemes. 1, 1, 'dum fiscella tibi fluviali, Tityre, iunco | texitur,' etc., is cited as an imitation of this line. — **fiscella**: Columella, *l.c.*, 'confestim cum concrevit liquor, in fiscellas aut in calathos vel formas transferendus est. nam maxime refert primo quoque tempore serum percolari, et a concreta materia separari. quam ob causam rustici nec patiuntur quidem sua sponte pigro humore defluere, sed cum paulo solidior caseus factus est, pondera superponunt quibus exprimatur serum,' etc.

16. **rara**: *i.e.* 'wide,' 'free,' *i.e.* the *iunci* are *rari*, set far apart so as to allow for interstices and thus give passage (*via*) for the whey. For this use of *rarus* cp. Varro, *De Re Rust.* 3, 9, 6 (of windows in a henhouse), 'e viminibus factae raris, ita ut lumen praebeant multum, neque per eas quicquam ire intro possit quae nocere solent gallinis'; Martial, 13, 3, 6, 'si tibi tam rarus quam mihi nummus erit,' 'if pennies are as "far apart" with you as they are with me,' etc.

17–18. Any country boy knows that neither gods nor men can carry a calf, much less drive one, and retain their dignity. Imagine the horror of the fastidious Artemis! The touch of comedy is quite lost, as of course it should be, in the epic imitation of Val. Flacc. 1, 447, 'a quotiens famulo notis soror obvia silvis | flevit,' etc.

19–20. Another comic touch, which appears to be unique. The divine virtuoso cannot even hold the attention of his audience. The old shepherd Philetas, in Longus, 2, 7 (13–14 n. above), was no less unfortunate, although his cattle were either more sympathetic or else had a far better ear for music, κατέκλων τὰς σύριγγας, ὅτι μοι τὰς μὲν βοῦς ἔθελγον, Ἀμαρυλλίδα δ' οὐκ ἦγον. Undoubtedly too, the music of Philetas was far less classical than that of Apollo and therefore the more likely to please the audience addressed. Carducci echoes Tibullus (*l.c.*, 11–32 n. above) —

> Tu d'amor gemi, ed orride
> Co'l muggito diverso
> Rompon le vacche tessale
> La dotta voce e il verso.

19. **ausae**: for the omission of *sunt*, see 1, 3, 43 n. — **caneret dum**: the subjunctive is iterative and *dum caneret* really = *cum caneret*. Schmalz (par.

306, 2) cites Phaed. 1, 4, 2, 'carnem dum ferret natans vidit,' Livy, Val. Max., Iustinus, the poets, even inscriptions, and late Latin. No other example occurs in Tibullus. Not found in Propertius.—**valle sub alta**: Ovid, *Met.* 11, 277, 'sub opaca valle'; Simonides, 74, 1 Crus., δίρφυος ἐδμήθημεν ὑπὸ πτυχί,—an extension apparently of the ordinary 'sub monte,' ὑπὸ Τμώλῳ (*Il.* 2, 866), etc., suggested by the overhanging rocks or trees of a glen, cp. the bold use of *antrum* in Propert. 4, 4, 3, 'lucus erat felix, hederoso conditus antro, | multaque nativis obstrepit arbor aquis,' cp. 1, 1, 11; 1, 2, 11; 4, 9, 33.

20. **carmina docta boves**: note the emphasis on *boves* by placing it at the end of the line (1, 2, 90; 1, 4, 80; 2, 5, 93 and n.) and placing in juxtaposition the contrasted *docta* (1, 8, 30 n.).—**docta**: 4, 6, 2 n.

21–22. The god of prophecy neglected his own oracles.

21. **trepidis rebus**: might be either ablative or dative. In Verg. *G.* 4, 449, 'hinc lassis quaesitum oracula rebus,' Conington decided in favour of the dative. The regular phrase is 'in trepida re' or 'in trepidis rebus'; see dict. Cp. 1, 6, 62 n.

22. **irrita turba**: *i.e.* 'disappointed,' 'without a response.'

23–26. The beautiful god even neglected his own personal appearance.

23. A touch of nature. Latona's pride in her children is Homeric; cp. *e.g.* *Odyss.* 6, 106; *Hymn.* 3 (*to Apollo*), 12; 126; 204; etc.

24. **noverca**: Juno.

26. **aspiceret . . . quaereret**: 'every one who saw . . . must have asked,' etc. Potential subjunctive, imperfect because in the past (Gild.-Lodge, 258); cp. Cicero, *Pomp.* 31, 'hoc tantum bellum . . . quis umquam arbitraretur . . . ab uno imperatore confici posse,' 'who ever supposed then,' etc.; Livy, 34, 9, 4, 'miraretur qui tum cerneret,' 'any one who saw it then must have been astonished,' etc. No other ex. of this use of the potential occurs in Tibullus; cp. 1, 6, 74 n.

27–28. That is, the splendour and fame of Apollo's two great shrines of Delos and Delphi weigh as nothing against the behests of almighty Love, cp. 1, 2, 75 f. So in *Ars Amat.* 2, 235 f. (cp. Tib. 1, 4, 41; Paul. Silent. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 31, etc.). Ovid uses this story of Apollo as an illustration of his favourite theme (cp. *Amor.* 1, 9, etc.) of the kinship between the lover and the soldier —

> nox et hiemps longaeque viae saevique dolores
>   mollibus his castris et labor omnis inest;
> saepe feres imbrem caelesti nube solutum
>   frigidus et nuda saepe iacebis humo.
> Cynthius Admeti vaccas pavisse Pheraei
>   fertur et in parva delituisse casa.

29–30. The clause with *cum* (really 'olim cum non pudebat') is incorporated with the verb of saying, cp. 2, 5, 19 n. on *postquam*; 2, 3, 17, 'quotiens dicitur erubuisse'; 1, 5, 9 n.

31–32. **fabula**: 'a scandal,' 'a byword,' 'the talk of the town.' So often, cp. 1, 4, 83; Ovid, *Amor*. 3, 1, 21, etc.; cp. Propert. 3, 25, 1–2.

32. Leo compares the Pompeian graffito (*Carm. Epig.* 937 B.) 'scribenti mi dictat Amor mostratque Cupido: | a peream, sine te si deus esse velim.' — **sit mavult**: 1, 2, 25a n. — **deus**: for the emphatic position cp. 20 n. above.

33. **at tu**: the dives amator of 59 f. *tu* is the subject of some verb in the missing portion of the incomplete sentence. The general drift of it is suggested by such parallel addresses to the victorious rival as 1, 5, 69–70 — in this case, however, modified by the fact that in order to be consistent with his preceding argument that love is invincible the poet must acknowledge — and 'cui tristi fronte Cupido imperat,' etc. indicates that he did — that his rival is no more to blame than was Apollo, therefore that the real fault is the greed of Nemesis. So different from the Golden Age, a brief reference to which must have occurred at the close of the lacuna, cp. 'ferrea saecula' below and n. — **is**: the subject of *es*. *es* instead of *est*, because *is* is the representative of *tu*. A shift to the third person in cases like this is attributed by Schmalz (par. 27) to the influence of Greek.

34. **nostra domo**: 1, 1, 61 n.

35. **ferrea saecula**: the Iron Age, the unhappy present, as opposed to the Golden Age, the happy past, cp. 33 n. above. For the theme see 1, 3, 35–50 and notes. The final conclusion was that the one great cause of the fall of man has been his greed. So Tibullus has worked it out here, and his choice of *praeda* to represent the idea was peculiarly apt. The main motive of warfare is greed — gratified by *praeda*, 'rapine' — cp. 1, 1, 1 and notes. The stock example of the *praedator* (41) is the conventional rival of the elegiac poet, the dives amator (1, 5, 47–48 n.), the rich parvenu whose wealth is acquired by means more or less accurately described by the word *praedator*. Thus while addressing himself to Nemesis (47–48 f.) the poet manages at the same time to score his rival. The contrast between *Venerem* and *praeda* sounds like a far-off echo of the theory of Empedokles that Aphrodite not Kronos was the ruler of the Golden Age.

36. **operata**: Tibullus's use of *operari* is confined to the second book. The best general translation of the word seems to be something like 'to be concerned with.' Thus 2, 1, 9 'to be concerned with the god,' *i.e.* to do him honour (so 2, 5, 95); 2, 1, 65 'to be concerned with busy Minerva,' *i.e.* 'devoted to,' 'engaged in'; here, 'concerned with,' *i.e.* 'involved with,' 'carry with itself,' whence the later meaning of 'cause,' 'effect,' etc., is easily derived,

cp. *Aetna*, 383 (quoted by Postgate), 'magnis operata rapinis | flamma micat,' etc. — **malis**: of course is dative.

37. **cinxit**: Verg. *A.* 11, 536, 'nostris nequiquam cingitur armis'; 2, 749, etc. Outside of Tibullus this extended usage seems to be largely Vergilian.

38. **mors propior**: *i.e.* 'nearer,' 'sooner than is natural,' 'accelerated.' For the idea in this connection cp. 1, 10, 33–34 n.; 1, 3, 49–50 n., etc. —. **venit**: 1, 5, 36 n.

39. **vago**: 'never still,' 'restless,' 'tossing,' cp. 2, 6, 3, etc., and *dubiis ratibus* in the next line. — **geminare**: the meaning is explained in 40, *i.e.* naval warfare is to court death twice over.

40. Note the artistic arrangement in this line; the two adjectives in the first hemistich, their two nouns in the second — and arranged chiastically. So 1, 9, 4; 1, 10, 14; 2, 6, 16 and 40. — **bellica rostra**: *i.e.* 'beaks,' 'rams.' Their operation is described by Sil. Ital. 14, 489 f. — **dubiis**: used literally, 'unsteady,' 'unstable,' cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 514; 1, 558; *Trist.* 3, 2, 15; *Pont.* 2, 5, 62, etc., and *instabiles rates* 1, 9, 10 n.

41–46. These are all favourite themes, cp. among many other passages in point, Hor. *Od.* 2, 18, 17 f.

41–42. The desire to own land was a marked characteristic of the Roman temperament and is often mentioned, cp. Pliny, 18, 35 f.; Seneca, *Epist.* 89, 20; Quintil. *Decl.* 13, 2; Hor. *Od.* 1, 1, 9; 16, 40, etc.

The gradual absorption of land into *latifundia* (Verg. *G.* 1, 507; Pliny, 18, 35; Petron. 37; Juv. 9, 54, etc.), vast estates worked by gangs of half-savage slaves for a few proprietors, had already attained alarming proportions in the time of Augustus. In some respects the economic conditions by which it was produced were not unlike those of our own time, such as the rapid growth of urban life, etc.

42. **innumera ove**: for the poetic singular *ove* cp. 1, 1, 42, and for *innumerus* with the singular (1, 3, 28; 1, 9, 68 and notes) cp. Ovid, *Trist.* 5, 12, 20; *Her.* 16, 366; *Pont.* 1, 8, 18; *Met.* 8, 808; Pliny, 18, 239; 9, 29; Lucan, 7, 485; Mart. 8, 55, 2, etc.—**pascat**: the only ex. quoted for this rare transitive use is Verg. *A.* 11, 318, 'vomere duros | exercent colles atque horum asperrima pascunt,' where, however, Conington cites Martial, 10, 58, 9, 'dura suburbani dum iugera pascimus agri' (but see Friedländer's note). A better parallel is 9, 80, 2, 'uxorem pascit Gellius.' *depascere*, as in Verg. *G.* 1, 112, is more common for this meaning.

43–44. The building fever which set in soon after the middle of the first century B.C. was for many generations a marked feature of Roman life and constantly referred to by contemporary writers, cp. Pliny, 18, 35 f.; Hor. *Od.* 2, 15, 1, f.

43. **cui curae est**: for the double dat. 1, 5, 29 n. *cui* is also to be taken with *portatur* and *claudit.*—**lapis externus**: refers to that well-known fondness for expensive marbles of different colours most of which were brought from a distance (*externus*, cp. Hor. *Od.* 2, 18, 3; Propert. 3, 2, 11; Seneca, *Thyest.* 646; *Phaed.* 496; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 3, 35; 1, 5, 36; etc.), a taste which made Rome magnificent and which, it is interesting to observe, has recently been revived in our own country by the recurrence for the first time since then of a similar age of wealth and luxury.—**urbisque tumultu**: ablative of manner, cp. 1, 2, 20, 'pedem ponere nullo sono'; 1, 7, 13, 'fluere tacitis undis'; 1, 8, 60, 'strepitu nullo reserare'; 15, 'inculto ore venire'; 2, 3, 33, 'tristi fronte imperare,' etc.

The reference here and in the following line is to the transportation of great loads of stone and timber through the narrow and crowded streets of Rome, a constant source of noise, confusion, and danger. The famous, passage in point is Juv. 3, 254, 'longa coruscat | serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum | plaustra vehunt; nutant alte populoque minantur. | nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat | axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem | quid superest de corporibus,' etc.; Seneca, *Epist.* 90, 9, 'felix illud saeculum ante architectos fuit, ante tectores. . . . non enim tecta cenationi epulum recepturae parabantur, nec in hunc usum pinus aut abies deferebatur longo vehiculorum ordine vicis intrementibus, ut ex illa lacunaria auro gravia penderent'; Mart. 5, 22, 7, 'vixque datur longas mulorum rumpere mandras | quaeque trahi multo marmora fune vides'; Pliny, *Pan.* 51, 1, 'idem tam parcus in aedificando quam diligens in tuendo. itaque non ut ante immanium transvectione saxorum urbis tecta quatiuntur; stant securae domus nec iam templa nutantia' (cp. Seneca, *N. Q.* 6, 22, 1; Lucret. 6, 548); Hor. *Epist.* 2, 2, 72; etc.

In 45 B.C. (*CIL.* I, p. 121) Caesar passed an ordinance that no 'heavy teaming' should be allowed in the streets of Rome between sunrise and two hours before sunset, *i.e.* during the hours of congestion for foot passengers. An exception (among others) was made in favour of public works and demolition projects. The object of the law was effected, and it seems to have held good not only in the time of our poet but for at least the first two centuries of the empire, but the result must have been that, thanks to the heavy traffic for public works allowed by day and for private individuals by night, the roar in the business section of Rome was practically continuous from sun to sun. Hence the law of Hadrian (Spart. *Script. Hist. Aug.* 1, 22, 6, 'vehicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi prohibuit') is taken to mean an extension of Caesar's ordinance to a prohibition of heavy traffic by night. Some day perhaps a few modern towns will rise to that altitude of civilization.

44. **columna**: might be taken as a case of singular for plural (1, 1, 42 n.) What the poet really sees, however, is a single great monolith drawn through the streets of Rome by a thousand yoke of oxen, a pardonable exaggeration in view of the fact that Hadrian himself, for example, when he moved the Colossus of Nero used 24 elephants, cp. Spart. *op. cit.* 19, 12, 'transtulit et colossum stantem atque suspensum per Decrianum architectum de eo loco in quo nunc templum urbis est, ingenti molimine, ita ut operi etiam elephantos viginti quattuor exhiberet.' This interpretation of our passage seems more picturesque than to take *columna* as a collective singular and *mille* simply as emphasizing the number of such loads.

For *mille* of an indefinitely large number cp. 1, 3, 50 n., and for *iugum* = 'yoke' (to use our own country phrase) of cattle, cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 564; Verg. *A*. 5, 147; Cicero, *Verr*. 2, 3, 120, etc.

45–46. The reference is to the *piscinae* or *vivaria*, the private ponds for salt-water fish made by shutting off a portion of the sea by a wall or breakwater (*moles*). Directions for their construction are given in the *Geoponica*, 20, 1 f. The first and most famous one was built near Naples by Lucullus (Varro, *De Re Rust*. 3, 17, 9; Pliny, 9, 170, etc.). Possible remains of such *piscinae* (*e.g.* the 'Bagno della regina Giovanna') among the ruins of the villa of 'Vedio Pollione' (the local tradition of the name) on the Punta di Sorrento are still to be seen. Stat. *Silv*. 2, 2, 29, describing the villa of Pollius Felix (the villa just mentioned?) at Sorrento, shows that in his time such *piscinae* were the ordinary thing in connection with any seashore villa. The favourite diatribe on extravagance often selects as an example this eminently sensible and comparatively speaking inexpensive device, largely it would seem to score the rhetorical point that the solid earth is not enough for these builders, they must needs encroach on the sea — which is unnatural and therefore impious (1, 3, 37–40 n.). So here (45) the mole (built by the hand of man merely for fish) is said to 'cage the tameless sea'; cp. Hor. *Od*. 2, 18, 19, 'struis domos | marisque Bais obstrepentis urges | submovere litora, | parum locuples continente ripa'; Seneca, *Tran*. 3, 7; Hor. *Od*. 3, 1, 33 f., etc.; Manil. 4, 263; Cassiodor. *Var*. 9, 6, 4; Paulin. Nol. *Carm*. 24, 31; Seneca, *Epist*. 89, 21; Apoll. Sidon. *Carm*. 2, 57; Petron. 119, 88; Seneca, *Thyest*. 459; etc.

45. **lentus**: 'unmoved,' 'indifferent,' 'undisturbed.' A purposely naïve assumption that fish have a human fear of the stormy sea. Another point of view in the same connection is represented by Hor. *Od*. 3, 1, 33, 'contracta pisces aequora sentiunt | iactis in altum molibus.'

46. **neglegat**: 'disdain,' 'care nothing for.' The word harmonizes with *minas*, which in itself personifies the blustering winter sea. An object clause with *neglego* is not frequent, but occurs in all styles.

47–48. The inexpensive though handsome ware of Samos and Cumae, generally red and often decorated in some way, was commonly used by many Romans of the middle class who through moderate means or old-fashioned conservatism did not incline to silver. Samian ware — the name describes the type, not the place of manufacture — is according to circumstances an illustration of miserliness (Plautus, *Capt.* 291; Cicero, *Mur.* 36, 75), of poverty (Plautus, *Stich.* 694; Lucil. 445 Marx), or as here, of simplicity, cp. *Rhet. ad Heren.* 4, 64; Auson. *Epig.* 8; Lactant. 1, 18, 21; Mart. 13, 7. The ware of Cumae is highly praised by Pliny, 35, 164. These lines therefore are a direct invitation to Nemesis to choose a simple life, *i.e.* a life with the poet. After a dramatic pause Tibullus, as if in response (49) to her wordless reply in the negative, proceeds with his next point. It may be observed that this association of simplicity and terra cotta had a long tradition in literature, cp. *e.g.* Bacchyl. *frag.* 21 Blass:

Οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ', οὔτε χρυσός,
οὔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες,
ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενής,
Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα, καὶ Βοιωτίοισιν
ἐν σκύφοισιν οἶνος ἡδύς.

47. trahant convivia: 1, 9, 61 n.

48. lubrica terra: the adjective is peculiarly descriptive of wet clay in its natural state.

49. heu heu: 2, 3, 2 n.

50–58. The poet is resigned to his fate.

51. luxuria fluat: 'fluentes luxu,' Livy, 7, 29, 5, is cited by Stacey as a possible echo of this line. But Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* 2, 52, had said 'fluimus mollitia,' cp. *Off.* 1, 106, 'diffluere luxuria,' and 1, 7, 3 n.

52. incedat: especially used of a measured, proud, or graceful gait, of walking as an accessory of beauty or dignity. A favourite word with Propertius, cp. 2, 2, 5, 'fulva coma est longaeque manus, et maxima toto | corpore, et incedit vel Iove digna soror, | aut cum Munychias Pallas spatiatur ad aras,' etc.; cp. Verg. *A.* 1, 46, 'ast ego quae divom incedo regina'; Propert. 3, 13, 11, 'matrona incedit census induta nepotum | et spolia opprobrii nostra per ora trahit'; 2, 1, 5, 'sive illam Cois fulgentem incedere cogis,' where the reference is to 1, 2, 1, 'quid iuvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo | et tenues Coa veste movere sinus?' *procedo* is esp. used of women who don their finery and go out, cp. 4, 2, 11; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 165, 'femina procedit densissima crinibus emptis,' etc. For *prodire* in the same sense, 1, 9, 70 n.; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 131 (with Brandt's n.); Lukian, *Dialog. Mer.* 6, 2, etc.

The ancients very properly made much of a graceful and appropriate gait. Ovid's advice to women is (*Ars Amat.* 3, 298) —

> discite femineo corpora ferre gradu:
> est et in incessu pars non contempta decoris;
> allicit ignotos ille fugatque viros.
> haec movet arte latus tunicisque fluentibus auras
> accipit extensos fertque superba pedes;
> illa velut coniunx Umbri rubicunda mariti
> ambulat ingentis varica fertque gradus.
> sed sit ut in multis, modus hic quoque: rusticus alter
> motus, concesso mollior alter erit.

So in the old epitaph of Claudia (*Carm. Epig.* 52 B.) it is recorded that she was 'sermone lepido, tum autem incessu commodo'; again in the fragment of a Greek historian (*FHG.* 2, 259) our attention is called to the graceful carriage of the Theban women, *αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τοῖς μεγέθεσι, πορείαις, ῥυθμοῖς εὐσχημονέσταταί τε καὶ εὐπρεπέσταται τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γυναικῶν.* For the 'concesso mollior' type cp. Propert. 2, 4, 5, 'nequiquam perfusa meis unguenta capillis, | ibat et expenso planta morata gradu'; Petron. 126, 'incessus arte compositus et ne vestigia quidem pedum extra mensuram aberrantia'; Catullus, 42, 8, etc. — **conspicienda**: 1, 2, 70 n.

53. **vestes tenues quas femina Coa**: the first to mention silk in the Occident is Aristotle (*De Animal. Hist.* 5, 19, 6), and the first time the Romans ever saw it was in the banners of the Parthians at Carrhae (Florus, 1, 46, 8). They never had a general name for it, but knew it in the three varieties of *Coa*, *bombycina*, and *serica*. The *Coa* (*i.e.* from Cos) was made from a local variety of silk-worm which fed on the terebinth (Pliny, 11, 77). It was enormously popular at Rome in the time of Augustus and until the latter half of the first century A.D. (cp. 2, 4, 29; Propert. 1, 2, 1; 2, 1, 5; 4, 2, 23; 4, 5, 23; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 298; Hor. *Od.* 4, 13, 13; etc.). It appears to have been very much like our chiffon or 'Liberty' silk and it was very expensive (Propert. 4, 5, 56; etc.). The general Greek word for all such garments was the expressive *διαφανῆ* (Menand. *Fab. Incert.* 241, Mein.), cp. *tenues* here; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 2, 101, 'Cois tibi paene videre est | ut nudam'; Propert. 1, 2, 2, 'et tenuis Coa veste movere sinus'; Eubulus, 67 K., *ἐξὸν θεωρήσαντι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον | γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας | ἐν λεπτοπήνοις ὕφεσιν ἑστώσας, οἵας | Ἠριδανὸς ἁγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας*, etc. 'Coan vestments' were therefore particularly affected by the demi-monde, and hence when adopted by ladies of fashion were the theme of numerous denunciations, cp. *e.g.* Seneca, *Ben.* 7, 9, 5, 'video sericas vestes, si vestes vocandae sunt, in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus aut denique pudor possit; quibus sumptis (mulier) parum liquido

nudam se non esse iurabit. hae ingenti summa ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus accersuntur, ut matronae nostrae ne adulteris quidem plus sui in cubiculo quam in publico ostendant'; Martial, 8, 68, 7, 'femineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus, | calculus in nitida sic numeratur aqua'; Seneca, *Epist.* 90, 20, 'quid, si contigisset illi videre has nostri temporis telas, quibus vestis nihil celatura conficitur, in qua non dico nullum corpori auxilium, sed nullum pudori est?' Seneca Rhet. *Controv.* 2, 7 (p. 239 Kiessl.), 'infelices ancillarum greges laborant ut adultera tenui veste perspicua sit et nihil in corpore uxoris suae plus maritus quam quilibet alienus peregrinusque cognoverit' (an interesting passage because it shows that here as elsewhere the principal reason why we hear so much of this theme in the later writers is because it entered the rhetorical schools at an early date).

54. **auratas . . . vias**: 'disposed upon them paths of gold' is a literal translation. The occurrence elsewhere of *viae* in this connection is confined to Servius on Verg. *A.* 8, 660, where he explains *virgatis lucent sagulis* as 'quae habebant in virgarum modum deductas vias.' The only parallel in Greek and the only occurrence of the word in that sense is the *οἶμοι*, the *viae* or paths of gold, tin, and kyanos inlaid in the famous breastplate of *Iliad*, 11, 24. In the passage before us *disponere* presupposes regular patterns of some sort, and the suggestion of *viae* is that these patterns were traced in a line or band of embroidery in gold, *i.e.* a path, a street as it were, of gold running wherever dictated by the pattern. The dictionaries translate by 'stripes.' In that case the pattern in question would be narrowed down practically to parallel bands of embroidery, let us say for example, three or four around the bottom of the skirt. But this is too definite. The *οἶμοι* of Homer were arranged in parallel bands, hence the translation of 'stripes' is accepted and appropriate. 'Stripes,' however, is derived from the known details of the pattern; it is not inherent in *οἶμοι* itself (so far as we know). Hence *viae* here, even though, as may well be the case, it was derived through translation or otherwise from the Homeric prototype itself, does not involve the restriction to stripes. Indeed it would appear that Servius at least did not so interpret the word, otherwise he would hardly have added 'in virgarum modum,' 'in the manner of rods,' *i.e.* 'stripes,' to describe the pattern suggested by *deductas vias*. There is a kindred but obscure use of *via* as an architectural term (unique) in Vitruvius, 4, 3, 6.

55–56. Coloured attendants were a luxury especially affected by women like Nemesis largely because, as in England and France during the 17th and 18th centuries, they suggested the fortune and the position of foreign potentates, nabobs, etc., cp. *e.g.* Terence, *Eun.* 165 (to Thais), 'nonne ubi mi dixti cupere te ex Aethiopia | ancillulam, relictis rebus omnibus | quaesivi?'

56. On this antique idea that the heat of the tropics is due to an increased proximity of the sun, and therefore that the farther we go, the hotter it grows, cp. *e.g.* Hor. *Od.* 1, 22, 21, 'pone sub curru nimium propinqui | solis, in terra domibus negata'; Seneca, *Oed.* 121, 'promit hinc ortus aperitque lucem | Phoebus et flamma propiore nudos | inficit Indos'; *Thyest.* 602, 'Medus et Phoebi propioris Indus'; Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 2, 10, 11, 'Aethiopes . . . quos vicinia solis usque ad speciem nigri coloris exurit,' but esp. Vergil's description of the five zones, *G.* 1, 231 f.

57–58. For an interesting enumeration and discussion of the colours worn by women in the time of Tibullus, see Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 169 f. The brilliant colours, such as those mentioned here, were more or less characteristic of women like Nemesis. In the second century, for example, Artemidoros, the interpreter of dreams, says (2, 3) that *γυναικὶ δὲ ποικίλη καὶ ἀνθηρὰ ἐσθὴς συμφέρει, μάλιστα δὲ ἑταίρᾳ καὶ πλουσίᾳ.*

The shades of purple (a colour much used in antiquity) varied from scarlet to deep violet. The *purpureum* or purple proper (*i.e.* the deep violet) was made by the Tyrians as here stated, and from the *murex*. *puniceum* or scarlet is said to be supplied by Africa because it was manufactured by the Carthaginians; it is called *puniceum* or Punic because Carthage was a Phoenician colony. It was made from cochineal extracted, not from nopal, which was first discovered long afterward in Mexico, but from the berries (*coccum*, *κόκκος*, Arab. *kermes*) of the scarlet oak (Pliny, 22, 3 f.). Since the discovery of aniline dyes the great industries of Tyre and her daughter have ceased to have anything but an historical interest.

57. certent praebere: *certare* with the infinitive begins with Lucretius and remains a poetical construction.

58. For the chiasmus, see 1, 1, 43 n. The lacuna between 58 and 59 may have contained or may have closed with some variant of the statements made in 35 or 49. At least this would form a logical transition to 59–60.

59. regnum tenet: 1, 9, 80 n. — **ipse**: 'the very man whom,' etc. — **quem . . . pedes**: this sneer at the dives amator is conventional though often enough no doubt well founded, cp. Propert. 4, 5, 51 (advice of the lena to her charge), 'nec tibi displiceat miles non factus amori, | nauta nec attrita si ferat aera manu, | aut quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit, | caelati medio cum saluere foro'; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 63, 'nec tu, si quis erit capitis mercede redemptus, | despice: gypsati crimen inane pedis'; cp. *Ars Amat.* 2, 275, 'carmina laudantur sed munera magna petuntur: | dummodo sit dives, barbarus ipse placet,' etc. He is a barbarian and has been a slave (*barbara catasta; gypsati pedes*). Moreover, even as a slave he was inferior and a bad investment, otherwise he would not have been put up for sale so often (*saepe*) and so publicly.

60. **catasta**: a high revolving platform on which slaves were put up for sale (Q. Cicero, *De Pet. Cons.* 2, 8; Stat. *Silv.* 2, 1, 72). The slave was completely stripped so that no bodily defect might be concealed, cp. Seneca, *Epist.* 80, 9, 'detrahis vestimenta venalibus ne qua vitia corporis lateant. . . . mangones quidquid est quod displiceat aliquo lenocinio abscondunt: itaque ementibus ornamenta ipsa suspecta sunt: sive crus alligatum sive bracchium aspiceres, nudari iuberes et ipsum tibi corpus ostendi'; Mart. 6, 66; 9, 59, 3; Sueton. *Aug.* 69; etc. The slave was also expected to give proofs of his training both physical and mental (Propert. 4, 5, 52, etc.). If he was imported, *i.e.* a barbarian, his feet were whitened with chalk or gypsum (*gypsatos pedes*), cp. Pliny, 35, 199, 'sed vilissima (creta), qua . . . pedes venalium trans maria advectorum denotare instituerunt maiores,' etc.; Juv. 1, 111.

61. **tibi**: *i.e.* dives amator, the *ipse* of 59. The curse on crops is one of the most frequent and characteristic in the annals of witchcraft, cp. 1, 8, 19 n.

62. **persolvat**, etc.: 1, 7, 31 n.; 2, 6, 21–22.

63–64. The appeal to Bacchos derives especial force from the fact that cultivation of the vine has always been one of the principal industries of Italy.

64. **devotos**: 'accursed,' is explained by 65–66.—**lacus**: cp. 1, 1, 10 n.

65. **haud**: the only occurrence of the word in Tibullus. Propertius uses it only in 2, 18, 20; 2, 22, 22; 3, 5, 13; 46; 3, 7, 35; 3, 15, 7.—**tristibus**: 'gloomy,' 'lonely,' cp. 1, 5, 50 n. For the moment the poet of the country is a genuine cit.

66. **non tanti . . . puellae**: indicate that Nemesis had gone to the country at harvest time for the alleged purpose of taking part in the merry-making of that season. 'If this is the result of agriculture,' says the poet, 'let us give it up and return to first principles.' In this way he gets back once more to his theme of the Golden Age (69–76), which for his present purpose is an idealization of the native Roman tradition as well as of the Epicurean view rather than a return to the Hesiodic norm (1, 3, 35–50 and notes). 'They had no agriculture then. But they did have love, and love was unconfined—and inexpensive—all which made that a Golden Age as compared with this.'—**tanti**: so 2, 6, 42. The genitive of rating in Tib. is confined to these two exx.

67. **ne sint modo**: for *modo* in conditional wishes, cp. 1, 2, 31; 1, 6, 64; 67; 2, 5, 106.

68. On acorns and water (instead of *fruges* and *tua musta*) as the diet of primaeval men see 2, 1, 38 n.; Lucret. 5, 939–947. Goldbéry quotes here as an imitation, Voltaire, *Le Mondain*—

> Dessous un chêne ils soupent galament,
> Avec de l'eau, du millet et du gland.
> Le repas fait, ils dorment sur la dure:
> Voilà l'état de la pure nature.

69. et passim semper amarunt: enlarged upon in 71–76. For the theme see 1, 3, 63–64 n. The Epicureans use it to illustrate their theory of the utterly savage condition of primitive man, cp. Lucret. 5, 962, 'et Venus in silvis iungebat corpora amantum; | conciliabat enim vel mutua quamque cupido | vel violenta viri vis atque impensa libido | vel pretium, glandes atque arbuta vel pira lecta'; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 3, 109, 'quos venerem incertam rapientis more ferarum | viribus editior caedebat ut in grege taurus'; *A.P.* 396, 'fuit haec sapientia quondam | publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis | concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis,' etc.

Tibullus grants the primitive condition but makes it idyllic; cp. the same theme and point of view in Propertius, 3, 13, 25 —

felix agrestum quondam pacata iuventus,
  divitiae quorum messis et arbor erant!
illis munus erant decussa Cydonia ramo,
  et dare puniceis plena canistra rubis,
nunc violas tondere manu, nunc mixta referre
  lilia virgineos lucida per calathos,
et portare suis vestitas frondibus uvas
  aut variam plumae versicoloris avem.
his tum blanditiis furtiva per antra puellae
  oscula silvicolis empta dedere viris.
hinnulei pellis totos operibat amantis,
  altaque nativo creverat herba toro,
pinus et incumbens lentas circumdabat umbras;
  nec fuerat nudas poena videre deas, etc.

From the idyllic to the comic is but a step, and doubtless in this case the step was actually taken in the Old comedy. For us, however, the motive so treated seems to be confined to the more modern authors. The old Trouvère, for instance, tells us that in that wondrous Land of Cokaigne (Way's trans.) —

Strife, and ire, and war were not;
For all was held by common lot;
And every lass that sported there
Still was kind and still was fair;
Free to each as each desir'd,
And quitted when the year expir'd;
For, once the circling seasons past,
Surest vows no more might last.

So, too, Lovelace exclaims —

Thrice happy was that golden age,
When compliment was constru'd rage,

And fine words in the centre hid;
When cursed no stain'd no maid's bliss,
And all discourse was summ'd in yes,
And nought forbad, but to forbid.

—**amarunt**: the remaining exx. of syncopation in Tibullus are *optarim*, 1, 6, 74; 4, 11, 4; *portarit*, 2, 5, 70; *iurasset*, 1, 4, 24; *peccasse*, 1, 6, 71; 4, 7, 9; *nudasse*, 4, 7, 2; *audissem*, 1, 10, 12; *finissem*, 2, 6, 19; *nossem*, 1, 10, 11; *petiere*, 2, 3, 21; *abiere*, 2, 1, 43; *redierunt*, 2, 5, 37—a smaller number than is usual in the dactylic poets of his time. On the other hand, unsyncopated forms in the same sphere (tenses of the perfect stem in the first and to a less extent in the fourth conjugation) are confined to *lassaverit*, 1, 9, 55; *libaverat*, 1, 10, 21; *formaverat*, 2, 5, 23. *adiisse*, 1, 2, 81; *praeteriisse*, 1, 4, 34; *subiisse*, 1, 4, 47 are usual in dactylic verse. In other words, so far as the first and fourth conjugations are concerned Tibullus makes a surprisingly small use of those tenses and persons in which syncopation is usually permissible at will, but if he does use them he prefers the syncopated form. The type, for instance, represented only by *lassaverit*, *libaverat*, and *formaverat* is much used by some poets (esp. epic and satiric) to fill out the fifth foot of the hexameter. At the same time forms of verbs ending in a dactyl or readily combining with the following word to form a dactyl are thoroughly appreciated. These are especially common of course in the second and third conjugations. Perfect infinitives, for example, of the type represented by *increpuisse* are obviously valuable esp. in the pentameter, but their frequency in Tibullus practically amounts to a mannerism. (76 cases in books 1, 2, and 4, 2–14.)

70. **nocuit**: for the infinitive as subject see 1, 8, 25; 1, 1, 29–32 n.

71–72. See Propert. 3, 13, 25 f. quoted above; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 621 (primitive modesty), 'tunc quoque, cum solem nondum prohibebat et imbrem | tegula, sed quercus tecta cibumque dabat, | in nemore atque antris, non sub Iove, iuncta voluptas: | tanta rudi populo cura pudoris erat.' This conventional background of a love affair al fresco is characteristic of the idyllic mood, and already had a long tradition in Tibullus's time, not only as here to illustrate the simple life of other days, an ever recurring theme, but also in connection with certain *causes célèbres*, notably Phaidra and Hippolytos, Venus and Adonis, and their like, see 4, 3, 15–16 n. Numberless characteristic illustrations of the scene are furnished by paintings, engravings, etc., from the Renaissance to the close of the 18th century.

71. **quibus aspirabat Amor**: for the thought, phrase, and construction, cp. 2, 1, 80; 2, 4, 57.

73–74. The thought of the preceding distich suggests by the poet's favourite

device of contrast the specific sorrows of his present situation as the exclusus amator, with its well-worn illustration of the *ianua* or house door, cp. 1, 1, 73; 1, 2, 5–6; 7–14 and notes.

73. That is, 'erat nulla ianua dolentes exclusura.' The future participle is the attribute of *ianua* (1, 9, 9, n.). 'There was no watchman then, no door destined to,' etc.

74. **mos ille**: for *ille* with the vocative, cp. *is* in 2, 3, 33 n.

75. The thought of the missing hexameter may be restored with a fair degree of certainty. It seems clear that 76 qualified 75 in the same way that 70 does 69, and that 78 does 77, *i.e.* in each case a disadvantage is set over against an advantage. Further, 76, the raiment of primitive man, is contrasted with 78, the dress of the modern exquisite. The missing 75, therefore, ought to be a contrast with 77. The contrast with 77 is practically the thought of 73–74. The thought, therefore, of the missing line was doubtless a recapitulation of 73–74 — and this, moreover, is a very common device with our poet.

78. **laxam togam**: on this habit of the ultra-fashionable Roman, see 1, 6, 40 n. A sharp contrast with 76 is intended. The rude garments of primaeval man, with love satisfied (75–76), are better than the most fashionable clothes of to-day, with love thwarted. The logic is that of 32 above, and the argument upon which it rests is that, for instance, of 1, 2, 75 f.

79–80. The poet ends on his key-note, acknowledgment of his complete slavery and of resignation to his fate.

79. **ad imperium**: 1, 7, 38 n.

80. 1, 6, 37–38 n.; 1, 5, 5 n. For the construction *me vinclis nego*, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Trist.* 5, 8, 13, 'vilia qui quondam miseris alimenta negarat,' etc. The effect of the construction is to personify the datives *vinclis* and *verberibus*. — **vinclis verberibusque**: see 1, 6, 38; 1, 9, 21; 1, 10, 65 and notes. Wölfflin cites Cicero, *Orat.* 1, 194; *Phil.* 11, 7; *Pomp.* 11; *Leg.* 3, 6; *frag.* in Augustin. *C. D.* 21, 11; Lactant. 5, 18; Orosius, 1, 21; *Querolus*, 13, 10 Peiper.

2, 4

Tibullus describes and deplores his misery as a lover of Nemesis. He pictures himself as the slave of a degrading passion for an utterly unworthy object and as keenly alive to the fact. See Introd. p. 54.

'Farewell forever to my former freedom. My fate is sealed. A bitter bondage is my lot, and every torture which Love the slave-driver can invent. Oh, to lose the power of feeling such agonies as mine how gladly would I be a stone on some icy peak, a beetling crag towering immovable against the

tempestuous winds and angry seas! Now, my days are bitter and my nights more bitter still. My verses avail me nothing. She forever reaches out her hand and asks for money, money, money! Begone then, ye Muses, since ye cannot help a lover. She demands gifts, and gifts I must get or see her no more. Anything but that! — though I get them by bloodshed and crime, aye even by sacrilege — and thou, Venus, shalt be the first to suffer, for the sin will be due to thee.

'Accursed be the discoverers of jewels and Tyrian dyes, of Coan silks and Orient pearls! These it is that have corrupted womankind, that have locked the door and put a watch-dog there. Bring a long purse and the very dog will be your friend. Beauty and Greed are an ill-assorted pair and give Love a bad name.

'As for you who are hard and grasping, may your ill-gotten gains be swept away by wind and fire, and no one lift a finger to help, and when you die you shall be unwept and unremembered. Not so the girl who was kind and generous. Though she live an hundred years the tears shall flow when she is laid in grave, and some grizzled oldster just for old sake's sake shall every year lay flowers on her tomb, and as he turns to go shall say — "Sleep well, and may earth rest lightly on thy bones!"

'My words are true, but how am I profited thereby? 'Tis as she says, not as I would have it. Nay then, if she wills it, my old home shall be sold under the hammer. Give me all the brews of Circe and Medea, all the potions Thessaly can supply, and if Nemesis will only be kind I will drink them down.'

1–2. 1, 6, 37–38; 1, 5, 5 and notes. The poet's mood is that of 2, 3, 79–80, but he is even more hopeless.

1. **dominam**: to be taken, of course, in its literal sense. — **paratam**: goes with both *servitium* and *dominam*, but agrees with the nearer, cp. 1, 5, 36 n. This concord is more common in poetry (esp. Horace) than in prose, but no definite rule can be formulated.

2. **mihi**: 1, 6, 63 n. — **illa**: that is, 'former,' 'of other days.' For the vocative cp. 2, 3, 74; 2, 3, 33 and note.

3–6. Give the details of 1–2.

3. **sed**: 'nay, more,' 'yes, and —' *i.e.* not only *servitium*, but *triste* ('harsh,' 'dismal') *servitium* is my lot. I am kept in chains, and Amor never eases them. For this corrective use of *sed* see 2, 5, 7 n.

5–6. A dramatic touch. As the slave of Love the poet is not only chained (4) but burned. In 6 the torturer Amor and his able assistant Nemesis are applying torches to various sensitive portions of the victim's anatomy. This is the *ure et torque* of 1, 5, 5 n. The same variety of torture in the Middle

Ages is often represented in contemporary prints. A final touch to the picture is given by *io!* — the victim's shout of agony as the torch is forced against the live flesh.

5. **merui . . . peccavimus**: on the shift to the plural see 1, 2, 11 n.

7–10. The sufferer becomes articulate and thereafter discusses with the calmness of despair the details of his situation. The formation of the sentence reflects the agony of the speaker — (1) the exclamatory *o ego* (cp. 2, 3, 5); (2) the desire to be free, which is the first articulate thought; (3) yes, at any price (hence *ne . . . possim*, final subjunctive), 'to be incapable of feeling such torture'; (4) 'how gladly would I have been even,' etc. (*quam mallem*, optative subjunctive of the wish with adverse decision, cp. Gildersleeve-Lodge, 261 Rem., and 4, 13, 5 n.).

7. *Carm. Epig.* 1211, 9, 'sed quoniam multi talem sensere dolorem,' is cited as an imitation.

8–10. The storm-beaten crag by the sea is a proverb of adversity, cp. *e.g.* Soph. *O. K.* 1240. More often the 'tall rock,' as the old play says, that 'maintains majestic state, | Though Boreas gallop on the tottering seas, | And tilting spit his froth out, spurging waves | Upon his surly breast' (cp. Shirley's 'rock that bids | Defiance to a storm, against whose ribs | The insolent waves but dash themselves in pieces, | And fall and hide their heads in passionate foam') is a proverb of one who stands firm against adversity, the shock of battle, etc., cp. Homer, *Il.* 15, 618; Verg. *A.* 7, 586; 10, 693; Ovid, *Met.* 9, 40; Seneca, *Vit. Beat.* 27, 3; etc. But rock is also a proverb of the hard and the unfeeling, cp. 1, 1, 63–64 n. The phrases 'ne . . . dolores' in 7 and 'gelidis . . . lapis' in 8 indicate that this was the point of the poet's comparison here. This turn to the old simile is comparatively uncommon, cp. however Hor. *Epod.* 17, 54 (which Tib. may possibly have had in mind), 'non saxa nudis surdiora navitis | Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo'; Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 2, 31, 'felicem Nioben, quamvis tot funera vidit, | quae posuit sensum, saxea facta, mali! | vos quoque felices, quarum clamantia fratrem | cortice velavit populus ora novo. | ille ego sum lignum qui non admittar in ullum: | ille ego sum frustra qui lapis esse velim. | . . . vivimus, ut numquam sensu careamus amaro, | et gravior longa fit mea poena mora.'

8. The simile is not common, cp., however, Thomas Edward Brown, *Jessie*, 12 —

> O thou my heart! O thou my useless heart!
> Would God that thou wert dead —
> A clod insensible to joys or ills —
> A stone remote in some bleak gully of the hills!

Guy de Tours, *Souspirs*, 1, 29, seems to be echoing Tibullus —

Je voudrois estre, au profond de la mer,
  Ou sur un mont, quelque roche insensible;
  Je voudrois estre une souche impassible
  A celle fin de ne pouvoir aymer.
Pour aymer trop et pour trop estimer
  Une beauté rigoureuse au possible,
  Je souffre au cœur un torment si terrible
  Qu'il n'en est point là bas de plus amer.

9. **stare**: 1, 6, 49; 1, 1, 64 n.

10. **naufraga**: active, cp. 1, 1, 8 and note; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 6; Hor. *Od.* 1, 16, 10; Val. Flacc. 1, 584; etc.—**vasti maris**: 'the vasty deep.' The idea of desolate, insatiable, as well as of enormous, is involved.—**tunderet unda**: cp. Horace quoted in 8–10 n.; Catull. 11, 3, 'litus ut longe resonante Eoa | tunditur unda,' etc. 'The sound,' as Postgate observes, 'echoes the sense, giving the boom and thunder of the sea.'

11. **nunc . . . nunc**: 1, 8, 75 n.—**noctis amarior**: on the *noctes amarae* (of lovers) cp. 1, 2, 76 n.; Propert. 2, 7, 11; 4, 3, 29; Ovid, *Her.* 13, 111; etc. In a similar situation Fontenelle exclaims—

Je ne dors ni nuit ni jour,
Le Diable emporte l'Amour,
Ses petits frères, et sa mère,
Tous ses parens, jeux et ris,
Toute l'isle de Cythère,
Et qui plus est, mon Iris.

12. **omnia tempora madent**: *i.e.* I have drunk the cup of bitterness to the dregs. I am drunk with sorrow. The expression is usual to describe the effect of wine taken in large quantities, cp. 1, 2, 3 n.; 1, 7, 50; Hor. *Od.* 1, 7, 22, 'uda Lyaeo tempora,' etc.—**tristi**: on *tristi* here and on the lover's cup of gall see 1, 5, 50 and notes.

13–20. This variation of the theme of 2, 3, 35–60 is itself the combination of three themes of frequent occurrence—(1) the conventional purpose of the elegy; (2) the contrast between epic and elegy; (3) the burning question of the relation of gifts to the course of true love. The epic (16–18) is the accepted standard of high poetry and of serious literary endeavour, the elegy (and amatory poetry in general, cp. *e.g.* Hor. *Od.* 1, 6 and often) of the lighter vein (cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 1; 3, 1; 2, 1, 11–38; 2, 18; Propert. 3, 3; etc.). The epic poet writes for the ages and to win glory, the elegiac poet writes for his mistress and to win her favour (as here, cp. also Propert. 1, 8, 39; 2, 13; 3, 3, 47; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 1; 3, 1, 41; etc.)—although he sometimes forgets and tells the truth (cp. Introd. p. 20). Generally, however, he has to acknowledge its inefficiency in these times of vulgar greed (as here, cp. 2, 3,

35–60, etc.), when gifts are the only attentions that count (1, 5, 61–68; 1, 8, 29; 1, 9, 51; 2, 3, 49; Propert. 4, 5, 53; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 57–68; 3, 8; *Ars Amat.* 2, 273; 3, 551; etc.).

13. **prosunt**: *i.e.* to gain Nemesis, cp. 15–20, below.

14. **cava manu**: the beggar's gesture, cp. Sueton. *Aug.* 91; *Vesp.* 23; etc.—**pretium**: as Martinon truly observes, 'est vif, mais *cava manu* est sanglant.' Of course; they are meant to be. And the sudden appearance of similar language to Delia in 1, 5, 68 f. (where see n.) was an indication that in the poet's opinion the mistress he had once idealized had fallen to the level of Nemesis and her kind, *i.e.* of the rapax meretrix, who like other stock characters of the elegy is equally prominent in the allied departments of comedy and its echo, the rhetorical letter writers, the satire, the epigram, and even the Horatian lyric. The type of Nemesis seems not unlike that of Philumena for example (Alkiphron, 1, 40), who writes to her lover as follows,—'Why do you make yourself miserable with all these letters of yours? I don't want letters; I want fifty gold-pieces. If you love me, give them, if you are stingy, stop bothering me. Good-bye.' Similar descriptive passages referring to this type are *e.g.* Menander, 537 K.; Plautus, *Asin.* 165–242; *Truc.* 23–94; Trabea, p. 36 R.; Alkiphron, 1, 35 and 36; Aristainet. 1, 14; Philost. *Epist.* 19 and 23; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 17, 55; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 29–34; 113; 217; Mart. 11, 50; 12, 65; Petron. 137, etc.

The sphere of *pretium* as a word to describe the poet's view of the situation is seen *e.g.* in Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 10, 63, also to a mistress, 'nec dare, sed pretium posci dedignor et odi'; cp., in lighter vein, *Ars Amat.* 3, 551, 'a doctis pretium scelus est sperare poetis. | me miserum, scelus hoc nulla puella timet,' and esp. 2, 275–280 (often imitated by the Elizabethan poets). Naturally the lena does not mince matters, cp. *e.g.* Propert. 4, 5, 53; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 57–68.

Némethy quotes as perhaps the suggestion of this line *Anth. Pal.* 12, 212, 3, *τὴν χέρα μοι κοίλην προσενήνοχας· ὡς ἀπόλωλα. | μισθὸν ἴσως αἰτεῖς.*

15–20. Note that this paragraph begins and ends with practically the same line. This striking rhetorical device is an extension of that already observed in 1, 4, 61–62, where see note. Note too the arrangement of topics within the paragraph itself, *i.e.* 15, the reference to the Muses, followed (16–18) by a negative, what he does not care for; then reversing the order and contrasting the positive, what he does care for (19), followed by the repeated reference to the Muses.

16. **ut sint canenda**: *i.e.* not 'to write epic,' which would be *ut bella canantur*, but the passive periphrastic, 'with the idea that I am to write epic,' 'that epic must be my theme.' The construction is not common in a clause of this type.—**bella canenda**: *i.e.* epic, cp. Verg. *A.* 1, 1, 'arma virumque cano';

Vergil's epitaph, 4, 'cecini pascua, rura, duces,' *i.e. Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid;* Dom. Marsus, 4, 'aut caneret forti regia bella pede'; Lucan, 1, 1, 'bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos — canimus'; Hor. *Od.* 1, 6, 1–4. Lines 17–18 show that in this instance the specific type represented by Homer and Vergil is referred to.

17–18. The Homeric epic was mentioned in the previous line. In these lines the poet names two conventional subjects in the sphere of didactic epic, cp. the work of Empedokles, Aratos, Lucretius, Manilius, the mythical Musaios and Orpheus, and such references as Verg. *A.* 1, 740–746; *E.* 6, 31; *G.* 2, 477; Propert. 3, 5, 25; Apoll. Rhod. 1, 496; Orphic *Argon.* 205; Manil. 1, 99; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 71; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 12, 16; etc.

17. refero vias et qualis, etc.: for the change of construction after the same verb, cp. 1, 7, 17. — **qualis . . . recurrit**: this single example in Tibullus of the indicative in an indirect question follows the construction frequent in old Latin. It disappeared in the classical historians (Caesar, Livy, Tacitus, etc.), but survives in the classical poets, Catullus, Vergil, Ovid, and esp. Propertius, who does not hesitate to use both moods side by side, cp. 2, 16, 29, 'aspice quid donis Eriphyla invenit amaris, | arserit et quantis nupta Creusa malis'; 2, 34, 34, 'ut fluxerit . . . ut errat . . . qualis fuerit'; 52, 'cur laboret . . . si restabitur . . . si tonent'; esp. 3, 5, 25–46, which contains a series of 24 indirect questions, 8 of which take the subjunctive and 16 the indicative. After Propertius the tendency increases (Vitruvius, Petronius, Pliny, the poets, the Archaists of the second century, etc.) and finally in Late Latin the indicative becomes the rule.

19–20. See 13–20 n.

20. ista: 1, 6, 73 n.

21–23. The poet will be obliged to resort to murder and crime or, worse yet, to sacrilege. This illustration of the power of love is practically identical with that of Plato, *Rep.* 574 D, where we are told that after such a desperate slave of his passions has wasted his own property, the property of his parents, and possibly even has laid violent hands upon them, *οὐ πρῶτον μὲν οἰκίας τινὸς ἐφάψεται τοίχου ἢ τινος ὀψὲ νύκτωρ ἰόντος τοῦ ἱματίου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἱερόν τι νεωκορήσει.*

22. That is, as an exclusus amator, cp. 1, 2, 5–6 n.; Martial, 10, 13, 7, 'ad nocturna iaces fastosae limina moechae, | et madet heu, lacrimis ianua surda tuis,' etc. — **flebilis**: active, cp. 1, 1, 8 n.

23. Cp. 1, 2, 81–82. As in Plato the climax of crime is reached with sacrilege. Cicero, *Leg.* 2, 9, 22, quotes the old law, 'sacrum sacrove commendatum qui clepsit rapsitve parricida esto.' The later *Lex Iulia* included *sacrilegium* under the head of *peculatus*. In the *Digest*, 48, 13, our most

important source for the legal aspect of this crime, we have a passage from Ulpian, *De Officio Proconsulis*, 7, in which he says, 'Sacrilegii poenam debebit proconsul pro qualitate personae proque rei condicione et temporis et aetatis et sexus vel severius vel clementius statuere. et scio multos et ad bestias damnasse sacrilegos, nonnullos etiam vivos exussisse, alios vero in furca suspendisse. sed moderanda poena est usque ad bestiarum damnationem eorum, qui manu facta templum effregerunt et dona dei in noctu tulerunt. ceterum si qui interdiu modicum aliquid de templo tulit, poena metalli coercendus est, aut, si honestiore loco natus sit, deportandus in insulam est.'

Widespread of course was the popular belief that the *sacrilegus* was punished by the god himself, and this is really all that Tibullus is thinking of both here and in 1, 2, 81–82. Punishments meted out by the outraged divinity appear to vary, *e.g.* 'oculis membrisque captum exspirare' in a case reported by Pliny, 33, 83; a series of misfortunes ending in assassination acc. to Iustinus, 39, 2, 5, cp. 24, 6, 4; suicide acc. to Demosthenes, *Contra Timokr.* 121 (738), etc. Important references to sacrilege are, among others, Juv. 13, 147; Arnob. 6, 20; Val. Max. 1, 1, 18; Ail. *Var. Hist.* 1, 20.

24–26. For somewhat similar illustrations of the naïveté of antique belief cp. 1, 6, 3 and n.; Propert. 3, 7, 13; etc.

27 f. For this lecture on greed and extravagance with which 2, 3, 35 f. and Propert. 3, 13, 1–14 have much in common, cp. 1, 9, 17; Propert. 1, 2; 3, 7; etc. The greed of women is caused by the desire for expensive luxuries. Expensive luxuries are illustrated by four standard examples — emeralds, Tyrian purple, Coan vestments, and pearls. The construction of the two sentences is due to the fact that the poet curses the purveyor of the first two, then, in 29, gives his reason, and finally adds the last two as an afterthought. Hence *Coa vestis* and *concha* as well as *hic* (*i.e.* the *quicumque* of 27) are subjects of *dat. quicumque* is the grammatical subject of both *legit* and *tingit* (hence *hic*), although logically the dyer of Tyrian purple and the collector of jewels would be two different persons. The distinction, however, is a matter of no consequence in this connection.

27. smaragdos: 1, 1, 51 n. Pearls (*lucida concha*) and emeralds were much worn in Tibullus's time. Pliny, 9, 117, says that the emeralds and pearls worn on ordinary occasions by the empress Lollia Paulina were worth 40,000,000 sesterces, *i.e.* nearly 2,250,000 dollars.

28. Tyrio murice: 2, 3, 57–58 n. — **ovem**: *i.e.* 'fleece.' The whole for the part or *vice versa* is a common device of poetry, cp. *concha* below, *i.e.* the shell for the pearl it contains; *rota*, 1, 9, 62 n. The only parallel, however, for *ovis* = *lana* as here is cited by Wunderlich from Soph. *Trachin.* 696, τὸ γὰρ κάταγμα . . . | τῆς οἰός, but the line is bracketed in modern editions,

and it is to be observed that when Lygdamus echoes his master with 'tinctaque Sidonio murice lana iuvat' (3, 3, 18) he does not venture upon the figure.

29–30. **Coa vestis**: 2, 3, 53 n.

30. **rubro lucida**: this appeal to the visual imagination by the mere juxtaposition of colour effects is common in Tibullus, cp. snow-white and royal purple in 28 above; blue and gold in 1, 7, 12 (where see note), etc. —**rubro mari**: 2, 2, 16 n.; 4, 2, 19; etc.

31–34. 'Gold finds the way.' The passage may possibly be an echo of Antipater Thess. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 30—

> *Πάντα καλῶς, τό γε μήν, χρυσῆν ὅτι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην,*
> *ἔξοχα καὶ πάντων εἶπεν ὁ Μαιονίδης.*
> *ἢν μὲν γὰρ τὸ χάραγμα φέρῃς, φίλος, οὔτε θυρωρὸς*
> *ἐν ποσίν, οὔτε κύων ἐν προθύροις δέδεται.*
> *ἢν δ' ἑτέρως ἔλθῃς, καὶ ὁ Κέρβερος. ὢ πλεονέκται,*
> *ἄπληστοι, πενίην ὡς ἀδικεῖτ' ἄνομοι.*

The same motive is also visible, though to a less degree, in Propert. 4, 5, 47 (advice of the lena), 'ianitor ad dantis vigilet: si pulset inanis, | surdus in obductam somniet usque seram'; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 8, 63 (cp. 31 f.), 'me prohibet custos, in me timet illa maritum: | si dederim, tota cedet uterque domo.'

The passage, unlike Tibullus as a rule, has too much of the flavour and sting of the Alexandrian erotic epigram to have escaped an occasional echo in the modern poets. The most striking is a song by the celebrated Abbé de Voisenon (Air: 'Tout va cahin, caha')—

> Sans dépenser,
> C'est en vain qu'on espère
> De s'avancer
> Au pays de Cythère;
> Femme en courroux,
> Mari jaloux,
> Grilles, verroux,
> Tombent sur vous;
> Le chien vous poursuit comme loups:
> Le temps n'y peut rien faire.
>
> Mais si Plutus entre dans le mystère,
> Grille, ressort,
> Tombent d'abord;
> Le chien s'endort,
> Le mari sort,
> Femme et soubrettes sont d'accord;
> Un jour finit l'affaire.

For the power of gold in this department cp. also 1, 5, 68 n.; 1, 4, 67; Plautus, *Asin.* 182, and often in the *Anth. Pal.* *e.g.* 5, 31; 32; 33; 113; 217.

31. **clavim**: the form is attested for this passage by the grammarian Charisius (p. 126, 4 K.). This is really the proper form, although its occurrence elsewhere (Neue, I, p. 306) is confined to Plautus, *Most.* 425. See 1, 6, 47 n.

32. **canis**: 1, 6, 31–32 n.

Alliteration in the sense demanded by the investigations of Wölfflin has already been treated in 1, 10, 65 n.; cp. also 1, 6, 38; 1, 9, 21; 2, 3, 80 and notes. But alliteration in a wider and freer sense is an ornament of poetry as such, and the particularly skilful use of it by Tibullus has not a little to do with the wonderful music of his verse. This type therefore does not and should not impress itself upon the ear as alliteration. The main object of it is to impart ease and harmony, to produce verses the mere music of which shall charm the ear we know not why. Here, for instance, we have a triple alliteration of this type. It is true, of course, that in Roman antiquity the three main stumbling blocks in the course of true love (*clavis, custos, canis*) happen to be alliterative. It may be, too, that this was the best way to express the thought of the line irrespective of alliteration. This, however, has nothing to do with the effect produced by the alliteration, and a score of similar pentameters and as many hexameters in Tibullus shows that the device was not always due to accident or necessity. In many cases triple alliteration of this type is accompanied by a fourth in the companion verse, cp. as here, 1, 4, 2; 2, 1, 32; 2, 3, 8; 2, 5, 120; 1, 4, 61; 2, 4, 47; 2, 6, 47: or with one pair, as in 1, 1, 10; 48; 1, 2, 20; 1, 4, 12; 2, 4, 50; 4, 4, 10; 1, 5, 41; 1, 8, 7; 2, 3, 39; 71; 4, 4, 3: or with two pairs, as in 1, 6, 35; 1, 10, 39, etc.; cp. also 1, 3, 76; 1, 9, 13; 1, 10, 65; 2, 1, 51; esp. 2, 3, 8.

Another type is represented by 1, 2, 54, which is meant to echo but not too closely the hocus-pocus of an old popular charm, cp. 1, 3, 11; 1, 5, 13: another, by 1, 2, 90; 1, 6, 36; 1, 8, 30; 2, 5, 90; 4, 5, 3, etc.

Alliteration between two words is extremely common and is often reinforced by a third, or *e.g.* by a second alliterative pair in the companion line, etc., cp. 1, 7, 13; 1, 8, 31; 2, 4, 44; 1, 1, 33; 1, 7, 47; 2, 1, 77; 2, 4, 26; 4, 3, 13; and 1, 2, 33; 1, 3, 29; 1, 4, 21; 2, 1, 45; 1, 6, 37. In 1, 6, 28 and 1, 6, 72 we have quadruple alliteration, two in each line.

In nearly every instance these alliterations indicate or emphasize some relation, not only syntactical, but rhetorical (comparison, contrast, chiasmus, etc.). Very common too is the use of this device to emphasize the metrical construction of the distich (see Introd. p. 104). Juxtaposition, for example, a favourite method of marking contrasts, comparisons, etc., is most frequent at

the main caesura, esp. of the pentameter, cp. 1, 10, 40; 1, 6, 72; 1, 8, 32; 2, 4, 44; 1, 10, 52; 2, 1, 45 and 46; 2, 4, 23; 26; 4, 4, 10, etc.: or again, at the beginning and end of the second hemistich, as in 1, 2, 26; 1, 4, 21; 23; 82; 1, 5, 8; 1, 9, 51; 2, 6, 12; 4, 5, 3, etc.: or at the close of the first and second hemistichs, as in 1, 1, 60; 72; 1, 2, 42; 1, 3, 29; 2, 1, 8; 2, 5, 58; 4, 3, 14; 4, 6, 11; etc.: or at the beginning of the first and second hemistichs, as in 1, 7, 12; 2, 6, 25; etc.: or at the beginning and end of the line, as in 2, 1, 51, etc.: cp. esp. 2, 1, 46, where we have alliteration at the caesura and also at the caesura of the hexameter.

35. **caelestis**: the use of this adjective as a substantive in the nominative singular appears to be unique. A similar use in the accusative (which is much less bold) is found in Ovid, *Fasti*, 6, 574, 'caelestemque homini concubuisse pudet.'

38. **fecit ut**: 1, 3, 54 n.

39–50. Cp. 1, 4, 65–70; 1, 9, 11 f., and esp. 1, 6, 51–54 and 77–84 with notes. The prophecy is the more valid and impressive because it rests on the assumption that the lover, like the poet and the lunatic, is *sacer*, cp. 1, 2, 27–28 n.

39–40. Cp. Propert. 2, 16, 43–46 for a similar passage suggested by the same situation.

39. **pretio victos**: *i.e.* who are unable to pay your price, or rather perhaps to compete with the prices offered by rich rivals. Cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 6, 32, 'dedecorum pretiosus emptor.'

40. **partas opes**: *i.e.* the only thing you have ever really cared for, cp. 1, 6, 53–54 n. — **ventus et ignis**: 1, 9, 12 n.; 1, 9, 49–50 n.

42. **addat aquam**: regular for putting out a fire, cp. Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 8, 46; *Rem. Amor.* 552; etc.; and for this use of *addere*, 1, 2, 1.

43–44. On the significance of these attentions to the dead cp. 1, 1, 65–66 n.; 2, 6, 32.

43. **seu**: *i.e. vel si.* On this old-fashioned use of *seu* without a correlative cp. 1, 6, 21 n.

44. **munus**: such, for instance, as casting more or less expensive perfumes on the funeral fire, cp. 1, 3, 7 n.; Nemes. 1, 64 f., etc. One of the most remarkable instances from this point of view in Roman history was the funeral of Sulla, cp. Plutarch, *Sulla*, 38. The dead craved these attentions as well as the tribute of tears and in a more primitive era they were given not only as a tribute of affection but also that the departed might rest in peace, *i.e.* without returning to plague the living. So, for example, the ghost of Cynthia appears to Propertius in a dream (as did Patroklos to Achilles) and reproaches him for his neglect of these duties, 4, 7, 31, 'cur ventos non ipse rogis, ingrate, petisti? | cur nardo flammae non oluere meae? | hoc

etiam grave erat, nulla mercede hyacinthos | inicere et fracto busta piare cado.'

45. That is, 'quae bona fuit nec avara.' *nec* = 'and . . . not' or 'but . . . not' is idiomatic, cp. *e.g.* Ter. *Eun.* 249, 'est genus hominum qui esse primos se omnium rerum volunt | nec sunt: hos consector'; Cic. *Off.* 3, 41, 'quod utile videbatur neque erat,' etc. Here perhaps we may best translate by 'without being.'

46. **flebitur**: *i.e.* the company, 'all hands,' cp. Ter. *And.* (also of a funeral) 100, 'funus interim | procedit; sequimur; ad sepulcrum venimus; | in ignem impositast; fletur,' etc. It is also implied of course that the company will be a large one, *i.e.* as opposed to 'nec . . . ullus' (43), 'not a single one.' Note that the poet's lively fancy here shifts from the fervent wish of 'eripiant . . . spectent . . . addat' to the prophetic certainty of 'erit . . . flebitur . . . dabit . . . dicet.' For similar exx. of a shifting point of view cp. 1, 1, 24 n.

47. **atque . . . et**: 1, 10, 23 n. — **aliquis**: here a substantive in apposition with *senior*, not an attribute of it; hence *aliquis*, not *aliqui*, is demanded (Gildersleeve-Lodge, 314, Rem. 1). — **veteres veneratus amores**: 'his love of other days,' where *amores*, like our own word love in such a connection, might mean either his love, cp. 2, 2, 11 n., or the object of it, *i.e.* his sweetheart, cp. 1, 6, 35 n. In the former case 'veteres veneratus amores' would not be far from 'for old sake's sake,' in the latter, 'honouring the memory of his old sweetheart.' The use of *veneratus* shows that the latter is meant.

48. **annua serta**: 2, 6, 32; Propert. 4, 7, 43; Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 535 f. Besides the regular *parentalia* (Feb. 13–21), the anniversary of the death (*parentalia privata*), etc., there were two special 'Decoration Days' in May or June, known as the *rosaria* and the *dies violae*, at which this attention might be shown. — **constructo**: the adjective is meant to suggest that the tomb itself had been carefully built and taken care of.

49–50. For this naïve and touching wish see 1, 4, 60 n. and cp. the variation of Martial, 5, 34, 9 (on his little slave girl Erotion), 'mollia non rigidus caespes tegat ossa, nec illi, | Terra, gravis fueris: non fuit illa tibi,' which is far better than Meleager's epigram Εἰς Αἰσιγένην τινὰ εὐτελῶς βιώσαντα (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 461) —

παμμῆτορ γῆ, χαῖρε· σὺ τὸν πάρος οὐ βαρὺν εἰς σέ
Αἰσιγένην καὐτὴ νῦν ἐπέχοις ἀβαρής.

49. *Carm. Epig.* 541, 12 B., 'hic ego sepultus iaceo placidusque quiesco,' is quoted as an echo of this line.

51–52. The bitter confession brings us back again to the subject of the elegy. For the same device cp. 1, 4, 81–84 (and n.); 1, 5, 67; 1, 5, 35; 2, 5, 39.

53–54. Cp. Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 299, 'saepe refer tecum sceleratae facta puellae, | et pone ante oculos omnia damna tuos. | "illud et illud habet nec ea contenta rapina est: | sub titulum nostros misit avara Lares, | . . ." haec tibi per totos inacescant omnia sensus: | haec refer, hinc odii semina quaere tui.'

53. On selling the Lares cp. *e.g.* Propert. 4, 7, 47; Juv. 11, 17. A semi-proverbial synonym of the last extremity of want or extravagance. The English parallel (as in the case of Charles Surface) would be the family portraits. — **sedes**: the plural, of one place, is found in prose as well as in poetry.

54. **sub imperium**, etc.: *i.e.* at auction. *imperium*, *i.e.* magisterial authority, a custom dating from the time when the *auctio* was specifically the public sale of booty taken in war. Hence the expression *sub hasta* or *sub corona venire* for *auctio*.

55–60. The poet is even willing to drink down every known love charm, *i.e.* resign the last chance of escape from his thraldom, 'si modo,' etc. There was a large trade in love charms, *pocula amatoria*, and they actually were often administered (1, 8, 17–18 n.). The specialist in this line was the lena (1, 2, 42 n.). People in the condition described by our poet as his own were often thought, and doubtless with reason, to be the victims of them, cp. 1, 2, 59–62 n.; Propert. 4, 7, 72, 'sed tibi nunc mandata damus, si forte moveris, | si te non totum Chloridos herba tenet,' etc.

55–56. An echo of these lines is pointed out by Traube in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, 2, 5 end (Hieronimo's last speech in this act, which he gives in Latin). Lines 5–6 are 'ipse bibam quicquid meditatur saga veneni, | quicquid et herbarum vi caeca nenia nectit.'

Circe and Medea are named together as here by Propert. 2, 1, 53, 'seu mihi Circaeo pereundum est gramine, sive | Colchis Iolciacis urat aena focis'; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 103; Claud. *In Ruf.* 1, 153, etc. Circe (cp. Hom. *Odyss.* 10, 210; Apoll. Rhod. 3, 311; 4, 487–689; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 103; Hor. *Epod.* 17, 17; Val. Flacc. 6, 445; Claud. *In Ruf.* 1, 154, etc.) and Medea (1, 2, 51 n.) are the two great enchantresses of antiquity and the stock examples of the type. — **quidquid**: for *quidquid* with the genitive see 1, 1, 51 n.

55. **habet Circe**, etc.: the present tense suggests that the poet was thinking of those books current in his own time purporting to contain all the charms of these great specialists, cp. 1, 2, 51 n. — **veneni**: used here in the old sense (cp. *herbarum*, 56; *herbas*, 60; 1, 2, 51 n.) of potion, philtre, charm, cp. a similar development of meaning in φάρμακον. The distinction between a drug, a poison, and a magic philtre tends to disappear as we approach the primitive stage of popular belief.

56. **Thessala terra**: for Thessaly, the land of marvels, see 1, 2, 51 n.; Propert. 1, 5, 6; Lucan, 6, 438; Pliny, 30, 6 and often.

57. **ubi adflat**: *ubi* of iterative action is found only here in Tib. Otherwise, only with the perf. indic. of antecedent action, 1, 4, 31; 1, 6, 45; 2, 4, 17; 2, 5, 83; 2, 6, 49. — **indomitis gregibus**: cp. 2, 1, 68; Verg. *G.* 3, 266–270; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 487, etc. — **adflat amores**: 2, 1, 80; 2, 3, 71 and notes. Némethy quotes Theokrit. 17, 51, πᾶσιν δ' ἤπιος ἥδε βροτοῖς μαλακοὺς μὲν ἔρωτας | προσπνείει, κούφας δὲ διδοῖ ποθέοντι μερίμνας.

58. **hippomanes**: this charm was doubtless popular and probably very old. It is first mentioned by Aristotle, *De Animal. Hist.* 6, 18, 4, who discusses at some length the two or three charms known by this name, cp. also Verg. *G.* 3, 280, 'hic demum, hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt | pastores, lentum destillat ab inguine virus, | hippomanes, quod saepe malae legere novercae | miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba,' a passage (cp. too 3, 266, 'scilicet ante omnes furor est insignis equarum | et mentem Venus ipsa dedit') which may have been the source of Tibullus here. See also Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 8; *Med. Fac.* 38; Propert. 4, 5, 18. The idea of its efficacy is derived from the same principle as that which, *e.g.*, prompted the horrible scene of Hor. *Epod.* 5. For the better-known charm by this name cp. Aristotle *l.c.;* Verg. *A.* 4, 516; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 100; Juv. 6, 133, etc.

59. Hor. *Od.* 4, 3, 1, 'quem tu, Melpomene, semel | nascentem placido lumine videris.'

60. Propert. 2, 24, 25 (in a similar situation), 'si libitum tibi erit, Lernaeas pugnet ad hydras | et tibi ab Hesperio mala dracone ferat, | taetra venena libens et naufragus ebibat undas, | et numquam pro te deneget esse miser.' — **mille**: 1, 3, 50 n. — **misceat**: for the omission of the conditional sign see note on *attigerit*, 1, 6, 53.

2, 5

This is the longest of Tibullus's poems, and the only one of a national character. The immediate occasion of it was the fact that Messalinus (line 115), the eldest son of Messalla, had been made one of the *XVviri sacris faciundis.* The date cannot be fixed exactly, but the fact that in a list of the *XVviri* belonging to the year 17 B.C. (*Ephemeris Epig.* 8, 233) the name of Messalinus comes last suggests that at that time his appointment was still recent, and, therefore, that this poem was written not long before the poet's death in 19 B.C.

The worship of Apollo, the first of the Hellenic divinities to be adopted by the state, came to Rome by way of Cumae in the time of the Tarquins. It continued to grow in importance until, finally, with the reign of Augustus Apollo became, as it were, the guardian and protector of the Empire. This

was largely due to the fact that the splendid temple on the Palatine (line 1; Propert. 2, 31; 4, 6; Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 65, etc.) which was built by the Emperor, and on Oct. 9, 28 B.C. dedicated by him, was a thank offering to his divine patron (and, as many believed, his own father) for the victory at Actium (Propert. 4, 6, etc.) and for the restoration of peace and stability for which men had been longing (Hor. *Od.* 1, 2, etc.) ever since the death of the great Dictator.

All the various Sibyls (67–80 n.) were closely associated with Apollo and his worship, and it was universally believed that their prophecies were inspired by him (15 n.). Hence the supreme importance attached to the *Libri Sibyllini* from the first appearance of them together with the worship of Apollo himself until nearly the fall of the Western Empire. The books of *Oracula* which, according to the well-known story (Servius on Verg. *A.* 6, 72, etc.), Tarquin bought of the Sibyl Amalthea were deposited by him in a stone chest underneath the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Here they remained until their destruction at the burning of the temple in 83 B.C. The temple was rebuilt in 78 B.C. Two years after, the Senate (Lactant. *Div.* 1, 6, 4) sent a commission to Erythrae and to various other cities of Italy, Sicily, and Africa (Tac. *Ann.* 6, 12) to collect whatever Sibylline oracles might still be in existence. About 1000 verses, for the most part derived from individuals, were brought back to Rome. After careful sifting the residuum was placed in the new Capitol. Later, this residuum was again revised by Augustus, and, at the same time, nearly 2000 books of oracles, then current among the people, were examined. Whatever was considered genuine was transcribed by the *XVviri* and deposited in two coffers under the statue of the Palatine Apollo. The remainder was burned. According to Suetonius, *Aug.* 31, this took place in 12 B.C. when Augustus became pontifex maximus, but from this poem, line 17 f. (cp. Cassius Dio, 54, 17; Verg. *A.* 6, 72), it is clear that the date was certainly previous to 19 B.C. A similar inquisition of the Sibylline oracles was made by Tiberius in 19 A.D. (Cassius Dio, 57, 18) and again in 32 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 6, 12). In 363 A.D. they were still in the temple on the Palatine (Ammian. Marcell. 23, 3), but soon after 400 they were finally destroyed by Stilicho (Rutilius, *De Red.* 2, 51, etc.). The extant collection known as the *Oracula Sibyllina* has little or nothing to do with the old *Libri Sibyllini.*

The *Libri Sibyllini* were looked upon and used, not as a collection of prophecies of the future, but rather as an authority for the course to be pursued in the case of special and dreadful *prodigia* (Cicero, *Div.* 2, 112, etc.) not otherwise provided for. They were, therefore, consulted only on rare occasions. The care of them was originally intrusted to a board of two patricians ('duumviri sacris faciundis'). In accordance with a law introduced

by the tribunes and passed in 367 B.C. the number was increased to ten, five patricians and five plebeians (Livy, 6, 37, 12 f.). The increase to fifteen was due to Sulla, and it is first mentioned by Cicero, *Epist.* 8, 4, 1 (51 B.C.). Caesar raised the number to sixteen (Cassius Dio, 43, 51, 9) and in later times, owing to the imperial privilege of electing supra numerum, the board, though always known as the *X Vviri sacris faciundis*, often consisted of twenty or even more (Cassius Dio, 51, 20, 3). Throughout the empire the *X Vviri* were of great importance, and appointments to the board were often given, as in the case of Messalinus, to promising young men of good family. The *Libri Sibyllini* were never seen except by the *X Vviri* (Cicero, *Div.* 2, 112, etc.) and their contents could not be divulged. The *XVviri* had the sole right of approaching and examining the books, but they could exercise it only when so authorized by a special decree of the Senate (Cicero, *Div.* 2, 112; Dionys. Hal. 4, 62, 5). Such a decree, as stated above, was usually occasioned by the occurrence of prodigies for which the ordinary methods of expiation were felt to be insufficient or unsuitable (Livy, 22, 9, 8, etc.). In such cases the *X Vviri* examined the *Libri Sibyllini* and brought back a *responsum*, a written report of their findings, upon which the Senate proceeded as it saw fit (Livy, 42, 2, 3, etc.).

The form of this elegy (which reflects the poet's characteristic methods of composition and in spite of all argument to the contrary impresses me as a complete unity just as it stands) is largely due to the influence of two considerations — first, the fact that the poem is an elegy (hence, *e.g.*, the introduction of the erotic element, 105 f.), second, the far more important fact that the real subject of the poem is not the election of Messalinus to the *X Vviri* but the topics suggested by it.

These topics, which were all of national interest, are — first, the victory of Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium. The father of Messalinus commanded a division in that battle, and the victor was very properly regarded as the saviour of his country (Hor. *Od.* 1, 31; Propert. 3, 11, 29). The second is the prodigies indicating the wrath of the gods at the death of Julius Caesar, a murder which, from the first, both for personal and political reasons, Augustus made it his peculiar business to avenge. The third is the legend of Aeneas and the destiny of Rome, the theme of the great national epic which, though it is not mentioned, was being written at this time and is evidently referred to.

The appointment of Messalinus naturally suggests Apollo, Actium, the Sibyl. The Sibyl in turn brings up the prodigies for which her books were consulted and the destiny of Rome which she foretold to Aeneas. The vision of Rome in the days of primaeval simplicity is suddenly interrupted by

the prophecy of the Sibyl (39 f.), and the thought that the prodigies attending the death of Caesar are all a thing of the past leads naturally to the favourite idyllic picture of 81. This brings us by an easy transition to Nemesis and his own elegiac sorrows, then back to Messalinus again, and thus the poem ends as usual on the keynote. See Introd. p. 92.

1. **sacerdos**: *i.e.* Messalinus, now one of the *XVviri.*

2–10. It has been pointed out that this description (cp. 7–8; Ovid, *Met.* 11, 165) indicates the famous Apollo Kitharoidos of Skopas, which Augustus had recently placed in the temple on the Palatine. Propertius says after seeing it there (2, 31, 5), 'hic equidem Phoebo visus mihi pulchrior ipso | marmoreus tacita carmen hiare lyra.' The Apollo Musagetes now in the Vatican is probably an imitation of it.

Apollo is invoked not only as the *kitharoidos*, the singer and the patron of poets, but as the god to whom the triumph at Actium (5 n.) was due, and finally as the god of prophecy (11 f.).

2. **age**: so 2, 2, 10. — **cithara carminibusque**: 1, 10, 65 n.

3. Imitated in *Carm. Epig.* 489, 3 B., 'vox ei grata fuit, pulsabat pollice cordas.' — **nunc . . . nunc**: 1, 8, 75 n. — **pollice**: of playing the *cithara*, Ovid, *Met.* 5, 339; *Amor.* 2, 4, 27, and often.

4. **precor**: rare with the accus. and infin., cp. Ovid, *Her.* 5, 158; 19, 82; *Pont.* 1, 7, 6; Val. Flacc. 7, 353; Pliny, 18, 131. This appears to be the first case. — **flectere**: 1, 7, 37 n. For *ad laudes* cp. 1, 7, 38 n.

5. **triumphali lauro**: 1, 7, 5–8 n. The laurel crown on the Apollo of Skopas was evidently meant to suggest the song of triumph after the fight with the Titans to which Tibullus himself alludes in 9–10. The fight with the Titans is throughout the divine prototype and analogy of the fight with the Lords of Misrule at Actium. When, therefore, the Apollo of Skopas became the Apollo of the Palatine, the laurel crown symbolized the triumph at Actium as well as its Olympian prototype. — **tempora**: 1, 1, 70 n.

6. **cumulant aras**: generally completed with some such ablative as *donis*, cp. Verg. *A.* 8, 284; 11, 50; 12, 215; etc. The indefinite subject 'they' is found only here in Tibullus and is extremely uncommon in classical Latin except with verbs of saying, thinking, and calling.

7. **sed**: 'yes, and . . .' This use of *sed*, in which the adversative force has nearly disappeared, belongs to the language of conversation, but is found in all types of composition, cp. *e.g.* 2, 4, 3; Martial, 1, 117, 7 (with Friedländer's note); Juvenal, 5, 147 (with Mayor's note); Catullus, 21, 13; Caesar, *B.C.* 1, 83, 2; Cicero, *Off.* 1, 135; etc. Esp. frequent in Martial. — **vestem**: *i.e.* the *palla*, regularly worn by Bacchos, cp. 1, 7, 46 and n. It was part of the singer's costume (cp. the famous story of Arion, Herod. 1,

24; Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 107; Gellius, 16, 19) and very expensive, cp. *e.g. Rhet. ad Heren.* 4, 60, 'uti citharoedus cum prodierit optime vestitus, palla inaurata indutus, cum chlamyde purpurea, coloribus variis intexta,' etc. Hence regularly worn — as in the statue of Skopas — by Apollo Kitharoidos, cp. Hom. *Hymn.* 3 (*to Apollo*), 184 and 203; Kallimachos, *Hymn.* 2 (*to Apollo*), 32; Propert. 2, 31, 16; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 556; 11, 166: and esp. *Amor.* 1, 8, 59, where the lena instructing her pupil that gifts must always be demanded, says 'ecce, quid iste tuus praeter nova carmina vates | donat? amatoris milia multa leges. | ipse deus vatum palla spectabilis aurea | tractat inauratae consona fila lyrae.'

8. **sepositam**: 'laid aside' (*i.e.* for special occasions). For this naïve touch, reflected, *e.g.*, in the universal habit of dressing up the images of the gods on feast days, cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 28, 2; *Epod.* 9, 1; *Sat.* 2, 6, 84; Tac. *Germ.* 29; etc. So as here the gods are expected to dress themselves for such occasions, cp. 4, 6, 13; Stat. *Silv.* 2, 7, 5; Claud. *Epithal. Pallad.* 100; etc.

9–10. No reference to this detail of the well-known story is now found in Greek literature. Perhaps the authority of Skopas (note on 5 above) was some tragedy now lost, cp. Seneca, *Agam.* 338 (to Apollo), 'licet et chorda graviore sones, | quale canebas | cum Titanas fulmine victos | videre dei,' etc. No other references in Latin are quoted. Ariosto, *O. F.* 3, 3, 3, seems to be a blended reminiscence of both Seneca and Tibullus, cp. 'quella cetra | Con che tu, dopo i gigantei furori, | Rendesti grazia al regnator de l'etra' ('that noble lyre | Which sounded at your touch the Thunderer's praise, | What time the Giants sank in penal fire,' as Rose translates it).

The Romans had viewed with horror the imminent prospect of seeing Cleopatra and her horde established in their city and the recent defeat at Actium was in every one's mouth, cp. Hor. *Od.* 1, 37; Propert. 4, 6; Manilius, 1, 914 (a long passage suggested by the themes developed by Tibullus in this elegy), 'necdum finis erat: restabant Actia bella | dotali commissa acie, repetitaque rerum | alea et in ponto quaesitus rector Olympi; | femineum sortita iugum cum Roma pependit | atque ipsa Isiaco certarunt fulmina sistro.' The analogy with that Olympian prototype, the rout of the Titans, was already familiar through the statue of Skopas himself and was very likely developed in some one of the many lost poems of the time (*e.g.* Varius, *Pan. Augusti?*). Note that in this period the war with the Titans was a stock theme for epic, cp. Propert. 2, 1, 19; 3, 9, 47; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 1, 11, implies that he himself once began to write a poem on this subject.

10. **concinuisse**: *i.e. cecinisse*, cp. 1, 3, 44 n. For this use of *concino* for *cano*, cp. *e.g.* Hor. *Od.* 4, 2, 33; Auson. *Mosell.* 443, etc. Here, however, as elsewhere, the compound may have been suggested by the idea of accompaniment, cp. line 88 below.

11–16. Apollo was first addressed as the god of song. He is now addressed as the god of prophecy (cp. 2, 3, 21–22; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 517; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 706; Aisch. *Eumen.* 19, etc.) in general (11). The poet then mentions the four kinds of divination used and recognized by the Romans. These are augury (11–12), *sortes* (13), *aruspicina* (13–14), and the *Libri Sibyllini* (15–16). The first three are also mentioned in 1, 8, 3–4, where see note. Here, of course, only the fourth, the one with which Messalinus is concerned, is of importance. By placing it last a natural and easy transition is found for the topics upon which the poet wishes to enlarge.

11–12. The college of Augurs, raised to fifteen by Sulla and to sixteen by Caesar (as in the case of the *XVviri* mentioned above), continued until well into the fourth century A.D. The *disciplina* which has been derived from Latium and Central Italy instead of Etruria is traditionally associated through the well-known episode in the story of Romulus and Remus with the very beginnings of Rome itself. The augurs were the official representatives of the science of *auspicia*, a method of divination peculiar to the Romans, the object of which, as with the *Libri Sibyllini*, was not to discover the secrets of the future but to gain the sanction of the gods for the given matter in hand. For all the meticulous details of procedure the student is referred to any good classical dictionary *s.v. Augur*. The 'auspicia ex avibus' to which Tibullus here refers had practically ceased to be considered as early as Cicero's time. Originally, however, as the word *auspicium* itself implies, they were the only ones with which the augurs concerned themselves at all.

12. fati: for the gen. with *providus* cp. 1, 8, 3 n.; Ovid, *Met.* 12, 18, 'at veri providus augur,' etc. First in Cicero. The use of adjectives with a genitive of reference, limited in early times, was considerably extended in the classical period. The construction is characteristic of poetry and was therefore common in the rhetorical poetizing prose of later times.

13. sortes: 1, 3, 11–12 n. — **aruspex . . . exta**: 2, 1, 25 n.

14. lubrica: probably literal, referring to the smooth, slippery *exta* (Postgate). — **notis**: so Ovid, *Met.* 7, 600; Lucan, 1, 619; Seneca, *Oed.* 352 and often. The Greek equivalent of this technical term is σημεῖον, see λοβός in Suidas and Hesychios.

15. Sibylla: there were a number of Sibyls, and the extremely difficult question of their identity and of their relations to each other had been thoroughly discussed by Varro a few years before these lines were written (see esp. Lactant. 1, 6, 10). They are all associated, however, with the worship of Apollo; the institution, so to speak, spread with the cult, and an examination of their geographical distribution carries us back to Asia Minor in the vicinity of the Troad. The multiplication of Sibyls is the multiplica-

tion of shrines at which the presence of a Sibyl is expected. Strictly speaking, therefore, Sibyl was not a common noun used to designate one of a type, but a proper noun, the original Sibylla, used to designate her representative elsewhere. Indeed, one of the favourite methods of explaining the multiplicity of Sibyls was to assume that they were in reality one and the same, *i.e.* that the original Sibyl had made her appearance in the given place and had remained there for a time. The tradition, for example, that the Cumaean Sibyl was the Erythraean Sibyl, *i.e.* that she came to Cumae from Erythrae, is as old as Aristotle, *Mirabilia*, 95. It was accepted by Varro, and Livy, 1, 7, 8, shows that it must have been current in Tibullus's time. Varro also repeats the opinion that it was the Cumaean Sibyl who sold the books to Tarquin, *i.e.* the Sibyl to whom Tibullus is here referring. After discussing the various Sibyls, Varro says, 'harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina et feruntur et habentur praeterquam Cumaeae cuius libri a Romanis occultantur nec eos ab ullo nisi a XVviris inspici fas est' (cp. Tib. 17–18). That it was also the Cumaean Sibyl who prophesied to Aeneas would naturally be stated by Tibullus (19 and n.); this had already been adopted by Vergil for his great national epic, the sixth book of which was undoubtedly familiar to our poet.

16. **senis pedibus**: the oracles of the Sibyl were all in Greek hexameters. For this paraphrase of *hexametris* cp. Hor. *Sat.* 1, 10, 59, 'mollius ac siquis pedibus quid claudere senis.' — **canit**: *i.e.* they still exist and are consulted, cp. note on *habet*, 2, 4, 55.

17–18. A passage in Vopiscus, *Aurel. vit.* 19, says that the *XVviri* handled the *Libri Sibyllini* 'velatis manibus,' but the method of selection is naturally not known. Niebuhr's theory that verses were selected at random *per sortes* receives some apparent support from line 69 and from Lactant. 1, 6, 12, in which the oracles of the Sibyl are called *sortes* (but see n. on 69–70). Cicero, *Div.* 2, 111, and Varro (in Dionys. Hal. 4, 62) tell us that all genuine oracles of the Sibyl were acrostic (cp. an ex. in the *Oracula Sibyllina*, 8, 217–250 Rzach). But that the acceptedly genuine oracles of the Sibyl were marked by this comparatively recent invention in the art of versification is unlikely in itself and would certainly be unknown to Cicero, Varro, or any one else except the *XVviri* themselves.

17. **sacras chartas**: *i.e.* the *Libri Sibyllini* now in the temple on the Palatine.

18. Note that the two halves of the pentameter are alike, *i.e.* the first hemistich like the second consists of two dactyls and ends in an iambic dissyllable. This is rare in Tibullus, see Introd. p. 99.

19. **haec dedit Aeneae sortes**: *i.e.* the Sibylla of line 15, where see note. Vergil located the prophecy of the Cumaean Sibyl at Cumae and some

modern editors make Tibullus do the same. But the plain inference of 'nec fore credebat,' etc. (21–22), following immediately upon 'postquam . . . Lares' (19–20) seems to be that the Sibyl gave her prophecy to Aeneas, not when he reached Cumae at the end of his long journey, but just after he had escaped from Troy and was preparing to set out, *i.e.* the Sibyl herself had not yet gone on to Cumae. That this was what the poet had in mind is rendered the more plausible by the fact that the Erythrae from which the Cumaean Sibyl originally came was, according to a theory discussed in Tibullus's time (Dionys. Hal. 1, 55; Pausan. 10, 12), located on Mt. Ida, in other words in the very neighbourhood with which it is the constant tradition that Aeneas was in some way associated during the very period suggested by 19–20, the interval between his escape from Troy and his departure for Italy. The old version was that the prophecy to Aeneas was given before his departure by the Sibyl of Marpessos. See Roscher's *Lex.*, *s.v.* 'Sibylla'; Maass, *Hermes*, 18, 327; and Robert, *id.* 22, 454; Leo, *Phil. Unters.* 2, 6. — **sortes**: *i.e.* prophecies in general, as in 69 and often. So in the parallel passage of Vergil, *A.* 6, 71, Aeneas says to the Sibyl —

> Te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris:
> hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata,
> dicta meae genti, ponam lectosque sacrabo,
> alma, viros,

referring of course to the Sibylline books (*sortes*), their preservation (*penetralia*), and the care of them by the *XVviri* (*lectos viros*). — **postquam dicitur sustinuisse**: *i.e.* 'postquam sustinuit, ut dicitur.' The clause has been incorporated with the verb of saying, cp. 1, 5, 9; 2, 3, 29–30 and notes. — **parentem . . Lares**: these two details of the Aeneas legend (Vergil, *A.* 1, 378; 2, 707; 4, 598; etc.) had been widely known for many generations in both art and literature, *e.g.* on numerous coins (the oldest of which is a coin of Aeneia from the sixth century B.C.), in the 'Tabula Iliaca' which depicts the legend as told by Stesichoros (630–550 B.C.), in his *Iliupersis*, in the *Iliupersis* of Arktinos, etc. A frag. of the *Laokoon* of Sophokles (344 N.), quoted by Dionys. Hal. 1, 48, gives us the scene —

> *νῦν δ' ἐν πύλαισιν Αἰνέας ὁ τῆς θεοῦ*
> *πάρεστ' ἐπ' ὤμων πατέρ' ἔχων κεραυνίου*
> *νώτου καταστάζοντα βύσσινον φάρος,*
> *κύκλῳ δὲ πᾶσαν οἰκετῶν παμπληθίαν·*
> *συνοπάζεται δὲ πλῆθος οὐχ ὅσον δοκεῖς,*
> *οἳ τῆσδ' ἐρῶσι τῆς ἀποικίας Φρυγῶν.*

The corresponding passages in Naevius and Ennius have not survived.

20. Lares: the Penates are meant, but as these two classes of household gods were worshipped side by side, the confusion is not infrequent, cp. Plaut. *Rud.* 1206; Cicero, *Quinct.* 85; etc.

21. nec credebat cum respiceret: 'as,' *i.e.* 'when(ever) he looked back he could not believe,' cp. 1, 5, 9 n.

22. ardentes: to be taken of course with both *Ilion* and *deos*, cp. 1, 1, 24; 1, 5, 36 n. For the displacement of *que*, see 1, 1, 40 n.—**deos**: *i.e.* 'templa deorum,' a not uncommon use, cp. Vergil, *A.* 3, 275, 'et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo'; 3, 552; 4, 671; 2, 742; Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 437; etc. So even of men, *A.* 2, 311; etc. Much more frequent, however, is *deus* = *statua dei*, cp. 1, 6, 48; 1, 10, 20; 2, 5, 27 and 28; Propert. 2, 6, 36; 4, 1, 5; Ovid, *Her.* 12, 70; Hor. *Od.* 2, 18, 27; 4, 4, 48; *Sat.* 1, 8, 3; Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 173; Juv. 8, 111; etc. Indeed a number of curious superstitions show that according to common belief the gods actually did inhabit their statues. Even the Fathers did not deny it in many cases. They merely insisted that the tenants were not gods, but demons. Doubtless many of the masterpieces of antiquity were destroyed for this reason. The most famous case of the survival of this belief is the mediaeval story of the 'Ring of Venus.'

23–38. It is already time for the Sibyl's prophecy, but the poet's allusion to the long sea voyage not only makes it clear that the prophecy did take place before Aeneas set out, but also leads us as it were unconsciously into a favourite topic with the writers of his time. This is the contrast between old and new Rome, cp. Verg. *A.* 8, 357; Propert. 4. 1; esp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 509 (which also illustrates our poet's device here of postponing the main issue in favour of a digression).

The device here has often been criticized. As a matter of fact, however, this is not a digression except in outward form. The poet's object is to contrast Rome the primitive hamlet with Rome the mistress of the world. The digression, springing naturally from what precedes, furnishes the one, the Sibyl's prophecy pictures the other. Reversal would not only have destroyed the natural rhetorical order of the two contrasted descriptions, but also would have interfered with an easy transition to the following topics.

23. aeternae urbis: the first occurrence of this famous title of Rome. We find it a few years later in Ovid, *Fasti*, 3, 72 (also speaking of Romulus), 'iam modo qua fuerant silvae pecorumque recessus, | urbs erat: aeternae cum pater urbis ait,' etc., and then long afterward in Ausonius, 22, 4, 1, 'urbis et aeternae deductam rege Quirino | annorum seriem,' etc. The idea, however, which is associated with that of Rome as mistress of the world (57–60 n.) and appears as early as Cicero, *Phil.* 2, 51, first became prominent in the early years of the imperial régime when these lines were written, and when Vergil

was composing his *Aeneid*, cp. *e.g.* *A.* 1, 276, where Jupiter says, 'Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet | moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet. | his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono: | imperium sine fine dedi,' etc. See also Livy, 4, 4, 4; 6, 23, 7; 28, 28, 11; Tiberius (in Tac. *Ann.* 3, 6), 'principes mortales rem publicam aeternam'; Sulpicia, *Sat.* 33; Sil. Ital. 7, 476; esp. the fine passage in Rutil. Namat. *Itin.* 47–140. The emperor Hadrian built a temple to Venus and Rome and dedicated it on April 21, the birthday of the city. At that time *aeterna* became an official title of Rome, and we begin to find 'Urbs Roma Aeterna' or 'Roma Aeterna' on coins. — **formaverat**: *i.e.* 'shaped,' 'traced,' cp. *e.g.* Verg. *A.* 9, 80, 'tempore quo primum Phrygia formabat in Ida | Aeneas classem.' See also 2, 3, 69 n. on *amarunt*.

24. Alluding, of course, to the old legend that Remus was slain by his brother for leaping over the wall of the new town. The story was told by Ennius, cp. *Ann.* 99 V (Romulus to Remus), 'nec pol homo quisquam faciet inpune animatus | hoc nisi tu: nam mi calido das sanguine poenas.' See also Cicero, *Off.* 3, 41; Hor. *Epod.* 7, 17; Propert. 3, 9, 50; Livy, 1, 7; Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 837; 3, 69 (softened); etc. — **consorti**: may be used in the sense of brother (Ovid, *Met.* 11, 347; 13, 663; *Pont.* 3, 2, 48; etc.) as well as of coheir (Minuc. Felix, 31, 8, etc.). Remus was both (Verg. *A.* 1, 292; Propert. 4, 1, 9; etc.). Strictly speaking, *habitanda* should go with *urbis*. Agreement, however, with *moenia* is natural enough, and in this case is dictated by metrical convenience.

25–26. A favourite detail in these descriptions, cp. Propertius, 4, 1, 1, 'hoc quodcumque vides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est, | ante Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit; | atque ubi navali stant sacra Palatia Phoebo, | Evandri profugae concubuere boves. | fictilibus crevere deis haec aurea templa, | nec fuit opprobrio facta sine arte casa,' etc.; 3, 9, 49–50; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 119, 'quae nunc sub Phoebo ducibusque Palatia fulgent, | quid nisi araturis pascua bubus erant?'; *Fasti*, 1, 243, 'hic ubi nunc Roma est incaedua silva virebat, | tantaque res paucis pascua bubus erat'; 1, 199 f.; 5, 91, etc.

25. **pascebant**: takes here its more usual cons. as in Verg. *G.* 3, 143; 4, 181, etc. See 2, 3, 42 n. Note the succession of picturesque imperfects in this passage (25–34). — **Palātĭă**: 1, 1, 4 n. The plural is due to the exigencies of metre. The singular is possible only when the final syllable can be elided before a short vowel (in this period generally undesirable). Even in the plural the genitive, dative, and ablative (Palātĭōrum, Palātĭīs) are quite impossible. So of Capitolia and of all other nouns of the first and second declensions in which the final syllable is preceded by a trochee.

26. **in Iovis arce**: *i.e.* 'in Capitolio.' The memory of these *casae* was per-

petuated by the so-called 'Casa Romuli' built of reeds. It was often burned down, but as often renewed in later times; cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 199; 3, 183; Verg. *A.* 8, 653; Vitruv. 2, 1, 5; etc.

27. **lacte**: a regular offering to rustic divinities, to Pan, as here, Theokrit. 5, 58, etc.; to Pales, 1, 2, 48 n.; Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 745; to the Camenae, Servius on Verg. *E.* 7, 21; to Bacchos, Valgius Ruf. *frag.* 5 B.; to Priapos, Verg. *E.* 7. 33; to Daphnis, Verg. *E.* 5, 67; to Silvanus, Hor. *Epist.* 2, 1, 143; etc. For its use in magic (due to conservatism) see 1, 2, 48 n. — **ilicis**: the ilex, the beech, and esp. the pine were all trees sacred to Pan, and a statue of him was often set up, as here, beneath one; cp. Longus, 2, 23 and 24; *Anth. Pal*, 16, 12; 13; etc.

28. **Pales**: 1, 1, 36 n. The rough-hewn wooden gods of the country and of earlier days are often referred to, cp. 1, 10, 17–18 n.; 1, 10, 20; Propert. 4, 2, 59 (Vertumnus loq.), 'stipes acernus eram properanti falce dolatus | ante Numam grata pauper in urbe deus'; *Culex*, 86, 'illi falce deus colitur non arte politus.' The conventional representative of this type is Priapos; cp. 1, 4, 3–6 n. and references.

29. **pendebat in arbore**: for the prep. cp. 1, 1, 61 n. — **vagi**: the word is peculiarly applicable to shepherds, esp. about the Mediterranean, owing not only to pasture, but also to the fact that sheep cannot endure extremes of heat and cold. Hence they have always been driven to the hills in the spring and back again to the valleys in the fall, cp. Varro, *De Re Rust.* 2, 2, 9, 'longe . . . et late in diversis locis pasci solent, ut multa milia absint saepe hibernae pastiones ab aestivis . . . nam mihi greges in Apulia hibernabant quae in Reatinis montibus aestivabant.' See also Hesiod, *W. and D.* 516; Soph. *O. T.* 1137; Columella, 7, 5 and 6; Dio Chrys. 7, 13; etc.

30. **silvestri deo**: perhaps Pan, or more likely Silvanus (*silvestri* = Silvanus) is meant. See, however, 1, 1, 14 n.; 1, 5, 27; 2, 1, 37. — **fistula**: for the *fistula* as a rustic ex-voto, cp. Verg. *E.* 7, 24, 'hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu' (to the Nymphs); Nemes. 1, 13, 'nunc album caput et veneres tepuere sub annis, | iam mea ruricolae dependet fistula Fauno'; Longus, 1, 4 (describing the grotto of the Nymphs), *Ἀνέκειντο δὲ καὶ γαυλοὶ καὶ αὐλοὶ πλάγιοι καὶ σύριγγες καὶ κάλαμοι, πρεσβυτέρων ποιμένων ἀναθήματα·* 4, 26 (Daphnis about to give up the life of a shepherd), *συναθροίσας πάντα τὰ ποιμενικὰ κτήματα διένειμεν ἀναθήματα τοῖς θεοῖς. τῷ Διονύσῳ μὲν ἀνέθηκε τὴν πήραν καὶ τὸ δέρμα, τῷ Πανὶ τὴν σύριγγα καὶ τὸν πλαγίαυλον, τὴν καλαύροπα ταῖς Νύμφαις καὶ τοὺς γαυλοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς ἐτεκτήνατο.* — **sācră**: on the prosody, see 1, 3, 18 n.

31–32. The distich is unnecessary, and the pentameter, as has been noted is an unusually weak dilution of the hexameter. The poets, however, rarely miss an opportunity to describe this ancient prototype of the 'mouth organ.'

See *e.g.* Verg. *E.* 2, 36; 3, 25; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 711; 8, 189; 13, 783; Calpurn. 4, 149; 4, 59; Achilles Tat. 8, 6, 6; Nemes. 3, 14; 1, 58; Pollux, 4, 9, 5, etc.; Theokrit. 8, 18; Plato, *Rep.* 399. The invention of it is usually ascribed to Pan (hence the modern name of 'Pan's pipes') and connected with the story of the nymph Syrinx, cp. Verg. *E.* 2, 32; Lucret. 4, 588; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 705; Val. Flacc. 4, 384; Achill. Tat. 8, 6; Longus, 2, 34, who explains the differing length of the pipes by saying that Pan *τοὺς καλάμους κηρῷ συνδήσας ἀνίσους, καθ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἄνισος αὐτοῖς.* Theokritos and Optatianus (*PLM.* Wernsdorf, 2, 388) wrote poems in the shape of a syrinx.

31. **arundinis**: for the collective singular, see 1, 1, 42 n.

33. **Velabri**: the flat marshy ground between the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine hills somewhere between the Vicus Tuscus and the Forum Boarium. It was often overflowed by the Tiber (Hor. *Od.* 1, 2, 13, etc.), and, in fact, Varro, *L. L.* 5, 7, 43, derived the word from *vehere*, because it was supposed that in early times transportation was as described here by water, cp. Propert. 4, 2, 7, 'hac quondam Tiberinus iter faciebat, et aiunt | remorum auditos per vada pulsa sonos'; 4, 9, 5, 'qua Velabra suo stagnabant flumine quaque | nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas'; esp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 6, 405, 'qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas, | nil praeter salices cassaque canna fuit. | saepe suburbanas rediens conviva per undas | cantat, et ad nautas ebria verba iacit'; etc.

34. **pulsa**: of oars; cp. 1, 4, 12; Propert. 4, 2, 7, above; Catull. 64, 58; Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 1, 10; *Pont.* 4, 10, 33; etc. — **linter**: a 'dugout,' the most primitive type of boat. The word is masculine here and also in Velleius, 2, 107, 2. In Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 864 the reading is uncertain. Elsewhere, the gender where it can be determined is feminine.

36. **iuvenem**: *i.e.* the *magistro* above. — **festa die**: 'on a holiday.' The *Parilia* has been suggested, but of course no specific holiday is meant. The poet is intentionally indefinite.

37-38. The *munera ruris* are all characteristic, cp. *e.g.* *Copa*, 17; Ovid, *Met.* 13, 830; Calpurn. 2, 69 f. etc.

38. **niveae candidus**: for the juxtaposition of epithets cp. 1, 7, 12 n.

39-64. The poet had apparently lost himself for the moment in his idyllic picture of other days. He is suddenly awakened by the prophecy of the Sibyl (postponed since 19). For this characteristic device cp. 1, 4, 81-84; 2, 4, 51-52 and notes. The abrupt beginning of the Sibyl's prophecy is entirely in keeping with her condition when inspired by the god, cp. 65 and 66 n. For the sudden change of speakers cp. Propert. 4, 1, 71, and for similar prophecies, Verg. *A.* 6, 851; Propert. 4, 1, 53; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 439; *Fasti*, 1, 523.

39. **impiger**: the epithet is descriptive of Aeneas's whole life. So of Hercules, Hor. *Od.* 4, 8, 30, etc.—**Aenea**: for the form, cp. 1, 2, 52 n.—**frater Amoris**: surely there was never a greater difference between two sons of the same mother. It is easy to see why the relationship is so rarely emphasized by the poets (Verg. *A.* 1, 667; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9, 13; *Her.* 7, 31; *Pont.* 3, 3, 62) and also why it is less incongruous to call Cupid the brother of Aeneas than Aeneas as here the brother of Cupid. Like Tibullus and Vergil, however, Guy de Tours, *Souspirs*, 2, 5, says—

> Tu conseillois à ta germaine Elise
> D'aymer le frère du petit Cupidon
> Qui des fureurs du Dolope brandon
> Dessus son dos sauva son père Anchise, etc.

40. See 19 n.; Verg. *A.* 2, 293; Hor. *Od.* 4, 4, 54; Ovid, *Her.* 7, 80; *Met.* 13, 624; etc.

41–42. **iam**: note the frequent repetition of *iam* throughout this prophecy. The seeress calls attention to each picture as it passes before her.

41. **Laurentes agros**: on the left bank of the Tiber where the Trojans first landed and Aeneas (Verg. *A.* 7, 157, etc.) founded the town of Laurens Castrum (49 below), cp. Livy, 1, 1, 4, 'Aeneam . . . ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est'; Verg. *A.* 7, 63; Dionys. 1, 63.

42. **hospita terra**: referring to the treaty with Latinus, cp. Livy, 1, 1, 6; etc.

43–44. For this famous story see esp. Ovid, *Met.* 14, 580 ff.

The Numicius or Numicus, once a large stream (Servius on Verg. *A.* 7, 150), now generally identified with a tiny rivulet known as the Rio Torto, empties into the sea just south of Lavinium. It had an important religious significance both for Lavinium and for all Latium. The water used in the worship of Vesta at Lavinium was taken from it (Servius on Verg. *A.* 7, 150) and hence was in itself possessed of miraculous powers (44 n.). There was an old sanctuary at the mouth of the stream still standing in Tibullus's time (Dionys. 1, 64) where the pontifices and the consuls performed a sacrifice once a year (*Scholia Veron.* Verg. *A.* 1, 259). All authorities agree that the deity worshipped here was a *deus indiges* (see below). As the Trojan origin of Lavinium was already accepted by Timaios the identification of Aeneas with the old *deus indiges* of the Numicius must have begun as early as the third century B.C. So probably Ennius in his *Annales* (Servius on Verg. *A.* 6, 777) and certainly Cato (234–149 B.C.), cp. Servius on Verg. *A.* 4, 620, 'Cato dicit, iuxta Laurolavinium cum Aeneae socii praedas agerent proelium commissum in

quo Latinus occisus est, fugit Turnus: et Mezentii auxilio conparato renovavit proelium quo victus quidem est ab Aenea; qui tamen in ipso proelio non conparuit.' *non* or *nusquam comparuit* (cp. 'and he was not, for God took him') is regularly used of those who become gods at death. All agree also that he died near the Numicius, cp. Cassius Hemina, *frag.* 7, 'apud Numicium parere desiit . . . patris Indigetis ei nomen datum.' So Varro (Augustin. *C. D.* 18, 19), Diodoros, and Cassius Dio, cp. Verg. *A.* 4, 620; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 597. But the doubt of the younger annalists (*e.g.* Sisenna, *frag.* 3 P.) regarding the subsequent divinity of Aeneas is reflected in Iustinus, 43, 1, 10; Appian, *Rom. Hist.* 1, 1; Servius on Verg. *A.* 1, 259. It is referred to by Dionys. Hal. 1, 64 and has affected Livy, 1, 2, 6, 'secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae, etiam ultimum mortalium operum fuit. situs est quemcumque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum fluvium, Iovem Indigetem appellant.' The very uncertainty thus produced regarding the ultimate fate of Aeneas lends additional power to Dido's famous curse, *A.* 4, 612–620, the close of which is, 'nec cum se sub leges pacis iniquae | tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur, | sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.' Nor does Vergil himself remove the uncertainty in so many words until *A.* 12, 794. Later the account was embellished with further details indicative of Aeneas's approaching divinity (Ovid, *Met. l.c.*; *Origo Gentis Romanae*, 14, 2).

43. **veneranda unda miserit**: an allusion to the belief that it was through the holy water of the Numicius itself that Aeneas was prepared for immortality. So Juvenal, 11, 63 (speaking of Aeneas and Hercules), 'alter aquis alter flammis ad sidera missus'; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 598, etc. — **Numici**: so *Lavini* (49) and *Servi* (4, 10, 4). The later gen. in *ii* of *-io-* stems is not frequent until Propertius. As Numicius is felt to be a god the gen. is possessive, cp. 1, 7, 57 n.

44. **deum indigetem**: the precise functions of a *deus indiges* and the meaning of the word itself were not clear to the scholars of the Augustan Age and have been discussed at great length in modern times. Most convincing perhaps is R. Peter (Roscher's *Lexikon*, etc., 3, 137), '*Indiges* (from *indu* + *ag*) describes a god whose power is exerted solely and entirely upon one specific mortal activity, or only in certain definite circumstances, or only in a certain given place,' etc. Hence *Iuppiter Indiges*, afterward *Aeneas Indiges*, as the specific deity of the Numicius. This theory of divine specialization was pontifical rather than popular (cp. Servius on Verg. *A.* 2, 141, 'pontifices dicunt singulis actibus proprios deos praeesse'). It was carried out to the utmost degree of minuteness, and the deity in each case received a name which described his one specific function, *e.g.* Abeona, the goddess who protects children the first time they leave the house, but Adeona, the goddess

who guards their return home on that same occasion, Aescolanus, the god of copper money, but Argentinus, the god of silver money, etc. — **caelo miserit**: the use of the dative to denote the place whither begins with Accius and is occasional afterward, esp. in the Augustan poets. As a poetical construction it seems to have sprung from personification (Gild.-Lodge, 358). In most cases as probably here ('sent to High Heaven') the personification had an actual historical basis in the popular point of view and was still felt. The old popular form *caelus* (cp. Petron. 45, etc.) for *caelum* suggests a god as well as a place; and the dative here as, *e.g.*, in Vergil's famous 'it caelo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum,' 11, 192, may be called a revival of the idea if not an actual record of the fact that it still existed. Cp. also Hor. *Od.* 1, 2, 1, 'iam satis terris nivis atque dirae | grandinis misit pater'; esp. Verg. *A.* 6, 126, 'facilis descensus Averno,' where the dative is due to the fact that Avernus, like Mors, is really a synonym of Orcus, and Orcus, like Hades in Greek, is always a person, not a place (note that in modern Italian fairy tales 'Orco' = the Devil). Brugmann calls all these examples locatives.

45–46. Victoria hovers above ('super') the side she intends to favour. While making up her mind she flies between the two sides, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 8, 13, 'iter utrumque volat dubiis Victoria pennis.' She usually has wings, as here, cp., however, the famous Nike Apteros. As a Roman goddess she appears as early as 294 B.C. (Livy, 10, 33, 9).

For 46 cp. Ovid, *Met.* 14, 572, 'tandemque Venus victricia nati | arma videt, Turnusque cadit.'

47–48. A burning of the camp of the Rutuli is not mentioned elsewhere. This is certainly the natural interpretation, though the occasional use of *incendia* = *faces*, 'torches' (*e.g.* Verg. *A.* 9, 71; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 539) lends some support to the suggestion that the Sibyl is referring to the well-known story of Turnus's attempt to fire the Trojan ships (Verg. *A.* 9, 71; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 530), *i.e.* she sees the glare of the torches in the camp of the Rutuli as they are preparing for the deed. Vergil says in the parallel passage (9, 71), 'classem . . . invadit sociosque incendia poscit ovantes | atque manum pinu flagranti fervidus implet.' But Tibullus is rarely obscure so far as his language is concerned, and with only his own line before us we should never put such an interpretation upon it. It seems better, therefore, to adopt the solution of the difficulty just offered by Deutsch, 'Notes on the Text of the Corpus Tibullianum,' *Univ. of California Pub. in Class. Phil.* Vol. 2, No. 9 (June, 1912), pp. 210–214. He calls attention to the fact that the reading of AV — our best MS authority — is not *Rutulis* but *rutilis* (cp. also Achilles Statius, *Comm. in Tib. ad loc.*, and Carlo Pascal, *Rivista di Filologia*, 17, 452). *rutilus* is frequently used as an epithet of fire, and the extension of it

to objects merely reddened by fire seems fairly justified by such passages as Hor. *Od.* 1, 2, 2–4, and Verg. *G.* 3, 358–359, especially when accompanied, as here, by *lucent* and *incendia* in the same line. In other words, *castris* is the camp (and fleet) of Aeneas, and what the Sibyl sees is the very event to which Vergil refers.

48. **barbare**: *i.e.* 'cruel, savage,' cp. Propert. 3, 16, 14; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 7, 19, etc., not the Greek use, though ultimately derived from the same point of view. The suggestion that the Sibyl is speaking here as a Greek is too learned and exotic, not to say in too bad taste for Tibullus. — **necem**: the death of Turnus is the closing scene of the Aeneid.

49. **Laurens castrum**: see 41 n. — **Lavini**: Lavinium was the second town founded by Aeneas after his treaty with Latinus and marriage with Lavinia (Livy, 1, 1, 11; Verg. *A.* 1, 258; Dionys. Hal. 1, 59 f.). Like Alba Longa it was closely associated with the religious life of the Roman state, esp. with the worship of Vesta and the Penates (43-44 n.). After the destruction of Alba Longa and the dissolution of the old Latin League, and esp. after the intrusion of the Aeneas legend, Lavinium was considered the mother city of Rome. The Penates of both were therefore the Penates which Aeneas brought from Troy and they were worshipped at regular intervals by official representatives of the Roman state. Even the fire on the altar of Vesta at Lavinium and therefore at Rome was supposed to go back to the fire of the Trojan Vesta, cp. Dionys. Hal. 2, 65; Propert. 4, 4, 69; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 730; *Fasti*, 1, 528, etc. — **est**: on the singular verb with three subjects see 1, 5, 36 n.

50. **Alba Longa**: 30 years after the death of Aeneas founded by Ascanius, cp. esp. Verg. *A.* 1, 267, etc. For the prodigy of the sow and thirty pigs connected with it cp. Verg. *A.* 8, 43; Varro, *De Re Rust.* 2, 4, 18, etc. For further particulars see Livy, 1, 3; Dionys. Hal. 1, 66; etc. One ancient explanation of the name is given by Livy, *l.c.*, 'ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Alba Longa appellata'; another by Varro, *L. L.* 5, 144, 'ab sue alba nominatum' (then relating the prodigy of the sow). The name, however, is certainly not Latin, possibly Ligurian and = the 'mountain town' (Helbig). Practically every available situation on the Lago di Albano has been selected by some modern scholar for its site. The latest, I believe, is Castel Gandolfo (Ashby) and on the whole this seems the best.

Doubtless Tibullus follows Vergil in identifying Ascanius with the son of Aeneas's Trojan wife. This was the usual version. Livy, however, *l.c.*, refers to an account which made him the son of Aeneas and Lavinia.

51–54. The story of Ilia, the Vestal who was the mother by Mars of Romulus and Remus, was told by Naevius in his epic and doubtless too in

his play the *Alimonium Romuli et Remi*. It was told at length by Ennius in his *Annales*. A fine passage from it, the dream of Ilia, is quoted by Cicero, *Div.* 1, 40 (*Ann.* 35–51 V.). The detailed narrative of Ovid, *Fasti*, 3, 9 f. (cp. *Amor.* 3, 6, 45) probably goes back to Ennius and should be read in this connection, cp. also Verg. *A.* 1, 274; 7, 659; Hygin. *Fab.* 252; Livy, 1, 4, 1; Dionys. Hal. 1, 76; Plutarch, *Rom.* 3; Konon, 48; Festus, 267 M.; etc. The name Ilia seems to be due to the intrusion of the Aeneas legend. In the old Italic version she is known as Rea Silvia. In the elder version followed by Naevius and Ennius, Ilia is the daughter of Aeneas. In Ennius she has a half sister, the daughter of the Trojan wife of Aeneas's youth. She herself, therefore, is the daughter of Aeneas and Lavinia. A more careful study, however, of chronology disclosed a gap of at least 300 years between the foundation of Alba and the period of Romulus and Remus. Ilia was then made a daughter of Numitor, a scion of the Silvii, *i.e.* the long line of shadowy Alban kings sprung from Aeneas and Lavinia with which the gap had been filled. Note that Tibullus follows Vergil (*A.* 1, 274) in passing directly from the foundation of Alba to the story of Ilia. This, however, was merely for artistic reasons. Vergil names some of the intervening Alban kings in another place (*A.* 6, 756). Tibullus's treatment of this story as a picture of the future passing before the prophetic vision of the Sibyl is esp. skilful and artistic.

She had gone to the river for water, as usual, early in the morning (cp. Ovid below) and having just left the altar was, as a matter of course, wearing her *vitta* (53), *i.e.* a part of her costume as a Vestal. *deseruisse* implies that she was never to return. Upon reaching the river she fell into a sort of supernatural slumber, during which she was approached by the god. So Ovid, *Fasti*, 3, 11 —

> Silvia Vestalis — quid enim vetat inde moveri?
> sacra lavaturas mane petebat aquas.
> ventum erat ad molli declivem tramite ripam:
> ponitur e summa fictilis urna coma:
> fessa resedit humo, ventosque accepit aperto
> pectore, turbatas restituitque comas.
> dum sedet umbrosae salices volucresque canorae
> fecerunt somnos et leve murmur aquae.
> blanda quies furtim victis obrepsit ocellis,
> et cadit a mento languida facta manus.
> Mars videt hanc, visamque cupit, potiturque cupita,
> et sua divina furta fefellit ope.
> somnus abit, iacet illa gravis, iam scilicet intra
> viscera Romanae conditor Urbis erat.

languida consurgit, nec scit cur languida surgat,
  et peragit talis arbore nixa sonos:
'utile sit faustumque, precor, quod imagine somni
  vidimus. an somno clarius illud erat?
ignibus Iliacis aderam, cum lapsa capillis
  decidit ante sacros lanea vitta focos.
inde duae pariter, visu mirabile, palmae
  surgunt. ex illis altera maior erat,
et gravibus ramis totum protexerat orbem,
  contigeratque sua sidera summa coma.
ecce meus ferrum patruus molitur in illas:
  terreor admonitu, corque timore micat.
Martia, picus, avis gemino pro stipite pugnant
  et lupa. tuta per hos utraque palma fuit.'
dixerat, et plenam non firmis viribus urnam
  sustulit. implerat dum sua visa refert, etc.

Here, too, should be quoted the frag. (*Ann.* 35 V.) from Ennius —

Et cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen.
talia tum memorat lacrimans exterrita somno:
'Euridica prognata, pater quam noster amavit,
vires vitaque corpus meum nunc deserit omne.
nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta
et ripas raptare locosque novos: ita sola
postilla, germana soror, errare videbar
tardaque vestigare et quaerere te neque posse
corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.
exim compellare pater me voce videtur
his verbis: "o gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae
aerumnae, post ex fluvio fortuna resistet."
haec effatus pater, germana, repente recessit
nec sese dedit in conspectum corde cupitus,
quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerula templa
tendebam lacrumans et blanda voce vocabam.
vix aegro cum corde meo me somnus reliquit.'

The relation between these two accounts is not at all clear. It may be noted however that Tibullus, as a representative of the conventional erotic elegy, would have followed closely in the footsteps of Ovid if he had told this story in detail. The main motive of the Ovidian account (violation during slumber) is esp. characteristic not only of Hellenistic narrative poetry (as echoed *e.g.* in Nonnos), but also of Hellenistic art.

53. **furtim**: qualifies *concubitus*, cp. 1, 3, 50 n.

54. **ripas**: 'banks,' plural for singular, as often in English. — **arma relicta**:

the legend was that Mars came down from heaven in full armour; cp. Juv. 11, 107; Claud. *Cons. Prob.* 99, both of which passages describe representations of this scene in art. In surviving objects of art he is generally represented with shield, helmet, and lance (Friedländer, Juv. 11, 103–107, and ref.).

55–56. Having now reached the foundation of Rome, the climax of her prophecy and the final fruition of Aeneas's long toil and suffering, the Sibyl is skilfully made to spare details by referring to, and then reaching, the idyllic picture of 23–38. She then, herself, adds as a climax where it belongs (57–62) that completion of the picture which the poet himself would have come to in a moment if he had not (apparently) been interrupted by her at 39 f.

55. **septem montibus**: Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 5, 7, 41 (written in the time of Cicero), says that the old name of the present site of Rome was *Septimontium*—'ubi nunc est Roma, Septimontium nominatum ab tot montibus quos postea urbs muris comprehendit'—and proceeds to discuss the names of the different 'montes.' This appears to be the earliest reference in Roman literature to the 'Seven Hills' of Rome as such. There was, however, an old festival known as the *Septimontium* which lasted until far down into the Empire, and the association of it with *di indigetes* (or a *deus indiges*) carries the idea back to at least as early as the Second Punic War, *i.e.* to the time when the pontifices ceased from making gods of this type. See R. Peter in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2, 222, 46 ff., and Goetz and Schoell's edit. (Leipzig, 1910) of Varro, *L.L.* 6, 24 and the ref. in n. *ad loc.*, also Wissowa, *Ges. Abhandl. z. röm. Relig. und Stadtgesch.* 1904, p. 240 n. Literary reference to Rome as the 'City of the Seven Hills' first becomes prominent in the Augustan poets. Tibullus is preceded a few years by Verg. *G.* 2, 534 (cp. *A.* 6, 783)—

> scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
> septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces,

and also by Propert. 3, 11, 57—

> septem urbs alta iugis toto quae praesidet orbi.

Two years after our poet's death we have Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 7—

> dis quibus septem placuere colles,

and twenty years later, Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 5, 69—

> sed quae de septem totum circumspicit orbem
> montibus, imperii Roma deumque locus.

Among later references may be noted, Mart. 4, 64, 11; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 191; 4, 1, 6; Claud. *Cons. Prob.* 176; *Fescenn.* 19; *Bell. Gildon.* 104; *De Cons. Stilich.* 3, 135; esp. Prudentius, *Peristeph.* 10, 413—

divum favore cum puer Mavortius
fundaret arcem septicollem Romulus.

It is impossible to say from which, if any, of these passages was derived our own familiar designation of Rome as the 'City of the Seven Hills.'

56. With this line cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 280, 'hic ubi nunc urbs est tum locus urbis erat.'

57–60. The poet rises well to the Sibyl's splendid vision of the destiny of Rome. The idea of Rome as the mistress of the world (23 n.), at once the cause and the result of a more definite conception of her real position in the history of civilization, was very much in men's minds at this time, and was never afterward forgotten; cp. Ovid, *Met.* 15, 877; *Fasti*, 1, 85; 2, 136; 4, 831; Hor. *Od.* 3, 3, 45; and so on down to Rutil. Namat. 1, 55 f. Part of the greatness of Vergil lies in the fact that he embodied this idea for all time, and as no other man has ever done; cp. *e.g.* *A.* 1, 276; 6, 782; and such modern versions as Macaulay's 'Prophecy of Capys.'

57. **nomen**: *i.e.* Rome. In the antique conception the name of a thing not only has a power of its own, but is more closely associated with, more actually identical with, the thing itself, than is the case with us (cp. Ovid, *Met.* 1, 201; *Trist.* 2, 221). The world-wide idea of the power of a name in magic is derived from this conception. — **regendis**: the only ex. of this use in Tibullus. The dative of the gerund and gerundive after words of decreeing and appointing, to give the purpose, is restricted in early Latin, but increases in the poets, and after Livy, in prose. It is often used technically.

58. Cp. in the same connection Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 85, 'Iuppiter arce sua totum cum spectet in orbem, | nil nisi Romanum quod tueatur habet'; 2, 138, 'quodcumque est alto sub Iove Caesar habet'; Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 9, 'alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui | promis et celas aliusque et idem | nasceris, possis nihil urbe Roma | visere maius.' Tibullus's choice of *Ceres* here and of *arva* brings out the wealth and fertility of the Empire as well as its extent. — **prospicit**: the simple ablative with *prospectare* is used in 1, 7, 19.

59–60. Cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 2, 136, 'hoc duce Romanum est solis utrumque latus'; 4, 832, 'sitque sub hac oriens occiduusque dies'; Rutil. Namat 1, 55, 'nam solis radiis aequalia munera tendis, | qua circumfusus fluctuat Oceanus. | volvitur ipse tibi qui continet omnia Phoebus, | eque tuis ortos in tua condit equos | . . . dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris, | urbem fecisti quod prius Orbis erat.'

59. **quaque patent ortus**: the poet apparently has the same idea of the 'Gates of Dawn' that we find in Ovid, *Met.* 2, 112, 'ecce vigil rutilo patefecit ab ortu | purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum | atria: diffugiunt stellae,' etc., *i.e.* the goddess opens the gates to let the Sun through. Elsewhere only

in Quintus Smyrnaeus, 2, 665, τῆς δ' ἄρα Πληιάδες πρότεραι ἴσαν· ἡ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ | αἰθερίας ὤιξε πύλας, ἐκέδασσε δ' ἄρ' ἀχλύν. The idea, however, is very old, cp. *e.g.* Ludwig, *Rig Veda*, 2, 15.

60. amnis: *i.e.* Oceanus, the Homeric Ocean Stream surrounding the earth, *Il.* 14, 245; *Odyss.* 11, 639, etc. The poets habitually return to this conception (Verg. *G.* 4, 233; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 30; *Fasti*, 5, 82, etc.), and esp. in this connection, since all the old folk ideas of sunrise and sunset presuppose it.

The Sun and his steeds rise from Oceanus at dawn (*Odyss.* 3, 1, etc.), and in so doing are bathed in his life-giving waters (Aisch. *frag.* 192 N., etc.). At evening he sinks κατὰ χθονὸς Ὠκεανόνδε (Hom. *Hymn to Hermes*, 68) and he and his steeds are again bathed, as here, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 3, 407; Nonnos, 12, 1; etc. He enters the realm of darkness by the Gates of the Sun, Ἠελίοιο πύλαι (*Odyss.* 24, 12), and there beyond the Ocean Stream is set the Φοίβου παλαιὸς Κῆπος (Soph. *frag.* 870 N.), the ancient Garden of the Sun, which is the same as the Garden of the Hesperides (Mimnermos, 11 Crus.). Some put it to the east, some to the west, but this is immaterial, for the Sun has two abiding places (Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 2, etc.), one in the east and one in the west, and in each of them his horses rest and are fed (Eurip. *frag.* 771 N.; *Alkest.* 592; Ovid, *Met.* 4, 214, etc.). The question of his return to the east was answered by the story of the 'Cup of the Sun' (passages collected in Athenaios, 11, 468–470). At sunset he and his horses enter the golden cup made for him by Hephaistos, and all night long they are on the Ocean Stream sailing back again to the east (Stesich. 6 Crus.).

61. se: *i.e.* Rome, the reincarnation of Troy, cp. Propert. 4, 1, 53, 'vertite equum, Danai, male vincitis! Ilia tellus | vivet, et huic cineri Iuppiter arma dabit,' and 87, 'Troia cades, et Troica Roma resurges.' One of the primary conceptions of the *Aeneid.*

62. Cp. Propert. 4, 1, 39, 'huc melius profugos misisti, Troia, Penates'; Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 37, 'Roma si vestrum est opus Iliaeque | litus Etruscum tenuere turmae, | iussa pars mutare Lares et urbem | sospite cursu, | cui per ardentem sine fraude Troiam | castus Aeneas patriae superstes | liberum munivit iter, daturus | plura relictis.' Lit. 'you (*i.e.* Aeneas and his companions) were of good counsel in so long a journey,' *i.e.* 'were wise to take so long a journey.' *via* is an ablat. of specification.

63. sacras: *i.e.* to Apollo. The idea that chewing the leaves of the laurel brings about the condition of inspiration (poetic or prophetic) is very old, cp. Soph. *frag.* 811 N., δάφνην φαγὼν ὀδόντι πρῖε τὸ στόμα· Schol. on Hesiod, *Theog.* 30, ἡ δάφνη ἐνεργεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνθυσιασμούς· Lykophron, 6, δαφνηφάγος = one inspired, upon which the Schol. remarks, εἰώθασιν οἱ μάντεις δάφνας προεσθίειν· Lukian, *Bis Accus.* 1.

The Sibyl's statement implies that this use of laurel leaves was for some reason considered perilous. If, however, as generally agreed, the laurel of antiquity, Apollo's laurel, is to be identified with the bay or sweet laurel (*Laurus nobilis*, Linn.), neither this idea nor the belief in their efficacy for inspiration can be derived from any real, inherent qualities of the plant itself. The leaves when crushed are aromatic and slightly bitter, but perfectly harmless. Modern physicians describe them as 'stimulant and narcotic,' and among primitive races any stimulant or narcotic is associated with the divine frenzy, but the bay possesses these qualities to so slight a degree that they do not suggest a solution of the problem. Moreover, as Ogle notes (*A. J. P.* 31, 302), Pliny even when he writes of plants used to produce visions (24, 160) makes no reference to any intoxicating property of laurel nor do any of the writers on medicine. More likely, and perhaps more in keeping with a primitive point of view, is the suggestion (Rohde) that the spirit of Apollo was supposed to reside in his tree and that the priestess became inspired with it in this way.

Aristotle attributes the gift of prophecy or of prophetic inspiration to a large amount of 'black bile' near the brain, cp. *Problem.* 30, 1, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ νοεροῦ τόπου τὴν θερμότητα ταύτην νοσήμασιν ἁλίσκονται μανικοῖς, ἢ ἐνθουσιαστικοῖς, ὅθεν Σίβυλλαι καὶ Βάκιδες καὶ οἱ ἔνθεοι γίνονται πάντες, ὅταν μὴ νοσήματι γένωνται, ἀλλὰ φυσικῇ κράσει.

63. **innoxia**: passive, cp. 1, 1, 8 n., 'unharmed,' 'without being harmed.' — **laurus**: Tibullus uses this form of the accus. plur. of *laurus* only here. Neue also quotes Catull. 64, 289; Lucan, 1, 287; Val. Flacc. 1, 209; Pliny, 17, 96; Stat. *Silv.* 4, 3, 118; 4, 6, 98; 5, 1, 105; *Theb.* 7, 707 and 784; Martial, 1, 108, 3; 3, 58, 46; 8, 50, 5; Claud. *IV Cons. Honor.* 25; *VI Cons. Honor.* 38 and 120; Optat. 18 (19), 1 M. For *lauros*, 1, 7, 7; 2, 5, 117, Neue quotes Verg. *E.* 6, 83; 8, 13; 8, 82; *A.* 3, 360 (all the Verg. passages have *laurus* as a variant); Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 13, 18; Pliny, 17, 88; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 181; 4, 2, 9; 4, 8, 19; *Theb.* 7, 351; Juv. 10, 65; Claudian, *De Cons. Stilich.* 1, 384.

64. **vescar**: with the accusative as here is rare even in early Latin. I find no exx. in the poets (except this) from Lucretius to Juvenal. Draeger, I, 570 cites Pliny, 10, 113; 11, 281; 28, 170; Tac. *Agric.* 28. Exx. like Phaedrus, 1, 31, 11; Sallust, *Hist.* 3, 38, Mauren. indicate its survival in the popular speech. — **aeternum**: 1, 10, 66 n. This adverbial accus. *aeternum* is poetical and is most common in Vergil and Statius and Silius Italicus. Tacitus, *Ann.* 3, 26 and 12, 28 are the first exx. in prose, then *Script. Pan.* 9, 26 and *CIL.* 5, 3496. See Propert. 2, 28, 57; 3, 8, 38; Hor. *Epist.* 1, 10, 41; Ovid, *Met.* 6, 369; *Trist.* 5, 3, 41. — **virginitas**: popularly supposed (more or less among all nations) to be a condition of the power to prophesy, cp. *e.g. Geopon.* 11, 2, 4 (story of Daphne), τὴν γὰρ κόρην Σωφρόνην ὀνομάζουσι,

τὸ χρησμῳδεῖν γὰρ ἐκ σωφροσύνης προέρχεται· Plutarch, *Mor.* 435 D. For the story of the Cumaean Sibyl in this connection, see Aristotle, *Mirab.* 95; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 120–153, and on the subject in general, E. Fehrle, 'Die Kultische Keuschheit im Altertum,' *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, Bd. 6.

65. **et te sibi**: *et* is not to be taken in the sense of 'and then.' In point of time 'haec cecinit' comes last. The Sibyl called the god and then, as in all such cases, had to go through the more or less agonizing process of 'getting the spirit' (66) before prophesying at all. When the condition of 'second sight' is once reached, the seer proceeds quietly to the end, cp. Kassandra in Aisch. *Agam.* 1072 f.; Seneca, *Agam.* 710 f.; and esp. the Vergilian account of the Sibyl, *A.* 6, 45, 'ventum erat ad limen cum virgo, "poscere fata | tempus," ait "deus, ecce, deus!" cui talia fanti | ante fores subito non voltus, non color unus, | non comptae mansere comae: sed pectus anhelum | et rabie fera corda tument: maiorque videri | nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando | iam propiore dei.' The state continues during the prayer of Aeneas (56–76) and even then (77), 'at Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro | bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit | excussisse deum: tanto magis ille fatigat | os rabidum, fera corda domans fingitque premendo.' If Tibullus had mentioned these preliminaries in their regular place, the artistic effect of the sudden interruption at line 39 would have been lost. He therefore adds them here with the appearance as it were of an afterthought.

66. A regular symptom of the frenzy of inspiration. The sufferer tosses her head so violently and rapidly that her hair flies in every direction, even hanging down in front of her face as here, cp. Seneca, *Oed.* 230; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 726; Eurip. *Iphig. Aul.* 757, etc. Sometimes the expressive verb *rotare* is used of the hair, cp. Lucan, 1, 566; Val. Flacc. 1, 209; 5, 170; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 173; Juv. 6, 316; esp. Quintil. 11, 3, 71 (warning the young orator against too much nodding), 'iactare id et comas excutientem rotare fanaticum est.' Again, the hair stands on end (as in extreme fright), cp. Seneca, *Agam.* 712, etc. — **caput ante**: anastrophe of *ante* as of *ad* in 2, 1, 74, is found only here in Tibullus. In prose anastrophe of *ante* is found only with the relative (Schulze). In Tibullus anastrophe is invariable with *circum*, *praeter*, *propter*, and of course *coram*. Postposition of both preposition (*per*) and attribute, 1, 4, 26. Separation of the preposition from its case beyond the distance allowed in prose is illustrated by *ad*, 1, 2, 32; *circum*, 1, 5, 51; *contra*, 1, 6, 30; *post*, 1, 9, 44; *sine*, 4, 14, 3.

67–80. The conclusion of the Sibyl's vision in which she sees Rome mistress of the world brings the poet back again to the present, and with it to the

theme, already touched upon (5–10), of the Civil Wars, which for years had threatened to destroy the chief glory of that prediction. 'Other Sibyls—and their words were only too true—foretold the horrors of that time. But all that is past now.'

The identity of the various Sibyls had been so much discussed and so many different conclusions reached (15 n.) that one cannot be sure which ones the poet means by the names he uses. Servius on Verg. *A.* 6, 72, for instance, says that Amalthea (Ἀμαλθαία, Suidas; Ἀμάλθεια, Lydus) was the Sibyl who sold the books to Tarquin, and others add (Lydus, *De Mens.* 4, 47) that the books she offered were the oracles of the Cumaean Sibyl. Varro identified this Amalthea with the Sibyl of Cumae, who, he adds, had also been called Herophile or Demophile. See line 19 n. 'Marpesia Herophile' (cp. Lactant. *l.c.*; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἡροφίλη and Σίβυλλα; Pausan. 10, 12, 2) would be the Trojan Sibyl born at Marpessos, but claimed by Erythrae (see her epitaph in Pausan. *l.c.* and the dispute of the two towns with regard to it). Her grave was in the close of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad. On her prophecy to Aeneas see Dionys. Hal. 1, 55, 4. She was also claimed for Klaros, Samos, Delos, Delphi, and even Cumae. Indeed it was she, according to some, who sold the books to Tarquin. 'Phyto Graia' (*i.e.* in distinction from Herophile, who was Trojan) was the Sibyl of Samos (Lydus, *l.c.*; Schol. on Plato, *Phaidros*, 244 B; Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 1, 399 P.). It will be seen that no really satisfactory conclusion can be reached. The definite point in mentioning these Sibyls here (four, including Albunea in 69–70), is that, whatever may have been their identity in the poet's mind, they represent the Sibyls whose oracles had been accepted by the commission of 76 B.C. and included in the new collection at that time.

69–70. The Sibyl of Tibur (*Tiburs*) is Albunea, the Carmentis of Vergil, *A.* 8, 336, the prophetess of Tibur, nymph of the Aquae Albulae, rising in the modern Lago della Solfatara and emptying into the Anio. Somewhere upon it was the oracle of Faunus (Verg. *A.* 7, 81). The Grotto of Albunea, Horace's 'domus Albuneae resonantis' (*Od.* 1, 7, 12) was probably near the waterfall or perhaps nearer the Anio. Modern tradition identifies it with the 'Cave of the Sibyl.' When the cult of the Sibyls came to Latium, Albunea became a Sibyl and Lactant. *l.c.* says that she was worshipped as a goddess on the banks of the Anio at Tibur. Hence probably the famous 'Temple of the Sibyl' at Tivoli on the edge of the precipice below the falls of the Anio. The miracle mentioned by our poet was doubtless a local legend of Tibur (Tivoli) and it is also evidently referred to by Lactant. (*i.e.* Varro) 1, 6, 12, 'decimam (Sibyllam) Tiburtem nomine Albuneam quae Tiburi colatur ut dea iuxta ripas amnis Anienis, cuius in gurgite simulacrum eius inventum esse

dicitur tenens in manu librum; cuius sortes senatus in Capitolium transtulerit.'

69. **quasque**: *i.e.* 'quodque admonuit quae,' etc. — **Aniena flumina**: this adjective (*Anienus*) is Vergilian, cp. *G.* 4, 369, 'unde pater Tiberinus, et unde Aniena fluenta.' The remaining exx. quoted by the Thes. are confined to Propertius, 1, 20, 8; 3, 16, 4; Stat. *Silv.* 4, 4, 17.

70. **portarit pertuleritque**: for the combination Postgate quotes Seneca, *Ben.* 3, 37, 1, 'Aeneas tulit illum per ignes et (quid non pietas potest?) pertulit.' — **portarit**: see 2, 3, 69 n.

71–78. These prophecies of the Sibyls mentioned all the portents by which the death of Julius and the Civil Wars were attended. It hardly seems necessary to suspect a lacuna between 70 and 71. The poet has just dealt at length with the Sibyl and the prophecy of paramount importance for his present purpose. The Sibyls of 65–70 were all important to Messalinus as one of the *XVviri*, but for this poem their only use is to introduce the Civil Wars, that Valley of the Shadow through which Rome has just struggled to the new régime, and with Apollo's help to the final realization of that ancient prophecy to the great ancestor of the reigning emperor. The topic of the Civil Wars should be brief and not too prominent, as befits elegy in general and the subject, character, and object of this elegy in particular.

As the *Libri Sibyllini* were mainly consulted with regard to portents it was natural to develop the theme of the Civil Wars from this point of view. Besides, the portents attending the Civil Wars and the death of the great dictator were especially frightful and were remembered for generations. Apart from this passage of Tibullus we also have Vergil, *G.* 1, 463–488; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 782–800; Manilius, 1, 905 f.; Obsequens, 68 (which probably represents the passage in Livy); Horace, *Od.* 1, 2, 1–20; Appian, *B.C.* 4, 4, 14; Cassius Dio, 45, 17 (cp. 41, 14); Petron. 122; Lucan, 1, 524; Plutarch, *Caes.* 63 and 68.

The long parenthesis serves to explain and restrict the sweeping statement of 67–70. See 79 n. below.

71. **haec**: fem. plur. subject of *dixerunt*, *i.e.* the Sibyls just mentioned. The form is not common but Schulze cites it for Catullus, 64, 320; and for the Augustan period Neue (II, 417) cites Vergil, *G.* 3, 305; Ovid, *Fasti*, 3, 684; cp. also Juv. 6, 569; 592; etc.

It has been the general belief the world over that comets portend change or disaster for the people at large, especially war, plague, or the death of rulers. 'When beggars die there are no comets seen, | The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes,' says Calpurnia to Caesar himself, cp. Verg. *A.* 10, 272; Tac. *Ann.* 14, 22; Sueton. *Nero*, 36; Lucan, 1, 529; Manil. 1, 876; Pliny, 2, 92; Lydus, *De Ostentis*, 10; Milton, *P. L.* 2, 708, and often.

The particular comet here referred to is probably the famous 'Stella Crinita,' the 'Star of Caesar' (see Vergil, *E.* 9, 46 and *A.* 8, 681, with the notes of Servius; Horace, *Od.* 1, 12, 47), the appearance of which in July of 44 coincided with the first celebration by Octavianus of the *Ludi Veneris Genetricis* in commemoration of Caesar's death. Pliny, 2, 93, quotes the words of Octavianus himself with regard to it, cp. also Obsequens, 68; Sueton. *Iul.* 88; Plutarch, *Caes.* 68; Cassius Dio, 45, 17, 4. Vergil, *G.* 1, 487 implies more than one comet, and so Pliny, 2, 93; Manil. 1, 907. There were also an unusual number of *faces*, *λαμπάδες*, *i.e.* shooting stars, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 15, 787. One in particular is mentioned by Cassius Dio, 45, 17, 4 (cp. Obsequens, 68). A similar comet appeared before Pharsalia (Pliny, *l.c.*) and this too was accompanied by shooting stars (Petron. 122, 139; Lucan, 1, 526).

72. Showers of stones on this occasion seem to be mentioned elsewhere only by Appian, *B. C.* 4, 4, 14. The portent, not infrequent in volcanic Italy, is often mentioned by Livy and others. The Senate usually decreed a *novemdiale.* — **ut deplueret**: sc. *fore.* On the displacement of *que* see 1, 1, 40 n. *depluere* is rare. — **lapis**: for this collective singular with *multus* cp. 1, 1, 42 n.; 1, 3, 28 n.; 1, 4, 76; 1, 9, 68 n.; 2, 3, 42.

73. At this point the poet drops the cons. with *dixerunt* and with it all direct reference to the Sibyls and proceeds with *ferunt*, 'it is reported that,' etc. The shift in the point of view both here and at 75–76 is natural and dramatic. It is not implied of course that only the first two portents were foreseen by the Sibyls, but only that in the excitement of telling the story of these famous portents the poet ceases after the first two lines to emphasize the connection of the Sibyls with them.

This dreadful portent was generally reported, cp. Verg. *G.* 1, 474, 'armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo | audiit, insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes'; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 783, 'arma ferunt inter nigras crepitantia nubes | terribilesque tubas auditaque cornua caelo | praemonuisse nefas'; Appian, *B. C.* 4, 4, 14, *ἀνδρῶν τε μεγάλαι βοαὶ καὶ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων οὐχ ὁρωμένων ἠκούετο*· Obsequens, 69 (Livy), 'C. Pansa A. Hirtio consulibus . . . armorum telorumque species a terra visa cum fragore ad caelum fieri,' cp. Plutarch, *Caes.* 63, which reappears in Shakespeare's *J. C.* 2, 2, as —

> Fierce fiery warriors fought upon the clouds
> In ranks and squadrons and right form of war,
> Which drizzled blood upon the Capitol;
> The noise of battle hurtled in the air,
> Horses did neigh and dying men did groan.

The same portent occurred before Pharsalia, cp. Obsequens, 65; Petron. 122, 134; Lucan, 1, 578. — **atque . . . atque**: see 1, 10, 23 n. On the

concord of *audita* (sc. *esse*) with *arma* and *tubas*, 1, 5, 36 and notes. On the omission of *esse*, 1, 3, 43 n.

74. That is, the voices of the gods in their sacred groves foretold defeat to Roman arms. So in this connection, Verg. *G.* 1, 476; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 792; Obsequens, 69, 'oraculo Apollinis vox audita, "lupis rabies hieme, aestate frumentum non demessum."' Also after Pharsalia, Petron. 122, 179; Lucan, 1, 570.

75–76. Note that by dropping the cons. with *ferunt* for the moment this most frightful of all the portents following the death of Caesar is, as it were, set off by itself and thus made more prominent. References to this portent are numerous, cp. Pliny, 2, 98, 'fiunt prodigiosi et longiores solis defectuus, qualis occiso dictatore Caesare et Antoniano bello totius paene anni pallore continuo.' Plutarch, *Caes.* 68, also says that the sun was pale and ghastly for the entire year and gave out so little light and heat that the crops did not ripen at all. Obsequens, 68, 'soles tres fulserunt circaque solem imum corona spiceae similis in orbem emicuit, et postea in unum circulum sole redacto multis mensibus languida lux fuit' (this Livian account reappears in Cassius Dio, 45, 17, 5, and in an abbreviated form in Appian, *B. C.* 4, 4, 14). See also Ovid, *Met.* 15, 785; Verg. *G.* 1, 466, where Servius says that a total eclipse of the sun lasting from the sixth hour until night, took place on the Ides of May following Caesar's murder.

The cause of this phenomenon, and probably of the showers of stones and of the noise of battle in the skies, was doubtless a terrific eruption of Aetna just before Caesar's assassination, cp. Verg. *G.* 1, 472, where Servius quotes from Livy, 'tanta flamma ante mortem Caesaris ex Aetna monte defluxit ut non tantum vicinae urbes sed etiam Regina civitas afflaretur.' It is well known that the great volcanic disturbances in the Pacific in 1883 upset the normal condition of the atmosphere throughout practically the entire world. In the United States, at least, the appearance of the sun that year, esp. during August and September, was the same as that recorded for the summer of 44 B.C. So, too, during the entire summer of 1906, after the great eruption of Vesuvius, the Italian sun was noticeably dimmer than usual.

77–78. Returns (*fudisse*, etc.) to the cons. with *ferunt* (Schulze). Dependence, however, on *vidit* seems to offer no difficulty.

77. A portent frequently mentioned and always carefully recorded by the priests, Apollon. Rhod. 4, 1284; Verg. *A.* 2, 173; Cicero, *Div.* 1, 74; 98; 99; Livy, 43, 13, 4; Augustin. *C. D.* 3, 11; etc. In this connection, Verg. *G.* 1, 480; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 792; Appian, *B. C.* 4, 4, 14, — **deum**: on the form, 1, 1, 37 n.

78. **vocales**: *i.e.* here, 'in human speech.' Also mentioned by Verg. *G.* 1, 478; Appian, 4, 4, 14. For the same portent on other occasions, cp. *e.g.*

Livy, 3, 10, 6; 35, 21, 4; 43, 13, 3; Obseq. 15; 26; 43; 53; Val. Max. 1, 6, 5; Lucan, 1, 561; Pliny, 8, 183, 'est frequens in prodigiis priscorum bovem locutum, quo nuntiato senatum sub diu haberi solitum.'

79–80. Sums up all the prophecies of the Sibyls in 67–70 (*i.e.* 'quidquid admonuit Amalthea, Herophile, Phyto, Albunea') as limited by the parenthetical 71–78. Hence (67–79), 'all the predictions of the Sibyls (67–70) — I mean their predictions of the disasters of the Civil Wars (71–78) — these came to pass in other days now gone by.' The prayer to Apollo, the divine patron of the Empire, to do away with such horrors forms the transition to the next and contrasted topic, the prosperity which he is asked to bestow upon the new régime. This gives the poet an opportunity of returning to his favourite theme (81–104, cp. 2, 1; 1, 10, 39, etc.), an idyllic picture of country life in the piping times of peace, as illustrated by the festal celebration in honour of the rustic divinities.

79. **haec fuerant olim**: *i.e.* previous to the new régime which at the time of writing had already been an accomplished fact for some time, hence the pluperfect *fuerant*, cp. 1, 5, 38 n. If the poet had been reckoning from the time of writing, *fuerunt* (2, 3, 12 n.) would have been used. The marked tendency of the pluperfect, more esp. of *esse*, to encroach on the perf. and imperf. in the folk speech was welcomed by the poets for its metrical convenience and is not at all uncommon in Propertius and Ovid. Cp. *e.g.* Propert. 1, 12, 11, 'non sum ego qui fueram: mutat via longa puellas,' *i.e.* 'before she went away and had a change of heart'; Ovid, *Amor. Epig.* 1, 'qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli | tres sumus,' *i.e.* previous to the revision. So *Her.* 1, 115; *Met.* 2, 570; *Trist.* 3, 11, 25, etc.; Propert. 1, 10, 2; 1, 11, 29; Verg. *A.* 5, 397 (one ex.); Catull. 64, 158 (one ex.). Except for Seneca and Vitruvius this use is very rare in prose until the African writers. The tendency of the folk speech to confuse the three tenses of the past (already seen in Vitruvius) continued to grow until by the beginning of the sixth century such a writer as Fulgentius evidently had no clear idea of the distinction between imperf., perf., and pluperfect. — **tu**: 1, 1, 33 n.

80. The universal belief in the purifying powers of the sea (or of running water, cp. 4, 4, 8) is abundantly exemplified in a number of religious rites, cp. Seneca, *De Ira*, 1, 15, 2; Lucan, 1, 589; etc. So even in medicine and law (derived of course from a religious conception and sometimes symbolic), cp. *e.g.* Homer, *Iliad*, 1, 313 f.; Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 70; *Invent.* 2, 149; Val. Max. 1, 1, 13 (punishment of parricides). The custom here alluded to of casting *prodigia* into the sea was regularly resorted to in the case of monstrous births, cp. Livy, 31, 12, 8; Obsequens, 22; 25; 26; 27; 32; 34; 36; 47–48; 50; 57; etc. Hence the pertinence of Postgate's suggestion that we have

here a further allusion to Actium. 'To the Roman, esp. at this time, Egypt was a land of monstrosities.' Cp. Propert. 4, 6; Hor. *Od.* 1, 37, 9–21; Juv. 15; esp. the Graeco-Roman proverb, cp. Pliny, 8, 42 (of Africa), 'ideo multiformes ibi animalium partus . . . unde etiam vulgare Graeciae dictum, "semper aliquid novi Africam afferre"' (ἀεὶ φέρει τι Λιβύη καινὸν κακόν, Zenob. 2, 51).

81–82. The extent to which laurel crackles when it burns is proverbial, cp. μείζονα βοᾷ δάφνης χλωρᾶς καιομένης (Diogen. 6, 52; Suidas, *s.v.*); Lucret. 6, 154, 'nec res ulla magis quam Phoebi Delphica laurus | terribili sonitu flamma crepitante crematur'; Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 343; Pliny, 15, 135; etc. The method of divination by means of it to which Tibullus refers was regularly practised, not only in sacrifices, but in magic. Cp. Ovid, *Fasti*, 1, 344; 4, 742; etc. In magic esp. in the moon charm, cp. Theokrit. 2, 24; Verg. *E.* 8, 82; Propert. 2, 28, 36; Nemes. 4, 65; *Geopon.* 11, 2, 4, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μαντείαις καίοντες αὐτὴν παράστασιν προφητείας δοκοῦσιν εὑρηκέναι. Ogle suggests (*A. J. P.* 31, 296) that 'as the crackling is simply an indication that the fire had caught, perhaps the omen in the first place depended upon whether the fire burned or went out. This is to be inferred from Theokrit. 2, 23 f. : the good omen consists in the fact that the laurel was entirely consumed and left no ashes ; in the same charm as given by Vergil, *E.* 8, 106–7 the flame after dying down, suddenly brightens again. We see from Propert. 2, 28, 35–6 that the reverse was a bad omen.' It is probable, too, that we may trace here the influence of the same idea as that referred to in 63 n. above.

This passage of Tib. is referred to by Rabelais, 3, 18 (after the visit to the Sibyl of Panzoust), 'Vous (dist Epistemon) ne respondez a ce que le rameau de laurier . . . brusloit sans bruyt ne grislement aulcun. Vous sçavez que c'est triste augure et signe grandement redoubtable, comme attestent Properce, Tibulle, Porphyre philosophe argut, Eustathius sus l'iliade Homericque, et aultres. Vrayment (respondit Panurge) vous me alleguez de gentilz veaulx. Ilz feurent folz commes poetes, et resueurs comme philosophes : autant pleins de fine follie, comme estoit leur philosophie.'

82. omine : for the ablat. cp. 2, 6, 36.

84 f. It is noted that the poet touches upon the three motives of prosperity (increase of crops, flocks, and the family) regularly referred to by the Greek authors, *e.g.* Hesiod, *W. and D.* 232 ; Herod. 3, 65 ; Aisch. *Eumen.* 907 ; Soph. *O. T.* 172 ; Aristoph. *Pax*, 1320, etc.

85–86. 1, 1, 10 n; 1, 5, 23–24 n.; 1, 7, 35–36; 2, 1, 45–46. Cato, 113, says, 'de lacu quam primum vinum in dolia indito. post dies XL diffundito in amphoras.'

86. dum : 'until,' cp. 1, 9, 62; 2, 2, 19.

87–90. A brief reference to the Parilia suggested by the preceding, after which (91 f.) the theme of 86 is again resumed.

The Parilia (Palilia), *i.e.* the festival of Pales (1, 1, 36 n.), the old rustic god of Latium, was celebrated April 21, the birthday of the city (Vell. 1, 8, 4; Varro, *De Re Rust.* 2, 1, 9; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 774; Propert. 4, 4, 74; Censor. 21, 6; Plutarch, *Rom.* 12; etc.). Tib. had already referred to the Parilia, 1, 1, 33 f. The best description of it is given by Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 721–783, cp. also Dionys. 1, 88 f.; Propert. 4, 4, 73. It was distinctively 'pro partu pecoris,' the shepherds' festival, cp. *sua festa*, 87; *pastoria sacra*, Ovid, *l.c.* 723; Plutarch, *Rom.* 12, and marked the beginning of the shepherds' calendar (*CIL.* I, p. 315). First of all every one went to the Atrium Vestae and procured from the Vestals the *suffimenta* or required means of purification, viz. ashes of the calves burned at the Fordilicia (April 15), blood of the 'October horse' (Propert. 4, 1, 19; etc.), and bean straw. At the first peep of dawn the ceremonial of lustration began. The stables were thoroughly cleaned and trimmed with flowers and green branches, and both flocks and stables were sprinkled with a branch of laurel dipped in water and fumigated with sulphur and fragrant herbs. Then says Ovid, *Fasti*, 4, 741, 'ure mares oleas taedamque herbasque Sabinas, | et crepet in mediis laurus adusta focis (cp. 81–82 n.). | libaque de milio milii fiscella sequetur: | rustica praecipue est hoc dea laeta cibo. | adde dapes mulctramque suas, dapibusque resectis | silvicolam tepido lacte precare Palem.' In the following lines Ovid gives the prayer to be offered. It probably follows the prescribed ritual with tolerable fidelity. Some idea of the character and phraseology of that ritual may be seen by comparing the prayer at the Ambarvalia prescribed by Cato, 141, 2 (quoted in 2, 1, 17–24 n.). The prayer dictated by Ovid (*l.c.* 747–783) is —

> 'consule' (dic) 'pecori pariter pecorisque magistris:
>   effugiat stabulis noxa repulsa meis.
> sive sacro pavi, sedive sub arbore sacra,
>   pabulaque e bustis inscia carpsit ovis: (1, 5, 53 n.)
> si nemus intravi vetitum, nostrisve fugatae
>   sunt oculis nymphae semicaperve deus:
> si mea falx ramo lucum spoliavit opaco,
>   unde data est aegrae fascina frondis ovi:
> da veniam culpae. nec dum degrandinat, obsit
>   agresti fano supposuisse pecus.
> nec noceat turbasse lacus. ignoscite, nymphae,
>   mota quod obscuras ungula fecit aquas.
> tu, dea, pro nobis fontes fontanaque placa
>   numina, tu sparsos per nemus omne deos.

nec dryadas, nec nos videamus labra Dianae,
  nec Faunum, medio cum premit arva die. (Theokrit., 1, 17)
pelle procul morbos. valeant hominesque gregesque,
  et valeant vigiles, provida turba, canes.
neve minus multos redigam quam mane fuerunt,
  neve gemam referens vellera rapta lupo. (cp. 88 ; 1, 1, 33)
absit iniqua fames : herbae frondesque supersint,
  quaeque lavent artus, quaeque bibantur aquae
ubera plena premam, referat mihi caseus aera,
  dentque viam liquido vimina rara sero. (2, 3, 15–16)
sitque salax aries, conceptaque semina coniunx
  reddat, et in stabulo multa sit agna meo.
lanaque proveniat nullas laesura puellas,
  mollis et ad teneras quamlibet apta manus.
quae precor eveniant, et nos faciamus ad annum
  pastorum dominae grandia liba Pali.'
His dea placanda est: haec tu conversus ad ortus
  dic quater, et vivo perlue rore manus.
tum licet adposita, veluti cratere, camella
  lac niveum potes purpureamque sapam :
moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
  traicias celeri strenua membra pede.
expositus mos est.

As soon as the prayer was finished it was a part of the ceremonial for every one to drink as much as he could hold of the specific beverage prescribed for this occasion, viz. *sapa* (new wine boiled down thick) mixed with new milk and set out in large wooden bowls (*camellae*). When the required point of ceremonial hilarity had been reached (87) the last and most important portion of the ritual was performed. Heaps of hay and straw were lighted and every one proceeded to leap through the fire three times (89–90; Ovid above; Persius, 1, 72 and Schol.; Dionys. 1, 88, 1; Probus on Verg. *G.* 3, 1; Propert. 4, 1, 19; 4, 77, etc.). This famous old custom of lustration by fire has been practised all over Europe as well as in the Orient, and in more than one locality still survives. After this was over the company, as in all such rustic festivals, devoted the rest of the day to merry-making (95–104).

91–94. Completes the theme interrupted at 86.

91. **fetus dabit**: this is *dare* from the root of τιθέναι, cp. 1, 4, 16 n. Regular is *fetus edere, e.g.* Verg. *G.* 4, 199, etc., or in the ordinary speech, *facere: subolem facere, e.g.* in the *Script. R. R.* is regular of animals, cp. ποιεῖν, τεκνοποιός. No other ex. of *dare* in this connection is found in Tibullus. Not infrequent in Lucret., Vergil, and Ovid, esp. of animals, plants, and things. *fetus*, of human beings, is very rare.

92. This apparently rustic and half playful variation on the ancient ceremonial was known to the Greeks as the *χύτρα* (Pollux, 10, 100) or 'jug' kiss, *i.e.* the person for whom the kiss was intended was first taken by the ears and his head held up by them as a jug is held up by the two handles. Of little children as here, Plutarch, *Mor.* 38 C., *οἵ τε πολλοὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία καταφιλοῦντες αὐτοί τε τῶν ὤτων ἅπτονται κἀκεῖνα τοῦτο ποιεῖν κελεύουσιν.* See also, Aristainet. 1, 24 (Musarion concluding her letter to her lover), *μηδὲν μελλήσας ἧκέ μοι φίλημά τι μόνον ἀποκομίζων, κἀγὼ τῶν ὤτων λαβομένη τρίς σε φιλήσω* · Theokrit. 5, 132, *οὐκ ἔραμ' Ἀλκίππας, ὅτι με πρᾶν οὐκ ἐφίλησε | τῶν ὤτων καθελοῖσ' ὅκα οἱ τὰν φάσσαν ἔδωκα* (echoed in Ronsard and Baïf. cp. *A. J. P.* 30, 254); Plautus, *Asin.* 668; *Poen.* 375. The method survived in Italy and is traditionally known as the 'Florentine' kiss. See especially Gio. Francesco Loredano, *Bizzarrie Academiche*, Venice, 1642, p. 230 ('Che cosa sia un bacio alla Fiorentina, e da che habbia havuto origine'). In this amusing chapter Loredano quotes practically all the passages cited above. He also refers to the discussion of this subject in Lilio Giraldi, *Dialog.* 9, and cites from the commentary of Achilles Statius on Catullus the statement that, 'Romae apud Episcopum Capranicensem in veteri monumento dis manibus Zosime sacro Cupido alatus, comprensis auribus, Zosimen ipsam deosculatur.' Several theories of origin are discussed, but, for his own part, Loredano believes that the original reason for its use was 'perchè l' orecchia è consagrata alla memoria. Volevano dunque baciando in questa maniera avvertire l' orecchie a non perdere la rimembranza del diletto delle labra.' It is called the 'Bacio Fiorentino,' he continues, because it is used more in Florence than in any other place. 'I Fiorentini però per quanto m' afferma il Padre Gio. Battista Torretti, ammirabile, e nei Pulpiti, e nell' Academie, lo chiamano quasi tutti bacio alla Francese.'

93–94. So far as I know this touch is unique in antique literature.

93. **advigilare**: *i.e.* his little grandson is asleep in the cradle. When he wakes the old man amuses the child — and, incidentally, himself — with *balba verba.* The position of *senem* is emphatic (cp. 1, 2, 90). 'Grandfather will not consider it a hardship — old as he is.'

This is the first ex. of *advigilare* with the dative. The others are Stat. *Theb.* 1, 147; Claud. 20, 419; 22, 140 (Manil. 1, 80). The verb is rare.

94. **balba verba**: *i.e.* 'baby talk.' 'A very reprehensible habit,' says Augustinus, *In Iohannis Evang.* 23, 'vidimus enim et nutrices et matres descendere ad parvulos: etsi norunt Latina verba dicere, decurtant illa et quassant quodam modo linguam suam ut possint de lingua diserta fieri blandimenta puerilia: quia si sic dicant, non audit infans, sed nec proficit infans. et disertus aliquis pater, si sit tantus orator ut lingua illius fora concrepent et tribu-

nalia concutiantur, si habeat parvulum filium, cum ad domum redierit seponit forensem eloquentiam quo adscenderat et lingua puerili descendit ad parvulum'; cp. also *Contra Faust.* 22, 46.

95–104. This rustic merry-making — the poet's favourite theme — has much in common with 1, 10, 51 f. and 2, 1, 21 f., where see the notes.

95. **operata**: 2, 3, 36 n. — **pubes**: as in 1, 7, 5, where see note.

96. **levis umbra**: *i.e.* 'easily moving,' 'shifting,' cp. Propert. 1, 18, 21 (Rothstein), 'teneras sub umbras'; Ovid, *Met.* 5, 336, 'nemorisque levi consedit in umbra'; Verg. *E.* 5, 5, 'sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras.' See 2, 6, 8, 'levem aquam,' note; Ovid, *Met.* 11, 6, 'leves auras,' etc.; Tib. 1, 1, 73 n.; 1, 7, 44.

97. **e veste**: 1, 10, 17 n. — **umbracula**: 2, 1, 24 n.

98. **coronatus calix**: it has been affirmed that this custom of crowning one's cup with flowers at feasts, etc., so often mentioned by the Roman poets, is due to a literal but mistaken interpretation of the Homeric *κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο*, *i.e.* 'filled to the brim,' not actually crowned with flowers. See Leaf on *Iliad*, 1, 470, and cp. 6, 256.

100. Quoted on the title page of Geo. Daniel's third *Eclogue*.

101–104. The old theme of lovers' quarrels, 1, 1, 74; 1, 3, 64; 1, 6, 73–74; 1, 10, 53–66 and notes.

101. **potus**: 1, 10, 51–52; 2, 1, 29–30 and notes.

102. **irrita facta velit**: 'the perf. infin. pass., generally with *esse* omitted, is used after energetic expressions of will (generally *volo*, less often *nolo*, *malo*, *cupio*) in all periods. As *esse* was usually omitted it was easier to take *e.g. facta* here for a participle than for an infinitive, — 1, because the participle is used oftener than the infinitive, 2, because it is more characteristic of the style in which the perfect infin. pass. after *volo*, etc., is native, 3, because the perf. part. pass. is older than its descendant the perf. infin. pass.' (Schmalz, *Lat. Styl.*, etc., 296). Hence the Romans of Quintilian's time parsed *facta* here as a participle (cp, 9, 3, 9, 'utimur . . . participio pro verbo: "volo datum"') irrespective of its origin or previous history.

103. **suae**: 1, 5, 42 n. To be taken with *ferus* (not with *plorabit* as in Harper's Lex.), cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 4, 33, 'visam Britannos hospitibus feros' (quoted by Postgate).

104. **mente mala**: *i.e.* 'not in his right mind,' the opposite of *bona mente*, cp. Catullus, 40, 1, 'quaenam te mala mens, miselle Ravide'; Seneca *Ben.* 3, 27, 2. For the ablat. of quality, 1, 9, 84 n.

105–106. 2, 1, 81–82 n.

105. **pace tua**: 1, 1, 3 and 72; 1, 6, 86; 1, 8, 76.

107–108. 2, 1, 70 and notes.

108. **heu heu**: 2, 3, 2 n.—**dedit malum**: 1, 4, 16 n. Both τιθέναι and διδόναι are used with κακόν, ἄλγεα, and the like, by Homer, but Thielmann points out that with διδόναι the subject is always a god, but that with τιθέναι mortals and things as well as gods may be subject. Th. shows that in Latin also the same distinction holds good for the popular phrase *malum dare*.

109–112. The reference to Nemesis and to his own troubles to which the poet has brought us so skilfully is a concession to the fact that he is a writer of amatory elegy.

109–110. That love is a disease (cp. 4, 6, 18 and often), that it is a pleasing pain, and therefore that the patient makes no effort to recover, are all commonplaces of erotic poetry in every age, cp. Hor. *Od.* 1, 27, 11; Seneca, *Epist.* 39, 6. 'O, out alas!' says Robert Jones (*Musical Dream*, 1609), 'I cannot long endure it, | And yet, alas! I care not when I cure it.'

110. **cum iuvat**: *cum* causal with the indicative (always in Plautus) is old-fashioned. This is the only case in the elegy.

111. **usque**: 1, 2, 88 n. On the cadence, 1, 3, 5 n.

The idea that the poet's beloved is really the inspiration of his verses (cp. also 2, 4, 13–20 n.) is often repeated, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 3, 19; 2, 17, 33; 3, 12, 15; *Trist.* 4, 10, 59; Propert. 2, 30, 40; esp. 2, 1, 1–16; Mart. 8, 73, 3.

113–114. Transition to the concluding topic. A half playful reference to the general opinion that poets, as well as prophets and lunatics, not to mention lovers (1, 2, 27), are inspired and protected by the gods. See *e.g.* Ovid. *Amor.* 3, 9, 17; *Ars Amat.* 3, 403 and 547; *Fasti*, 6, 5; *Pont.* 3, 4, 93; Hor. *Od.* 4, 9, 28; Cicero, *Orat.* 2, 194; *Tusc. Disput.* 1, 64; *Div.* 1. 80; Plato, *Phaidros*, 245 A., etc.

115–120. The poet died in 19 B.C. Thirty years afterward (11 A.D.) his prophecy was fulfilled, cp. Ovid, *Pont.* 2, 2, 75 f. (a description evidently influenced by this passage) and esp. Velleius, 2, 112.

116. **oppida victa**: one of the many references to the 'floats' (1, 7, 4 n.) which were regularly carried in triumphs and which naturally added much to the spectacular effect of the pageant, cp. *e.g.* Cic. *In Pison.* 60, 'simulacra oppidorum'; Quintil. 6, 3, 61, 'in triumpho Caesaris eborea oppida'; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 41 (triumph of Germanicus), 'vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra montium, fluminum, proeliorum'; Florus, 2, 13, 88, 'Caesar in patriam victor invehitur, primum de Gallia triumphum trahens: hic erat Rhenus et Rhodanus et ex auro captivus Oceanus. altera laurus Aegyptia: tunc in ferculis Nilus Arsinoe et ad simulacrum ignium ardens Pharos,' etc.; Cicero, *Phil.* 8, 18; Livy, 26, 21, 7; Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 2, 20; *Pont.* 2, 1, 37; 3, 4, 105; *Ars Amat.* 1, 223; Propert. 3, 4, 16; Claud. 24, 22. The third day of Caesar's great triumph in 29 B.C. was devoted to Egypt. There were numerous floats, but the special

feature of the occasion was a figure of the dying Cleopatra on a couch, cp. Cassius Dio, 51, 21, 7.

117. The use of laurel in triumphs as here is often mentioned. Like the phallus, the ribald songs of the soldiers, and the triumphator's purple robe, the laurel was prophylactic. There were spirits abroad and it was for protection against them that these precautions were taken. The fact, as Ogle observes (*A. J. P.* 31, 292) that the soldiers also wore laurel suggests that the spirits most feared were the avenging ghosts of the warriors slain in battle (and so Masurius in Pliny, 15, 135). — **lauro agresti**: so Pliny, 15, 133, 'Romanis praecipue laetitiae victoriarumque nuntia additur litteris et militum lanceis pilisque fasces imperatorum decorat.' The triumphator himself used the 'Delphica laurus,' cp. Pliny, 15, 127.

118. **io triumphe**: Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 2, 34; *Trist.* 4, 2, 52; Hor. *Od.* 4, 2, 49, etc.; Varro, *L. L.* 6, 68, 'sic triumphare appellatum quod cum imperatore milites redeuntes clamisant per urbem in Capitolium eunti: io triumphe.'

119–120. The wish was not realized, see Introd. p. 36.

121. **intonsi capilli**: 2, 3, 12 n.

122. **casta**: cp. note on *virginitas*, 64.

The elegy, which is really addressed to Apollo, ends as usual on the keynote.

2, 6

Tibullus addresses this elegy to his friend Macer, probably the poet Aemilius Macer of Verona (cp. 1 n. and Introd. p. 53).

'Macer is off to the wars. What is to become of Love? Can he trail the puissant pike? Will he shoulder his kit, drop into line, and trudge along beside his friend? Fetch back the deserter, boy, make the hardened recreant smart for his defection! Or, do you spare those who join the ranks of Mars? If so, here is another recruit, able-bodied and quite willing to wait on himself. Venus and the girls may go their way and — be welcome. I don't mind fighting at all, I enjoy it!

'Hear me boast! And the mighty words die on my lips at the mere sight of her closed door. How often I have sworn by all the powers, never, never to return, and then my feet have always walked straight back! Cruel Love, would that your arrows were broken and your torches put out. You torture me, you drive me to dreadful blasphemies. I would have put an end to my misery ere now were it not that Hope bids me live. "To-morrow," she always says, "to-morrow will be better." Hope is the optimist, we all hope for something! The farmer hopes for a crop, else why should he sow, the prisoner for freedom, else why should he sing to the clank of his chains, the fisherman hopes for the fish, the fish hopes for the bait. I too have hoped; I hoped

that Nemesis would be kind; but Nemesis says no. Impious girl, Hope is a goddess. Would you overrule a goddess? Spare me, I beg, for your dead sister's sake. Poor little girl, I will take sanctuary at her tomb, I will place offerings there, and I will tell her my wrongs. She will not allow her suppliant to be abused by you all the time. Beware! the neglected dead might send you evil dreams and your sleep be haunted by your sister's form as she was when she fell headlong from that lofty window and came all bloody to the shadow world. Nay, no more, lest my mistress's bitter grief be roused anew. What am I that she should spoil those speaking eyes with one tear for me. 'Tis the lena who is to blame, the girl is good. How often have I cursed the hag. May every curse come to pass!'

1–4. This picture — which reminds one of a Hellenistic fresco — is more Alexandrian in tone and manner than is usual with Tibullus.

1. **castra sequitur**: *i.e.* 'serve in the army,' 'be off to the wars'; not uncommon esp. in poetry, cp. Propert. 2, 10, 19; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 8, 26; *Pont.* 2, 2, 11; *Met.* 5, 128; Lucan, 10, 407; etc. — **Macer**: the identity of this friend of Tibullus is not certain. The poem tells us that he was starting on a campaign, and lines 1 and 5 suggest that he may have been an elegiac poet. There were at least two Macers in this period and both were poets. It is most probable, however, that Tibullus refers to Aemilius Macer of Verona, a friend of Vergil (Philargyrius on *E.* 5, 1) and of Ovid (*Trist.* 4, 10, 43) and the author of several didactic poems (*Ornithogonia; Theriaca; De Herbis*) which were long famous. Hieronymus tells us that he died in Asia Minor in 16 B.C. This was perhaps during a military campaign and possibly the very campaign for which he was starting when this elegy was written. — **quid fiet**: 'what will become of, happen to.' This use of *fieri* with the dative is found in all styles and periods. The point of the question is that after all Cupid is essentially a god of peace and ease, cp. 5; Propert. 3, 5, 1; esp. Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 136 f.

2. **sit . . . gerat**: the question is rhetorical and the potential (1, 6, 74 n.) serves to suggest a negative answer on the part of the poet — and we agree with him as soon as we too get the vision of that little figure loaded down with the heavy equipment of a Roman infantry soldier ('iniusto sub fasce' — Verg. *G.* 3, 347) and trudging along all day beside his friend 'non passibus aequis.' For the omission of an interrogative particle cp. 1, 9, 69. — **collo**, etc.: Plautus, *Trin.* 595, 'actumst de collo meo, | gestandust peregre clupeus, galea, sarcina.' Cp. the proverbial 'collo suo ligna portare' (Petron. 38). We should say 'shoulders,' or 'back.'

3. **longa via**: 1, 1, 26 n. — **vaga aequora**: *i.e.* 'shifting,' as in 2, 3, 39; and often.

4. **volet**: on the shift, cp. 1, 1, 24 n.

5–6. Proposes the alternative. The poet thinks it more likely (cp. 'sit . . . gerat' above), and in fact this is Cupid's method of dealing with all such cases, cp. line 11 below, and often.

5. **ure**: 1, 5, 5 n.—**tua otia**: cp. Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 139, 'otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,' etc. —**ferus**: *i.e.* 'untamed,' 'rebellious,' cp. 1, 5, 5.

6. Returns for the moment to the time-honoured association of Love and War, 'militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido,' Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 9, 1; cp. 2, 9, 3; and often. Hence *erronem*, 'the runaway' (generally of slaves) here = 'the deserter,' cp. Ovid, *Her.* 19, 157, 'in tua castra redi, socii desertor amoris!'

7–10. The thought, however, that Cupid may make an exception in favour of soldiers sheds a momentary gleam of hope on his own case. Indeed, in his flash of enthusiasm the poet drops into the conversational idiom.

7. **erit hic quoque miles**: this deictic use of *hic* = *ego* (usually with *homo*) belongs to the common speech and is largely confined to comedy, cp. Plautus, *Bacch.* 640; *Curc.* 248; *Epid.* 141; *Trin.* 172; 1115; Ter. *Adel.* 906; *And.* 310; *Heaut.* 356; etc. The one case in the satire seems to be Hor. *Sat.* 1, 9, 47, 'haberes | magnum adiutorem posset qui ferre secundas, | hunc hominem velles si tradere,' where it is to be noted that the speaker is the vulgar bore. In Greek, on the contrary, the corresponding use (ὅδε ὁ ἀνήρ, ἀνὴρ ὅδε, ὅδε) is esp. frequent in tragedy; cp. also Herod. 1, 108; Antiphon, 6, 9; etc.

8. **ipse**: *i.e.* he will gladly serve as the most ordinary soldier who has to wait on himself—a special hardship in a slaveholding country, cp. 1, 1, 7 n. —**levem aquam**: *i.e.* 'shifting,' 'easily moving,' 'nimble,' cp. 2, 5, 96 n.; Hor. *Epod.* 16, 47, 'montibus altis | levis crepante lympha desilit pede'; Ovid, *Fasti*, 5, 662, 'levis cursum sustinuistis aquae'; etc.

For this use of the helmet—a natural touch—cp. Propert. 3, 12, 8, 'potabis galea fessus Araxis aquam'; *Eleg. in Maec.* 58; Lucan, 9, 502; Claud. *III Cons. Honor.* 49.

10. Ovid, *Her.* 16, 352, 'finge tamen, si vis, ingens consurgere bellum: | et mihi sunt vires, et mea tela nocent'; *Trist.* 1, 3, 83, 'te sequar et coniunx exulis exul ero, | et mihi facta viast, et me capit ultima tellus.'

11. **magna loquor**: *i.e.* lines 9–10. For the situation and the sentiments cp. 1, 5, 1–6, where see the notes. See also 1, 2, 89–96 and notes. The expression is found in all styles and periods, and as here generally illustrates the thought that pride goeth before a fall, cp. Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 295, 'magna sed nimium loquor'; 436, 'tenebrae loquentem magna Tartareae premunt'; Ovid, *Her.* 4, 150; Verg. *A.* 10, 547; Hor. *Od.* 4, 6, 1; etc. So

in Greek and usually in the same connection, Theokrit. 10, 20, *μὴ δὴ μέγα μυθεῦ*· Soph. *Elekt.* 830, *μηδὲν μέγ' ἀύσῃς*, etc., and this is often the moral of the tragedy itself; cp. Soph. *Antig.* 1350; Aisch. *Prom.* 362 f.; etc.

Note that the idea of 'magna loquor' is given all possible emphasis in this line. The humorous exaggeration brings out the more sharply the contrasted 'and yet such a little thing as the "clausae fores,"' etc. For the same device cp. *e.g.* Ter. *Eun.* 64:

> et quod nunc tute tecum iratus cogitas,
> 'egon illam, quae illum, quae me, quae non . . . sine modo,
> mori me malim: sentiet qui vir siem':
> haec verba ea una mehercle falsa lacrimula
> quam oculos terendo misere vix vi expresserit,
> restinguet, et te ultro accusabit, et dabis
> ultro ei supplicium.

See also Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 1, 15.

12. **excutiunt**: 'shake out.' The metaphor is taken from shaking clothes in order to get out anything that may be concealed in them, Greek, *ἐκσείειν*. A favourite word with Seneca and Persius (1, 49, Gildersleeve); cp. Seneca, *Troad.* 575, 'magnifica verba mors prope admota excutit,' upon which his own words, *Epist.* 82, 7, are a comment, 'magna verba excidunt cum tortor poposcit manum, cum mors propius accessit'; cp. also Cicero, *Sull.* 24, 'excutient tibi istam verborum iactationem'; *Domo*, 76; *Phil.* 2, 73; etc. Aisch. *Prom.* 360, is a slightly different figure. Propertius, 1, 5, 13, says in this connection, 'quotiens ad limina curres, | cum tibi singultu fortia verba cadent.'

13-14. Cp. 1, 5, 1-2; Propert. 2, 25, 20, 'ultro contemptus rogat et peccasse fatetur | laesus, et invitis ipse redit pedibus'; Hor. *Epod.* 11, 20, 'iussus abire domum ferebar incerto pede'; Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 216; 785; etc.

13. **rediturum**: for omission of the subject accusative, 1, 5, 73 n; 1, 3, 27 n. Extremely common in the comedy, found everywhere in the historians and ordinary enough in epistolary style. Frequency of it in the poets, esp. of the Augustan Age, is due to the influence of the older writers or to metrical convenience. Most uncommon, because the omitted subject is not to be referred to the subject of the governing verb, are 1, 3, 27; 2, 6, 48; 4, 8, 8. This is the only ex. in Tibullus of the future infin. so used.

14. **ipse**: 'of its own accord,' cp. 1, 3, 45 n.; Propert. 2, 25, 20.

15-16. Cp. 2, 5, 105-106; 2, 1, 81-82. A variation is the actual threat to disarm Cupid or to disable him in some other way. This motive has been popular in modern art and literature since the Renaissance, and it is so suggestive of Alexandrian poetry, especially of bucolic and epigram, that one would expect to find it equally popular in the later literature of Antiquity. I

have found, however, only Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 179; Lukian, *Dial. Deor.* 11, 1; Ausonius, *Cupido Cruciatus;* Modestinus, *Anth. Lat.* 273 R. —

> forte iacebat Amor victus puer alite somno
> myrti inter frutices pallentis roris in herba.
> hunc procul emissae tenebrosa Ditis ab aula
> circueunt animae, saeva face quas cruciarat.
> 'ecce meus venator,' ait 'hunc' Phaedra 'ligemus!'
> crudelis 'crinem' clamabat Scylla 'metamus!'
> Colchis et orba Progne numerosa caede: 'necemus!'
> Dido et Canace: 'saevo gladio perimamus!'
> Myrrha: 'meis ramis,' Euhadne: 'igne crememus!'
> hunc Arethusa 'in aquis,' Byblis 'in fonte necemus!' –
> ast Amor evigilans dixit: 'mea pinna, volemus.'

See also Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynde*, London, 1902, p. 32 ('Rosalynde's Madrigall'); esp. p. 173 —

> O Love! thou guide in my uncertaine way,
> Woe to thy bow, thy fire, the cause of my decay,

which is perhaps on echo of Tibullus's lines. John Dickenson's song, 'Cupid's Journey to Hell' (in his *Arisbas, Euphues amidst his slumbers*, 1594) was evidently suggested (probably indirectly) by Ausonius, *l.c.* Another favourite type is represented by Lyly's 'Arraignment of Cupid' (in his *Galathea*, 1592).

15. **acer Amor**: *i.e.* 'fierce,' so 4, 2, 6. The epithet as applied to Cupid is not found elsewhere. The epithet, however, as well as the entire passage is yet another illustration of the old commonplace that Cupid is himself utterly cruel and heartless, cp. 1, 3, 64; 1, 6, 2; 1, 10, 58; 2, 4, 5–6 note. — **utinam**: 1, 3, 2 n.

On the arrangement of the line cp. Ovid, *Met.* 2, 616, 'nec non arcumque manumque | odit cumque manu temeraria tela, sagittas'; 13, 401, 'vela dat ut referat Tirynthia tela, | sagittas'; Verg. *E.* 3, 3, 'infelix o semper ovis pecus'; *G.* 4, 168, 'ignavum fucos pecus,' etc.

16. **aspiciamque**: 1, 1, 40 n. — **faces**: 2, 1, 81–82 n.; 2, 4, 6; 4, 2, 6.

17. **mihi dira precari**: 1, 3, 82 n. To appreciate the force of this expression we must remind ourselves that in antique folk belief a curse or any other invocation of the gods has a tendency to perform its mission automatically. Its efficiency is not affected by the character or desert of him who pronounced the curse, nor by his point of view at the time, nor even by the fact that he afterward changed his mind. The essential power of the curse lies in its form. If the form is correct — for words (cp. *nomen*, 2, 5, 57 n.) have a real entity, a real relation to the things they represent — the curse becomes a charm and the power invoked is obliged to obey.

18. That is, talk impiously, and thereby incur the danger of being punished by the gods for blasphemy, cp. esp. 1, 2, 7–12. We frequently meet with this same fear of verbal offence, cp. esp. 1, 2, 79 n.; 1, 3, 51; 4, 4, 14; Lucret. 5, 1224; Eurip. *H. F.* 757; etc. — **nefanda loqui**: 1, 5, 42.

19–28. This rhetorical digression on Hope had an evident influence on Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 6, 29 —

Haec dea cum fugerent sceleratas numina terras
  in dis invisa sola remansit humo.
haec facit ut vivat fossor quoque compede vinctus,
  liberaque a ferro crura futura putet.
haec facit ut, videat cum terras undique nullas,
  naufragus in mediis bracchia iactet aquis.
saepe aliquem sollers medicorum cura reliquit,
  nec spes huic vena deficiente cadit.
carcere dicuntur clausi sperare salutem,
  atque aliquis pendens in cruce vota facit.
haec dea quam multos laqueo sua colla ligantis
  non est proposita passa perire nece!
me quoque conantem gladio finire dolorem
  arguit, iniecta continuitque manu, etc.

Especially interesting in this connection is a poem on Hope in the *Anth. Lat.* 415 R. (*PLM.* 4, p. 65 B.). It contains some good verses, is founded on the two passages of Ovid and Tibullus, and is illustrated by a number of well-worn rhetorical examples. One of the most striking passages on this subject among the Greek poets is Semonides, 1, 6–19 Crus. The author of a poem ('The Lover in great distresse comforteth himselfe with hope') in 'The Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions' (London, 1578) may have had this passage of Tibullus in mind, cp.

In hope a Kinge doth go to warre,
In hope the Lover lyves full longe,
In hope the Marchaunt sayles full farre,
In hope most men doo suffer wronge:
In hope the Ploughman soweth much seede,
Thus hope helpes thousands in their neede.
Then faynt not hart amonge the rest,
What ever chaunce hope thou the best.

Though wit biddes will to blowe retrayte,
Wyll cannot worke as wit would wish
When that the Roche doth taste the bayte:
To late to warne the hungry fishe, etc.

19–20. 'Hope springs eternal in the human breast: | Man never is, but always to be blest'; Apollodoros, 9 K., *οὐδέποτ' ἀθυμεῖν τὸν κακῶς πράττοντα δεῖ, | ἄνδρες, τὰ βελτίω δὲ προσδοκᾶν ἀεί·* cp. Soph. 862 N.; Menander, *Mon.* 643 M., etc. For characteristic rhetorical amplifications see Ovid above and *Anth. Lat.* 415, 1 f. R.

The choice of the homely old proverb, 'cras erit melius,' to express the thought is esp. artistic, cp. the shepherd Corydon in Theokrit. 4, 41, *θαρσεῖν χρή, φίλε Βάττε· τάχ' αὔριον ἔσσετ' ἄμεινον. | ἐλπίδες ἐν ζωοῖσιν, ἀνέλπιστοι δὲ θανόντες*, etc. No other case of the proverb in this form is quoted from Latin, cp. however, Petron. 45, 'quod hodie non est cras erit.'

Carm. Epig. 949 B. is quoted as a possible echo of Tib. 'si potes, et non vis, cur gaudia differs | spemque foves et cras usque redire iubes?' etc.

21–22. On the imagery, 1, 7, 31 n.; 2, 3, 62; Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 173; and often. For the farmer as an illustration of hope cp. *Anth. Lat.* 415, 51, 'sperat qui curvo sulcos perrumpit aratro, | sperat qui ventis vela ferenda dedit, | . . . spes sequitur gravibus rastris mala rura domantem, | in nova se nulla cum ratione parat'; Menander, 641 K., *ὁ τῶν γεωργῶν ἡδονὴν ἔχει βίος, | ταῖς ἐλπίσιν τἀλγεινὰ παραμυθούμενος·* Philem. 82 K., *ἀεὶ γεωργὸς εἰς νέωτα πλούσιος.* Mustard notes Andrea Navagero, *Vota Cereri pro terrae frugibus*—

> sed quae credidimus bene cultis semina campis
> uberius largo faenore reddat ager.

Gio. Francesco Loredano, *Bizzarrie Academiche*, Venice, 1642, p. 217 ff. quotes these lines of Tibullus, as well as many other passages from ancient and modern authors, in his long chapter, *Della Speranza.*

23–24. Sometimes the hunted are described so to speak as 'Prisoners of Hope,' cp. *e.g.* Seneca, *Epist.* 8, 3, 'ad omne fortuitum bonum suspiciosi pavidique subsistite: et fera et piscis spe aliqua oblectante decipitur.'

Writers of dactylic verse generally mention fowling and fishing together as here and in much the same words, cp. Ovid, *Her.* 19, 13; *Rem. Amor.* 207; *Met.* 8, 855; 15, 473; etc.

The snaring of small birds for food is still to be seen all over Italy, and nowadays seems to be esp. characteristic of that country.

23. captat: not 'catch' or 'take,' but 'seek to catch,' *i.e.* it is hope (*haec*) that prompts men to hunt and fish, cp. *Anth. Lat.* 415, 53 R., 'spes hamis pisces, laqueo captare volucres | erudit.' Indeed the hopefulness of the fisherman under difficulties has long been proverbial, cp. Plautus, *Rud.* 310 (Trachalio to the fishermen), 'salvete, fures maritumi, conchitae atque hamiotae, | famelica hominum natio. quid agitis? ut peritis?' To which the reply is, 'ut piscatorem aequumst, fame sitique speque falsa.'

25–26. Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 6, 31–32 (quoted in 19–28 n.); *Anth. Lat.* 415, 21, 'captivus duras illa solante catenas | perfert et victus vincere posse putat; | noxius infami districtus stipite membra | sperat et a fixa posse redire cruce. | spem iussus praebere caput paloque ligatus, | cum micat ante oculos stricta securis habet. | sperat et in saeva victus gladiator harena, | sit licet infesto pollice turba minax: | et cui descendit iugulato in pectora mucro, | spem quamvis lecto iam referatur habet. | spem recipit carcer foribus praeclusus aenis, | spes et in horrendo robore parva manet,' etc.

In 1, 7, 42, of which this distich is merely a variant, the slave is cheered not by hope but by wine. The allusion in both passages and also in Ovid, *l.c.*, seems to be to the common practice at the time of working the *latifundia* (2, 3, 41–42 n.) with gangs of slaves in chains.

25. compede: 1, 7, 42 n.

26. sed canit inter opus: 2, 1, 66 n. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 363 B., 'homines rusticos in vindemia incondita cantare, sarcinatrices in machinis'; Marius Victor. 6, 122 K. speaks of the songs of the Calabrian shepherds; and *Anth. Lat.* 388 a, R. is a boatman's song from a Berlin MS. of the seventh to the eighth century. It begins:

> Heia, viri, nostrum reboans echo sonet heia!
> arbiter effusi late maris ore sereno
> placatum stravit pelagus posuitque procellam,
> edomitique vago sederunt pondere fluctus.
> heia, viri, nostrum reboans echo sonet heia! etc.

It has often been remarked that the Italians no longer sing at their work as they did even less than a generation ago.

27–28. In this distich (the real motive for the digression on hope) the poet plays on the literary and popular tradition of the eternal conflict between the goddess Nemesis and the goddess Elpis or Spes, cp. Introd. p. 53, and *Anth. Pal.* 9, 146, Ἐλπίδα καὶ Νέμεσιν Εὔνους παρὰ βωμὸν ἔτευξα, | τὴν μὲν ἵν' ἐλπίζῃς· τὴν δ' ἵνα μηδὲν ἔχῃς.

28. ne vincas: the comic poets used the second pers. sing. present of the optative subjunctive when addressing a definite person. In the classical period this is rare and poetic. The remaining exx. in Tib. are 1, 6, 75 and 1, 8, 29. Otherwise the use may be explained in one of two ways — the definite person represents a type as in 1, 4, 41 (perhaps, too, 1, 6, 75), or the sentence is elliptical. — **deam**: there were several temples to Spes in Rome. The oldest and most important stood in the Forum Holitorium. It was built by Atilius Calatinus after the First Punic War, burned in 31 B.C., restored by Germanicus in 17 A.D.

29. **immatura**: naturally, of course, goes with *sororis*. But this type of hypallage is common enough in all poetry.

For the oath by the bones or ashes of the dead, cp. Hor. *Od.* 2, 8, 9; Propert. 2, 20, 15; Cic. *Quinct.* 97; Verg. *A.* 6, 458; etc., cp. 1, 4, 25–26 n.

30. 2, 4, 49–50 and notes; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 9, 68; *Trist.* 3, 3, 76; etc.

31–32. 2, 4, 48 n.

31. **illīus**: so 1, 8, 66; 2, 2, 7. *illĭus* 1, 7, 51; 2, 4, 52; 2, 6, 33; 36.

33–34. The slave of love (cp. 17; 1, 5, 5 n., etc.) like other slaves when driven desperate by cruel usage, will take sanctuary and appeal to the higher powers, cp. 4, 13, 23. It is common for the weak and helpless when in extremity to appeal to the dead, cp. *e.g.* Aisch. *Pers.* 221; *Choeph.* 332; Soph. *Elekt.* 453; etc.

33. **sedebo**: the usual attitude of suppliants, 4, 13, 23; Verg. *A.* 9, 4; Soph. *O. T.* 2; etc.

34. Cp. *e.g.* Catull. 101, 3, 'ut te postremo donarem munere mortis | et mutam nequiquam adloquerer cinerem.' — **cum querar**: this cons. with *queri* (cp. *dicere cum*, 2, 5, 94) is occasional in all styles, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 1, 733, 'cum Iove visa queri est'; *Trist.* 3, 8, 39; etc. Cp. *orare cum aliquo*, to plead with a person (also occasional in all styles). Apparently this is the *cum* of nearness or association (*e.g.* 'duos tamen pudor cum eo tenuit,' Livy, 2, 10, 5) and hence nearly = *apud* or *coram*, cp. Cicero, *Att.* 5, 21, 13, 'queritur apud me per litteras.'

35. **clientem**: *i.e.* in the Roman sense. In line 33 Tibullus has voluntarily become a *cliens* of the little sister. This method was called *applicatio* and was not unfrequent, cp. Ter. *Eun.* 886, 'ego me tuae commendo et committo fide: | te mihi patronum capio'; Gellius, 5, 13, 2; etc. If the tender was accepted ('at ego in fidem recipio') the applicant became a *cliens* and his *patronus* became his protector.

36. **illius ut verbis**: *i.e.* 'as if in her words.' Plautus, *Miles Glor.* 913, 'anulum . . . quem ego militi porro darem tuis verbis,' etc. — **sis lenta veto**: the simple subjunctive with *veto* is also cited for Hor. *Od.* 3, 2, 26. See 1, 2, 25a n.

37. **mala somnia**: 1, 5, 13 n. The dead regularly manifest their displeasure in this manner (cp. 1, 5, 51 n.), and 38–40 is an example of what is meant by a *malum somnium*, cp., too, Ovid, *Fasti*, 3, 639; Soph. *Elekt.* 410; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1, 302.

39. 1, 10, 37–38 n.

40. **lacus**: this use of *lacus* to designate the rivers of Hades is a favourite with Vergil, cp. also Propert. 2, 28, 40, etc.

41. **desinŏ**: 1, 6, 55 n. *nesciŏ quis, quid* is the rule even in the scenic

poets. Otherwise ŏ final in verbs is first noticeable in Vergil, is more frequent in Ovid, and increases somewhat in later poets, but never becomes a general rule. It begins with iambic forms (*volŏ*, Catull. 6, 16; *dabŏ*, 13, 11) and on the whole is most common with them. Next come cretic forms like the one before us, *i.e.* forms impossible in dactylic verse unless the final *o* is shortened, cp. *nūntiŏ*, Verg. *A.* 1, 391; *aūdĕŏ*, 11, 503; *dixerŏ*, Hor. *Sat*, 1, 4, 104; *obsecrŏ*, *Epist.* 1, 7, 95; *caeditŏ*, Propert. 4, 5, 77; etc. Least common is ŏ final in spondaic words (*findŏ*, Propert. 3, 9, 35; more frequent in Ovid).

42. Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 209, 'non sum tanti renovem ut tua vulnera'; *Her.* 7, 45, 'non ego sum tanti (quidni cuncteris, inique?) | ut pereas dum me per freta longa fugis.'—**tanti**: 2, 3, 66 n.

43. **nec digna est**: 'nor is it meet for her to spoil,' etc. See 4, 6, 10 n.—**oculos loquaces**: 'speaking eyes' is a bold and uncommon metaphor in antique poetry. Only a few good exx. besides this can be quoted. Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 12, 159, 4, *ναὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ σά, κοῦρε, τὰ καὶ κωφοῖσι λαλεῦντα | ὄμματα*· 12, 122, 4, *καὶ σιγῶν ὄμμασι τερπνὰ λαλεῖ*· Alcimus, *Anth. Lat.* 714 R., 'O blandos oculos et infacetos | et quadam propria nota loquaces! | illic et Venus et leves Amores | atque ipsa in medio sedet Voluptas.' Cicero, *Leg.* 1, 9, 27, has the idea, 'nam et oculi nimis arguti, quem ad modum animo affecti simus loquuntur,' cp. also Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 5, 17, 'non oculi tacuere tui,' etc.

44. The lover regularly lays the blame on the lena, cp. 1, 5, 47 f.; Plautus *Asin.* 145; etc.—**nobis**: the plural really includes Nemesis.

45–54. The poet ends with abusing the lena—a favourite topic, cp. 1, 4, 59–60; 1, 5, 49–56 and notes.

45–46. For Bertin's imitation, see 1, 5, 71–74 n.

45. **Phryne**: a significant name historically. One remembers Hyperides' famous argumentum ad homines (Quintil. 2, 15, 9; Athen. 13, 590 E, etc.). On lenae as letter carriers, Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 19, 41; *Ars Amat.* 3, 621; etc. For the *tabellae* as a theme see esp. Propert. 3, 23; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 12.—**furtim occulto**: 1, 5, 65 n.

46. **itque reditque**: the phrase is Vergilian, cp. *A.* 6, 122; cp. Val. Flacc. 1, 725; Mart. 6, 10, 8; Auson. *Cent. Nupt.* 3, 32.

47–48. For the amusingly modern situation cp. the anecdote of Ennius related by Cicero, *Orat.* 2, 276.

48. Martial, 5, 22, 10, 'negat lasso ianitor esse domi.' On the omission of the subject accus. with *esse*, 2, 6, 13 n.—**domi**: the only locative in Tib., cp. *Romae*, 4, 9, 2.

49–50. 1, 8, 63–66 n., cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 73 (advice of the lena), 'saepe nega noctes: capitis modo finge dolorem (cp. 1, 6, 36 n.) | et modo quae

causas praebeat Isis erit (1, 3, 25 n. and 1, 6, 11) | mox recipe, ut nullum patiendi colligat usum, | neve relentescat saepe repulsus amor.' *Amor.* 2, 19 is devoted to this point, cp. also *Ars Amat.* 3, 579 f.

50. **aut aliquas extimuisse minas**: 1, 8, 55; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 19, 19, 'tu quoque quae nostros rapuisti nuper ocellos, | saepe time insidias, saepe rogata nega | et sine me ante tuos proiectum in limine postis | longa pruinosa frigora nocte pati,' and the dramatic variant, *Ars Amat.* 3, 597 f.

51–52. For Bertin's imitation, see 1, 2, 65–74 n.

52. **meam**: 1, 5, 42 n. — **teneat**: 1, 5, 39 n. — **modis**: *i.e. figurae amoris*, cp. *vices*, 1, 9, 64 n; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 8, 28; *Ars Amat.* 2, 679; 3, 772; *Trist.* 2, 523; Propert. 2, 6, 27; Pliny, 35, 72; etc.

53. **precor diras**: as *e.g.* in 1, 5, 47 f. — **satis anxia . . . deos**: an ideal conditional sentence, the conditional sign with *moverit* being inherent in *quotacumque*: 'you would find trouble enough in your life were any portion whatever of my prayers to succeed in rousing the gods to action.' The threat is intensified by understatement (*i.e. satis*, and the ideal instead of the logical condition).

54. **e votis pars**: this cons. with *pars* (instead of the genitive) is extremely rare, cp. Cicero, *Caec. Div.* 57, 'ex illa pecunia magnam partem ad se verrit'; Pliny, 35, 90, 'tantumque eam partem e facie ostendit quam totam poterat ostendere.' *de* is a trifle more common, cp. Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 101, 'nec mihi pars nocuit de gurgite parva'; *Trist.* 2, 324, 'pars mihi de multis una canenda fuit'; *Fasti*, 5, 164, 'pars Hyadum toto de grege nulla latet'; Cicero, *Quinct.* 38, 'de suis commodis aliquam partem velit committere'; *Verr.* 4, 139, 'de Heraclii hereditate quam palaestritis concessisset multo maximam partem ipsum abstulisse' (where the influence of the verb is doubtless to be considered); *Script. Hist. Aug.* 13, 3, 6, 'partes de cena miserat.' — **quotacumque**: this pronoun is extremely rare.

4, 2

On the Fourth Book in general and on this group of elegies in particular see Introd. p. 77 ff.

This graceful little poem which introduces the 'Garland of Sulpicia' (2-6) is supposed to accompany a present to her on the first of March (*tuis kalendis*), the date of the Matronalia. This festival of the women (*femineae kalendae*, Juv. 9, 53, etc.) was a sort of feminine counterpart of the Saturnalia, *e.g.* at the Saturnalia the slaves were feasted by their masters, at the Matronalia, by their mistresses, cp. Macrob. 1, 12, 7. On this day the women put on gala attire (2, 5, 8 n. etc.), hence the emphasis on dress in this poem, and sacrificed to their own goddess, Juno on the Esquiline. A notable feature

was the presents from husbands, lovers, and other available males. These presents were always expected, cp. Lygd. 3, 1 (a poem on a similar occasion); Plaut. *Miles Glor.* 691; Mart. 5, 84, 11; Sueton. *Vesp.* 19; *Digest*, 24, 1, 31, 8; etc.

'Sulpicia has arrayed herself, Mars, for your kalends. You will do well to come down and look at her — Venus won't mind. Take heed, though, lest you find yourself disarmed. When Love desires to inflame, he lights his two torches at her eyes. Beauty is her handmaid and never leaves her side. She is like Vertumnus; everything becomes her. Sing her praises, Apollo and ye Pierian maids. May she see many returns of this festal day. No girl is more worthy of your tuneful company.'

See especially, the elegy of Luigi Alamanni, *Flora in Campagna.*

1–2. Note the graceful compliment to Sulpicia gained by a skilful variation of the thought. The regular habit of dressing up on feast days is presented to Mars as a personal matter (*tibi culta*). Then the conventional invitation to the divine recipient of the courtesy to be present (2, 5, 5, etc.) is coupled with the suggestion that it will be worth his while, cp. 4, 4, 3–4.

1. **Sulpicia**: Introd. p. 77.

2. **spectatum**: the only ex. of the supine in Books 1, 2, and 4. — **si sapis**: conversational.

3. **hoc Venus ignoscĕt**: Propert. 2, 28, 33 (asking Jupiter to take pity on Cynthia who is ill), 'hoc tibi vel poterit coniunx ignoscere Iuno: | frangitur et Iuno siqua puella perit.' For the prosody, 1, 10, 13 n. — **violente**: this epithet of Mars is found elsewhere only in Seneca, *Troad.* 185.

4. That is, Mars is in danger of falling in love with his worshipper. For this conventional symptom of the process cp. Propert. 4, 4, 21 (Tarpeia at the first sight of Tatius), 'obstupuit regis facie et regalibus armis | interque oblitas excidit urna manus'; Ovid, *Her.* 16, 253, 'dum stupeo visis (nam pocula forte tenebam), | tortilis a digitis excidit ansa meis'; *Met.* 14, 349, 'quae simul ac iuvenem virgultis abdita vidit, | obstipuit. cecidere manu quas legerat herbas: | flammaque per totas visa est errare medullas'; etc.

5–6. 'Eyes of fire' are not uncommon, cp. *Anakreont.* 15, 18 Crus. (directions to the painter), τὸ δὲ βλέμμα νῦν ἀληθῶς | ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ποίησον· Propert. 2, 3, 14, 'non oculi, geminae sidera nostra faces'; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 498, 'videt igne micantes | sideribus similes oculos.'

Doubtless the pretty variation given here was conventional enough, but I have not yet found it elsewhere in antiquity. It appeared early in English (doubtless as an echo of our poet) and seems always to have been more or less popular, cp. 'Rosalynde's Description' in Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynde* (published in 1590), London, 1902, p. 82 —

Nature her selfe her shape admires,
The Gods are wounded in her sight,
And Love forsakes his heavenly fires,
And at her eyes his brand doth light;

Shakespeare, Sonnet 153 (first published in 1609) —

But at my mistress' eye Love's brand new-fired,
The boy for trial needs would touch my breast;

Ben Jonson, *Underwoods*, 'A Nymph's Passion' —

But he hath eyes so round and bright,
  As make away my doubt,
Where Love may all his torches light
  Though hate had put them out.

See also Rowe's *Ambitious Stepmother*, Act 3, Scene 1, 'The God of Love stands ready with his torch | To light it at thy eyes, but still in vain, | For ere the flame can catch, 'tis drown'd in tears'; Aphra Behn, *Song* (to Love), 'From thy bright eyes he took his fires, | which round about in sport he hurl'd'; Guy de Tours, *Pourtrait de son Ente*, 3; Remy Belleau (*Seconde Iournée de la Bergerie*), 'qu'il prend des feux ardans de vos chastes prunelles, | Yeux, ou naissent d'Amour les vives étincelles.' Even in these days we find James Branch Cabell saying ('The Awakening,' *Smart Set*, 12, 1904, p. 75), 'I won't tell you, with Propertius, that her complexion reminded me of roses swimming in milk . . . nor am I going to insist, with Ovid, that her eyes had a fire like that of stars, nor proclaim, with Tibullus, that Cupid was in the habit of lighting his torch from them.'

6. lampadas: *i.e.* his *faces* or torches, cp. 2, 1, 81–82 n.; 2, 4, 6; 2, 6, 16. — **acer Amor**: 2, 6, 15 n.

7–14. For this inexhaustible motive of erotic poetry ancient and modern (*i.e.* all shapes please) cp. 1, 4, 10 n.; esp. Propert. 2, 1, 5; 4, 2, 21; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 5, 43; 2, 4, 10; *Ars Amat.* 2, 295; *Met.* 8, 25; Plautus, *Most.* 173; Paulus Silentiarius, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 260 —

Κεκρύφαλοι σφίγγουσι τεὴν τρίχα; τήκομαι οἴστρῳ,
  Ῥείης πυργοφόρου δείκελον εἰσορόων.
ἀσκεπές ἐστι κάρηνον; ἐγὼ ξανθίσμασι χαίτης
  ἔκχυτον ἐκ στέρνων ἐξεσόβησα νόον.
ἀργενναῖς ὀθόνῃσι κατήορα βόστρυχα κεύθεις;
  οὐδὲν ἐλαφροτέρη φλὸξ κατέχει κραδίην.
μορφὴν τριχθαδίην Χαρίτων τριὰς ἀμφιπολεύει·
  πᾶσα δέ μοι μορφὴ πῦρ ἴδιον προχέει.

Burton (see 7–10 n. below) takes up this important question at great length and fortifies it as is his wont by many quotations.

Sometimes this same catholicity of taste is made the excuse for inconstancy, cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 4; Propert. 2, 22; etc. Or, thanks to an unexpected compliment, the very weakness itself becomes as it were a virtue, as in Sedley's —

All that in woman is adored
  In thy dear self I find —
For the whole sex can but afford
  The handsome and the kind.

Why then should I seek further store,
  And still make love anew?
When change itself can give no more,
  'Tis easy to be true!

7–10. Burton quotes these lines in his 'Symptoms of Love' (*Anat. Mel.* Part III, Sect. II, Mem. III, Subsect. I) and translates:

What e'er she doth, or whither e'er she go,
A sweet and pleasing grace attends forsooth;
Or loose, or bind her hair, or comb it up,
She's to be honoured in what she doth.

'vestem induitur, formosa est; exuitur, tota forma est,' he continues (translating from Aristainetos, *Epist.* 1, 1, *ἐνδεδυμένη μὲν εὐπροσωποτάτη ἐστίν, ἐκδῦσα δὲ ὅλη πρόσωπον φαίνεται*), 'let her be dressed or undressed, all is one, she is excellent still, beautiful, fair, and lovely to behold. Women do as much by men, nay more, far fonder, weaker, and that by many parasangs,' etc. Herrick says —

Whenas in silks my Julia goes,
Then, then, methinks, how sweetly flows
The liquefaction of her clothes.

Next, when I cast mine eyes, and see
That brave vibration, each way free,
O, how that glittering taketh me!

8. **componit**: lit. 'arrange,' 'set in order,' *i.e.* 'adorn.' Derived from the use of *componere* to describe the feminine toilet, cp. *e.g.* Ovid, *Met.* 4, 318 (of Salmacis upon seeing Hermaphroditos), 'nec tamen ante adiit etsi properabat adire, | quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus, | et finxit vultum, et meruit formosa videri,' etc. *Decor* here is thought of as the maid who makes her mistress presentable under all circumstances and accompanies her (*subsequitur*) without our knowledge (*furtim*). Possibly we hear the echo of this passage in Quintil. 1, 11, 19, 'neque enim gestum oratoris com-

poni ad similitudinem saltationis volo sed subesse aliquid ex hac exercitatione puerili unde nos non id agentes furtim decor ille discentibus traditus prosequatur.'

9–10. The anaphora + chiasmus is characteristic of Ovid, cp. *Amor.* 2, 5, 43, 'spectabat terram: terram spectare decebat: | maesta erat in vultu: maesta decenter erat'; *Ars Amat.* 1, 195, 'cum tibi sint fratres, fratres ulciscere laesos | cumque pater tibi sit, iura tuere patris'; 2, 297; 303; 199; etc. In 11–12 (as often in Ovid) the poet returns to parallelism.

Note that the arrangement of the theme in 9–12 is also chiastic — 9, no coiffure, *i.e.* indoor costume (1, 3, 91–92 n.) and simplicity, as contrasted with 10, elaborate coiffure, *i.e.* outdoor costume (*e.g.* Propert. 1, 2, 1, 'quid iuvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo, | et teneras Coa veste movere sinus?' etc.) and art: 11, the palla and brilliant colours, *i.e.* outdoor costume and art (*procedere*, 2, 3, 52 n.), 12, plain white, *i.e.* indoor costume and simplicity.

11–12. **voluit . . . venit**: for the shift of tense cp. 1, 1, 24 n.

11. **palla**: regularly worn on the street by the Roman women. The palla worn by the gods (1, 7, 46 n.) and by kitharoidoi (2, 5, 7 n.) was of another type. *Tyria* suggests, though not necessarily, the festive occasion, see 15 below. The omission of *cum* with the ablative of attendance is found only here in Tib. (1, 10, 27 n.). In such cases the noun is accompanied as here by an attribute.

12. **venit**: 1, 2, 76 n.

13. **Vertumnus**: a comparison frequently made in this connection. The aptness of it is due to the fact that Vertumnus could assume any attractive form he chose, cp. esp. Propert. 4, 2, 21 f.; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 642; etc.

14. Burton (*l.c.* in 7–10 n.) quotes this line and adds 'Let her wear what she will, do what she will, say what she will,

quidquid enim dicit, seu facit, omne decet.

He applauds and admires everything she wears, saith, or doth.' — **mille**: 1, 3, 50 n.

15–20. For these standard illustrations of luxury and expense in female costume (Tyrian stuffs, Oriental perfumes, jewels) see 2, 4, 27–30 and notes.

15. **digna est cui**: 1, 5, 13 n.

16. **bis madefacta**: 2, 3, 57–58 n. The ordinary prose word is *dibapha.* The poet means to indicate the best and most expensive of Tyrian stuffs (so also Hor. *Epod.* 12, 21; *Od.* 2, 16, 35; Cicero, *Fam.* 2, 16, 7, etc.), but this was really a survival from earlier conditions and a different point of view, cp. *e.g.* Pliny, 9, 137, written about a century later. He quotes Cornelius Nepos (died in the reign of Augustus) for the statement that in his boyhood, 'vio-

lacea purpura vigebat cuius libra denariis centum venibat, nec multo post rubra Tarentina. huic successit dibapha Tyria quae in libras denariis mille non poterat emi.' Further down Pliny adds 'dibapha tunc (*i.e.* Cicerone consule) dicebatur quae bis tincta esset, veluti magnifico impendio, qualiter nunc omnes paene commodiores purpurae tinguuntur.'

17–18. On Arabia the land of perfumes cp. 1, 3, 7 and note.

19–20. 1, 1, 51; 2, 2, 16; 2, 4, 30 and notes.

21. **vos**: includes the two vocatives *Pierides* and *Phoebe*.—**Pierides** for Musae (1, 4, 61; 1, 9, 48; Lygd. 3, 1, 5; 3, 4, 44) appears first in Lucretius, 1, 926 and 4, 1, cp. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 467 B.; Juv. 4, 36; Ennod. 1, 1, 37; Claud. 3, 24; *Carm. Min.* 31, 61; *Append.* 2, 1; *PLM.* III, 62: otherwise in the Age of Augustus only, and for the most part in Ovid and Vergil, never in Horace, and only once in Propertius (2, 10, 12), never in epic. The five exx. from Vergil are all in the Eclogues, and of the fifteen exx. from Ovid all but two (*Amor.* 1, 1, 6; *Ars Amat.* 3, 548) are confined to the period of his exile.

4, 3

This poem is ostensibly written by Sulpicia herself (Introd. p. 78) and occasioned by the fact that her lover Cerinthus has gone off on a boar hunt. The theme, its development, the atmosphere, are all highly characteristic of the erotic elegy, cp. *e.g.* Phaidra and Hippolytos (Euripides, Ovid, etc.), Venus and Adonis (Bion, Ovid, etc.), Milanion and Atalanta the Huntress (Propert. 1, 1; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 185, etc.), all favourite themes since the beginning of the Alexandrian Age, and all laying stress on most of the ideas presented here. See Maass, *Hermes*, 24, 526; F. Wilhelm, *Rhein. Mus.* 61, 95.

There was an extensive literature in antiquity on the subject of hunting in all its branches. The most important remains are, on the Greek side, the *Kynegetikos* of Xenophon, a prose tract, and the *Kynegetika* of Oppian, a poem in four books; and on the Roman side, the *Cynegetica* of Grattius and another poem of the same name by Nemesianus. The best poetical description in Latin of a hunt is Seneca, *Phaedra*, 1–84. Among the Romans hunting was distinctly a gentleman's pursuit, see Introd. p. 86.

'Prithee, savage boar, spare my beloved wheresoever he meeteth thee. Accursed be hunting and all that pertains to it! What madness it is to choose a sport so full of toil, discomfort, and danger! And yet, Cerinthus, if I might be with you I would carry the nets myself, I would track the swift deer, I would hold the dogs in leash. Nay, blessed be the wild wood did you but embrace me there. Surely the boar if he saw us then would go away

unharmed and unharming. Though I shall not be there, yet think of me. Better still, leave the hunters to go their way and come straight back to my arms.'

1–3. Of the animals which the Greeks and the Romans hunted for amusement, the boar was proverbially the most dangerous. Best description in Xen. *Kyneget.* 10, 1, f. Sulpicia asks the boar to have mercy on her young lover. Her fear is intensified by the unspoken but inevitable reflection that in the case of Venus and Adonis, the literary prototype of this situation, the boar did not spare his beautiful victim, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 10, 705 f.; Propert. 2, 13, 53; Bion, 1; etc.

1–2. For similar poetical references to the haunts of the boar see *e.g.* Hor. *Sat.* 2, 4, 40; *Od.* 3, 12, 4; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 10, 40; *Ars Amat.* 1, 45; etc. Xenophon, himself an experienced hunter, says (*Kyneget.* 10, 6), more definitely that the trail of the boar generally takes the dogs into a thickly wooded locality, 'for the animal regularly has his resting place in such spots, as they are warm in winter and cool in summer;' so Ovid, *Met.* 8, 334 (of the Calydonian boar), 'concava vallis erat quo se demittere rivi | assuerant fluvialis aquae: tenet ima lacunae | lenta salix ulvaeque leves iuncique palustres | viminaque et longa parvae sub harundine cannae. | hinc aper excitus,' etc.

1. **quis . . . colis**: for the use of *quis* with a verb of the second person, 2, 3, 33, and 2, 3, 74 and notes.

2. **devia montis**: this construction (instead of *devios montes*) begins with Lucretius and increases in the Augustan poets and their successors, the poets and the poetizing prose of the Silver Age (hence, common in Livy and Tacitus). It occurs with tolerable frequency in Sallust, but never in Nepos, and only occasionally in Cicero and Caesar (Schmalz).

3. **nec sit acuisse**: 1, 6, 3 and 24 with notes. The boar's habit of whetting his tusks is often mentioned, *e.g.* Ovid, *Met.* 8, 369; Seneca, *Phaed.* 346.

5. **Delia**: it hardly seems necessary to assume (with Postgate) a lacuna between 4 and 5. The transition is suggested at once by the traditional contrast and opposition between Diana (*Delia*) and Venus (*cura venandi*, and *Amor*), cp. *e.g.* Hor. *Od.* 1, 1, 25, 'manet sub Iove frigido | venator tenerae coniugis immemor, | seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus, | seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas'; esp. the story of Phaidra and Hippolytos. — **cura**: ablat. of means with *venandi*.

6. **canes**: Xenophon, *l.c.*, says that for hunting the wild boar one should have dogs of the Indian, Cretan, Locrian, and Spartan breeds — 'and they must be carefully selected in order that they may be ready to fight the beast.'

7–8. The hunters with the aid of nets, etc., shut in (*claudentem*) the quarry by forming a cordon (*indagine*). References to this process, which was of

course toilsome (cp. *teneras laedere*, etc.), are frequent, cp. *e.g.* Verg. *A*. 4, 121, 'dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt'; *G*. 3, 411; Sil. Ital. 2, 419; esp. Xen. *Kyneget*. 10, 7 f.

8. **teneras laedere manus**: 2, 3, 9–10 n. — **velle**: 1, 2, 92 n.

9–10. Sulpicia thinks of the danger of hunting, cp. Propert. 1, 1, 12 (Milanion's courtship of Atalanta the huntress), 'ibat et hirsutas ille visere feras,' etc. In 10 (cp. 8) she again returns to the discomforts of the chase, cp. Varro, *Sat. Men*. 296 B., 'sin autem delectationis causa venamini, quanto satius est salvis cruribus in circo spectare quam his descobinatis in silva cursare.' The discomfort of briars for bare arms and legs is often referred to, cp. Propert. 4, 4, 28 (of Tarpeia), 'rettulit hirsutis bracchia secta rubis'; Ovid, *Met*. 1, 508, 'ne prona cadas indignave laedi | crura notent sentes,' etc.

The epithet *candida*, hinting at the loss of beauty as well as of comfort, might be expected of a girl of Sulpicia's state of mind with regard to her young lover.

11–14. The desire to accompany one's lover on the hunt had been a regular motive in erotic poetry since the *Hippolytos* of Euripides, cp. *e.g.* Eurip. *Hippol*. 208; Seneca, *Phaedra*, 110; 395; Tib. 1, 4, 49–50; Propert. 1, 1, 10–12; Ovid, *Met*. 10, 533; *Her*. 4, 37; 97; 5, 13–20; etc.

11. **sed tamen**: *i.e.* despite the discomforts just mentioned as well as the toil referred to in 12–14.

12. **retia**: regularly used to complete the cordon and prevent the quarry from escaping, cp. *plagas*, line 16. For a detailed description of hunting nets, varieties, materials, etc., see Xen. *Kyneget*. 2, 4; Grat. *Cyneget*. 25; Nemes. *Cyneget*. 299. Careful directions with special reference to the boar hunt are given by Xen. *l.c.* 10, 7. Seneca, *Clem*. 1, 12, says, 'sic feras lineis et pinna clusas contineas,' where *pinna* refers to the feathers regularly attached to the nets to frighten or confuse the quarry, cp. *e.g.* Nemes. *Cyneget*. 305; Grat. *l.c.* 75. As carrying the nets was not only a tedious but a menial duty, the lover regularly undertakes it or offers to do so, cp. 1, 4, 49–50 n.; Ovid, *Her*. 5, 19; Verg. *E*. 3, 75, etc.

13–14. Eurip. *Hippol*. 215 (Phaidra), *πέμπετέ μ' εἰς ὄρος· εἶμι πρὸς ὕλαν | καὶ παρὰ πεύκας, ἵνα θηροφόνοι | στείβουσι κύνες | βαλιαῖς ἐλάφοις ἐγχριμπτόμεναι· | πρὸς θεῶν, ἔραμαι κυσὶ θωΰξαι | καὶ παρὰ χαίταν ξανθὰν ῥῖψαι | Θεσσαλὸν ὅρπακ', ἐπίλογχον ἔχουσ' | ἐν χειρὶ βέλος·* Ovid, *Her*. 4, 41 (Phaedra), 'in nemus ire libet pressisque in retia cervis | hortari celeris per iuga summa canes | aut tremulum excusso iaculum vibrare lacerto | aut in graminea ponere corpus humo,' etc.

14. Sulpicia offers here to play the part of the *κυναγωγός*, cp. Xen. *l.c.* 9, 2 (hunting the deer, line 13) and 10, 4 (hunting the boar); Ovid, *Met*. 8, 331; 7, 769; Propert. 2, 19, 20; esp. Seneca, *Phaedra*, 31, etc.

15–16. 2, 3, 71–72. The motive is traditional, cp. Phaidra in Eurip. *Hippol.* 208, *αἶ, αἶ,* | *πῶς ἂν δροσερᾶς ἀπὸ κρηνῖδος* | *καθαρῶν ὑδάτων πῶμ᾽ ἀρυσαίμαν,* | *ὑπό τ᾽ αἰγείροις ἔν τε κομήτῃ* | *λειμῶνι κλιθεῖσ᾽ ἀναπαυσαίμαν·* Ovid, *Her.* 4, 44; 5, 13; *Met.* 10, 555, etc.

The sentence is an ideal condition, 'the forest would please me if,' etc. The point of view reflects her own words, 4, 7, 9, where see note.

15. lux mea: used once by Sulpicia herself (4, 12, 1), but does not occur elsewhere in the Tibullian corpus. Perhaps the use of it in a poem written in her name was meant to be reminiscent of her style. Tibullus himself never uses pet names at all; indeed, except in 2, 5, 114, and 2, 6, 28, Nemesis is not even addressed directly (cp. 1, 6, 21 n.). The comparative frequency of these expressions in Propertius is characteristic and possibly temperamental, cp. *lux mea*, 2, 14, 29; 28, 59; 29, 1; *vita*, 1, 2, 1; 8, 22; 2, 5, 18; 19, 27; 20, 17; 24, 29; 30, 14; *mea vita*, 2, 3, 23; 20, 11; 26, 1. Ovid uses *mea lux*, *Amor.* 1, 8, 23; 2, 17, 23; *Ars Amat.* 3, 524, 'scilicet Aiaci mulier maestissima dixit | "lux mea" quaeque solent verba iuvare viros?'; | *Trist.* 3, 3, 52; *mea vita*, *Amor.* 2, 15, 21. The frequency and variety of such epithets in any given department vary inversely with the distance of it from the language and style of ordinary life.

17–18. That is, Sulpicia hopes that in his love for her Cerinthus will give up the original object of his expedition altogether. All for love, so to speak, and the boar well lost.

17. abibit: for the shift from the subjunctive see 1, 1, 24 n. To the girl's lively fancy the situation pictured in 15–16 has become real.

19. sine me sit nulla Venus: quoted by Moore for his song, 'Sympathy.'

22. diripienda: 1, 2, 70 n.

23. parenti: it is impossible to guess who is meant, cp. Introd. p. 86. Probably however *parenti* = *patri*.

24. Propert. 3, 20, 10, 'fidus ero: in nostros curre, puella, toros.'

4, 4

A poem on an illness of Sulpicia, perhaps the same illness to which she herself refers in 4, 11. On this conventional theme of the elegy see 1, 5, 9–19 n. Apollo is addressed, of course, as the god of healing.

'A lovely girl is ill. Come hither, Apollo, we beseech thee, make haste with thy remedies, lay thy healing hands upon her, and make her well again. Do not torture her lover. He is distraught with anxiety and is making vows innumerable.

'Courage, Cerinthus, the gods have lovers in their keeping. Just go on

loving her, she is in no danger. There is no occasion for tears — 'twere better to save them until one of those days when she is cross with you. Just now she is all yours and thinks of naught else.

'Have mercy, Apollo: thus thou wilt have performed the miracle of saving two by curing one. So shalt thy fame be lauded to the skies by their grateful prayers until the very gods themselves shall covet thy wondrous skill.'

James Thomson's Verses to Amanda, in imitation of Tibullus, also Guy de Tours, *Souspirs*, 3, 14, were suggested by this elegy. Cp. Carducci, *Juvenilia*, 27 ('A Febo Apolline') —

Fama è però che memore
Tu de l' incendio antico
A gli amorosi giovini
Nume ti porgi amico.

E i voti a te salirono
Del buono Cerinto grati,
Quando immaturi pressero
L' egra Sulpizia i fati:

Tu al bel corpo le mediche
Mani applicar godesti,
Tu al giovinetto cupido
Integra lei rendesti.

1. **huc ades**: 1, 7, 49 n. — **morbos expelle**: the use of *morbum*, *pestem* etc., with *expellere* (Hor. *Epist.* 2, 2, 132, etc.), *depellere* (Verg. *A.* 9, 328; Caes. *B.G.* 6, 17; etc.); *pellere* (Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 115, etc.), and the like (cp. our expression 'to drive out a cold') reflects that primitive theory of disease as a possession which justified the use of magic in the practice of medicine, cp, 1, 5, 11–12 n.; Speratus, *Laus Philomelae*, 7, 'dic age, num cantu poteris depellere pestem?' etc. — **puellae**: dative of personal interest — our poet's invariable rule with verbs of this nature, cp. 1, 10, 25; 2, 1, 73; 2, 4, 40; 2, 5, 91; 2, 6, 12. So often in all departments, cp. *e.g.* Afranius, 154 R., 'et iam depellis mihi manum paternam perpalaestricos,' etc. When the idea of personal interest is not involved, the ablative with or without a preposition is necessary, cp. 1, 5, 66; 2, 3, 14a. As we have seen, Tibullus is fond of the dative, and shows a marked tendency to extend its use, cp. 2, 1, 81; 2, 2, 6; 2, 6, 1; lines 11 and 16, below; etc.

2. **intonsa coma**: 1, 4, 37–38 and 2, 3, 12 notes.

3. **crede mihi**: this was the order of ordinary conversation, so always, *e.g.*, in Petronius, occasionally in the letters of Cicero's correspondents and in his own letters to Atticus. It is usual in the poets by reason of its dactylic

rhythm, so *e.g.* in Propertius (7 times) and for the most part in Ovid (22 cases) and Martial (12 cases). So Lucilius, 797 Marx, etc. The favourite position is at the beginning of the verse as here (only 2 exceptions in Propertius, 2, 11, 3, and 2, 33, 18; 4 in Ovid; 5 in Martial). In the Phalaecian, of course, it can only occur in the second foot. Horace alone among the poets never uses *crede mihi*, but always *mihi crede* (*Sat.* 1, 7, 35; 2, 3, 75; 2, 6, 93); and *mihi crede* (to avoid the dactylic rhythm) is the rule of higher prose, and apparently even of cultivated speech. So always *e.g.* in the orations and essays of Cicero and even in his *Fam.* — **nec te**, etc.: the poet suggests to Apollo, as he did to Mars (4, 2, 1–2 n.), that it will be worth his while. This technical use of *applicare* in medicine is cited elsewhere only from Sil. Ital. 6, 96, 'sopor sua munera tandem applicat,' and Pliny, *Med. Praef.* 'singulis membris sua remedia applicabimus.' Huschke cites Pindar, *Pyth.* 4, 272, *χρὴ μαλακὰν χέρα προσβάλλοντα τρώμαν ἕλκεος ἀμφιπολεῖν.* Volpi cites *χειρουργεῖν*; cp. *Priap.* 37, 4, 'chirurgamque manum miser timerem.' The best parallel, perhaps, is Solon, 12, 63 Crus. — *τὸν δὲ κακαῖς νούσοισι κακούμενον ἀργαλέαις τε | ἁψάμενος χειροῖν αἶψα τίθησ' ὑγιῆ.*

5. **occupet**: Hor. *Od.* 3, 27, 53, 'antequam turpis macies decentis | occupet malas,' and for the thought, Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 119, 'nos turpis macies et lacrimae tenent.'

6. **informis**: *i.e.* the unlovely, unnatural pallor of disease.

7–8. 2, 5, 80 n. Euphemistic.

9. **sapores**: 'juices'; cp. Verg. *G.* 4, 267, 'proderit et tunsum gallae admiscere saporem.' This meaning is a natural result of the enormous use of plants in antique medicine.

10. **cantus**: 1, 5, 11–12 n.; Hom. *Odyss.* 19, 457; Val. Flacc. 6, 275, and often. Many such charms are preserved, esp. in Cato, Pliny, and Marcellus. Cp. *e.g.* Marcellus, 7, 190, 'varulis id est hordiolis oculorum remedium tale facies: anulos digitis eximes et sinistrae manus digitis tribus oculum circa tenebis et ter despues terque dices: rica rica soro. si in dextro oculo varulus erit natus, manu sinistra digitis tribus sub divo orientem spectans varulum tenebis et dices: nec mula parit nec lapis lanam fert nec huic morbo caput crescat aut si creverit tabescat. cum haec dixeris isdem tribus digitis terram tanges et despues idque ter facies.' — **corpora fessa**: 1, 5, 9 n.

11. **fata**: 'death.' So 1, 5, 51; Propert. 2, 15, 54, 'forsitan includat crastina fata dies'; 3, 22, 38; 4, 11, 63; Ovid, *Her.* 19, 118; etc. — **puellae**: for this dative with *metuo* + an object, cp. Afranius, 40 R., 'orbitatem tuae senectuti malam | metui'; Hor. *Od.* 2, 8, 21, 'te suis matres metuunt iuvencis.' So with *timere*, Juv. 6, 17, 'cum furem nemo timeret | caulibus et pomis'; Pliny, 14, 101; Quintil. 4, 1, 9; 11, 1, 75; etc. The absolute use of *timeo*

and *metuo* with this dative is fairly common, Plautus, *Amphit.* 1113; Verg. *G.* 1, 186; 2, 419; *A.* 10, 94; etc.

12. **vota**: 1, 5, 10 n.

13–14. 1, 2, 79–86; 1, 3, 51–52; 2, 6, 17; 18 and notes.

13. **quod**: *quod* causal with the subjunctive occurs here and in 2, 3, 9, otherwise (8 times) with the indicative.

15. **deus non laedit amantes**: 1, 2, 27–28; 1, 6, 51–54 and notes. For another and a famous variation of the same idea, see 1, 4, 21 f. and notes.

16. The half smile of the poet is suggested by the conversational character of the line, *e.g.* the subject pronoun with the imperative (1, 1, 33 n.), the abrupt, brief sentences, and esp. the use of *salvus est* with the dative of the personal pronoun; cp. Plautus, *Trin.* 593, 'siquidem ager nobis salvos est'; *Pseud.* 1068, 'minae viginti sanae et salvae sunt tibi'; Ter. *Adel.* 298; *Heaut.* 160; *Hec.* 643; etc.

22. **tristior**: 'cross,' 'in a bad humour,' cp. Propert. 1, 6, 9, 'illa minatur | quae solet ingrato tristis amica viro'; 1, 10, 21; Plaut. *Casina,* 230, 'heia, mea Iuno, non decet esse te tam tristem tuo Iovi'; 282; Afran. 120 R., 'mihi erit tristior'; etc.

17. **te secum cogitat**: 'she only thinks you to herself,' 'every thought of her mind is you.' *cogitare aliquem* lays stress on the verb; cp. Pliny, *Epist.* 4, 2, 2, 'Regulum cogita,' *i.e.* 'imagine,' 'picture.' The construction is occasional in Cicero and fairly frequent in Silver prose, but so many forms of this verb involve a cretic that it is always very rare in dactylic verse. *cogitare secum* or *cum animo* and the like is antique for the most part and popular. The example before us seems to be practically the only one in higher poetry, the first in poetry of *cogitare aliquem,* and with the exception of Seneca Rhet. *Controv.* 10, 2, 3, the only example in the literature of both constructions at the same time. — **candida**: *i.e.* with no thought of guile, frankly.

18. The picture suggested is the reception room filled with lovers of Sulpicia, who sit waiting to hear of her condition, each easily persuaded (*credula*) that he is the favoured one. The best comment on *credula* is Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 685 (explaining why men find it so hard to retire from a love affair), 'desinimus tarde quia nos speramus amari: | dum sibi quisque placet, credula turba sumus.'

19–20. Under the same circumstances Ovid says, *Amor.* 2, 13, 15, 'huc adhibe vultus et in una parce duobus! | nam vitam dominae tu dabis, illa mihi'; cp. Propert. 2, 28, 41, 'si non unius, quaeso, miserere duorum, | vivam si vivit: si cadit illa cadam'; Ovid, *Her.* 20, 233, 'iuncta salus nostrast: miserere meique tuique, | quid dubitas unam ferre duobus opem'; *Met.* 3, 473; 11, 388; etc.

19. **laus . . . tribuetur . . . restituisse**: instead of *quod restitueris* is due to the analogy of verbs of emotion, with which the infinitive was the original and in some cases always the favourite construction, cp. Verg. *A.* 2, 585, 'exstinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis | laudabor poenas'; Pers. 1, 86, 'doctas posuisse figuras | laudatur'; Propert. 1, 7, 11, 'me laudent doctae solam placuisse puellae'; etc.

23. **debita** : *i.e. vota*, see 1, 3, 34 n.

24. **uterque** : Sulpicia and Cerinthus, for her recovery.

26. **optabunt quisque** : the only other exx. of the cons. ad sensum in the Tibullian corpus are certainly non-Tibullian, viz. Lygd. 3, 4, 10; *Pan. Messal.* 4, 1, 187. *quisque* never takes a plural verb in Propertius or Horace and acc. to Burman's Index the only exception in Ovid is *Ars Amat.* 1, 109, 'respiciunt oculisque notant sibi quisque puellam.' Such exx. as *Amor.* 3, 2, 18, 'vincamus dominae quisque favore suae' are not parallels. So in Vergil the one good ex. seems to be *A.* 11, 185. The cons. ad sensum (never common with *quisque*, *nemo*, etc.) is most frequent in ante- and post-classical writers and in Livy.

4, 5

This poem like 4, 3 is written in the person of Sulpicia. The occasion is her lover's birthday. The piece was perhaps suggested by 4, 8, verses by Sulpicia herself referring possibly to the same occasion (see however notes *ad loc.*). Elegies 5 and 6 are complementary and should be compared throughout.

'This day shall ever be the day of days for me, Cerinthus, for it gave me you. The Fates decreed at your birth that you should sway the hearts of womankind. More than all others I burn for you — but I care not. Nay, I welcome the smart if only your flame answers mine. Oh Genius, I beseech thee, make him love me as I love him! Only let him thrill whenever he thinks of me, and I will make thee vows and offerings without stint. But if he is now sighing for another love, disown the traitor and desert him! And do thou, Venus, be just : either make him mine as I am his or else set me free. Nay rather bind us with an adamantine chain that shall outlast time.

'His desires chime with mine but he is less outspoken, he is too shy to say the words of his prayer aloud. But thou, Natalis, art a god and knowest all our thoughts, therefore grant his petition. What matter whether he speak it aloud or no?'

1. **qui . . . hic**: inversion of the normal order of relative and correlative serves to emphasize the statement in each clause and the relation between

them; cp. 1, 4, 67; 1, 10, 65; 4, 13, 8; Propert. 2, 13, 35; 32, 1 and 47; 4, 3, 13; 7, 39; etc. The more usual correlative in such cases is *is* or *ille*. *hic* here indicates that the poem was ostensibly written on the day itself.

3. 1, 7, 1–2 n. — **novum**: 'wondrous,' 'new,' in the sense of being beyond previous experience.

4. **dedĕrunt**: 2, 3, 12 n. — **regna**: a favourite idea in amatory poetry; cp. 1, 9, 80 n.; 2, 3, 59; Propert. 2, 16, 28; Ovid, *Amor*. 2, 17, 11; etc.

5–6. 1, 2, 63–64 n. and esp. 4, 6, 7 f. Like many other 'young females' in her state of mind, Sulpicia takes it for granted that all the girls must be in love with her Cerinthus (3–4). She loves him more than any of them can possibly do (5), but she is glad of it if in her own case he loves in return. The limitation is, of course, to be expected, and springs naturally from what has preceded. This use of *de* in *de nobis* is not uncommon; cp. *e.g.* 4, 10, 1; Plautus, *Pseud.* 122, 'de istac re in oculum utrumvis conquiescito'; Caes. *B. G.* 6, 36, 1.

6. **mutuus ignis**: love in return, *i.e.* love to equal mine: cp. 4, 6, 8; 1, 2, 63; etc. The thought, which naturally is very much on her mind, is repeated and emphasized in the following lines.

7. **adsit**: 1, 4, 13. On the simple subjunctive with *rogo*, cp. 1, 2, 25a n. On the position of *per*, 1, 5, 7 n., and on *furta*, 'stolen sweets,' 1, 2, 34 n. For the oath, 1, 5, 7 n.

8. **per tuos oculos**: the appeal is characteristic of this sphere, cp. Ovid, *Amor*. 3, 3, 13, 'perque suos illam nuper iurasse recordor | perque meos oculos: et doluere mihi'; *Amor*. 2, 16, 44; 3, 11, 48; Lygd. 3, 6, 47; etc. — **per Genium**: the oath is eminently appropriate to the occasion (the birthday of Cerinthus) and forms an easy and natural transition to the next topic. Otherwise it appears to have been esp. characteristic of freedmen, so always, *e.g.*, in Petronius and in the one in ex. Horace (*Epist.* 1, 7, 94). See Ter. *And.* 289; Plautus, *Capt.* 977.

9. **mane Geni**: 1, 7, 49–54 note. *mane* (from *mānus* = *bonus*, see lex.) is rare and apparently obsolete in Tibullus's time. So, however, the best MS. tradition, and sacerdotal conservatism is a sufficient explanation of its survival as a specific epithet of the Genius.

10. **ille**: on the position, 1, 5, 18 n. — **calet**: of love, only here in the Tibullian corpus. Not uncommon elsewhere, but always with some qualifying word such as *flamma*, *amore*, *puella*.

11. **quod si**: 1, 3, 53; 2, 6, 7; Lygd. 3, 4, 77; *Pan. Messal.* 202. Prosaic. — **iam nunc**: 1, 5, 71 n. — **suspiret amores**: 1, 6, 35; 2, 2, 11 and notes.

12. The meaning and force of this curse may be gathered from 1, 7, 49–54 n. Sulpicia's appeal is also prompted by the fact that the genius natalis

was also the genius of the lectus genialis, and therefore that in view of her relations with Cerinthus (cp. 'dulcissima furta,' 7), infidelity to her was also a sin against the Genius; cp. *e.g.* Juv. 6, 22 (describing adulterers), 'sacri genium contemnere fulcri.'

13–14. 4, 5, 6–7; 6, 7–8; 1, 2, 63–64 n.; Ter. *Eun.* 91, 'O Thais, Thais utinam esset mihi | pars aequa amoris tecum ac pariter fieret | et aut hoc tibi doleret itidem ut mihi dolet | aut ego istuc abs te factum nili penderem'; Catull. 76, 23; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 24; *Amor.* 1, 3, 2; Propert. 2, 15, 25; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 88; Aristainet. 1, 16, etc. So Congreve says to his 'pious Selinda'—

> Would thou couldst make of me a saint,
> Or I, of thee, a sinner!

In view of the large number of parallels, Petrarch, *Son.* 49, 'non prego già,' etc., cannot be called an echo of our passage.

Antique, as well as modern, poetry is full of references to the joy of love returned in equal measure: 'mutuis animis amant amantur,' says Catullus (45, 20); 'iam nec spes animi credula mutui,' says Horace (*Od.* 4, 1, 30), with a sigh which has been echoed more than once the world over. The figure suggested here of a well-matched team, each performing his part, is a favourite with Horace and Propertius; cp. Hor. *Od.* 3, 9, 17; 1, 35, 28; *Epod.* 15, 13; Propert. 1, 5, 2; 3, 25, 8; Theokrit. 12, 15.

13. **nec sis iniusta Venus**: well thought of if we may believe Hor. *Od.* 1, 33, 10, 'sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares | formas atque animos sub iuga aenea | saevo mittere cum ioco.'

14. On the pentameter see Hilberg, *Zeitschr. f. Oest. Gymn.* 1896, pp. 865–873.

15–16. 1, 6, 85 n.; Propert. 2, 15, 25; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 3, 17, 'tecum quos dederint annos mihi fila sororum | vivere contingat teque dolente mori.'

15. **teneamur uterque**: 1, 6, 39; 4, 4, 26 n.

16. **soluisse**: 1, 1, 29–32 n., 'may no day in the future be able to put us asunder.' The perfect emphasizes attainment, Propert. 1, 1, 15 (commenting on Milanion's strenuous, but finally successful, courtship of Atalanta the huntress), 'ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam,' 'and thus was he able at last to achieve the taming of the swift-footed maid'; cp. 1, 17, 1; 2, 16, 3; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 2, 30; etc.

17–18. On the situation cp. Introd. p. 85, and 1, 4, 14 n.

18. 2, 1, 84 n.

19. **Natalis**: the Genius of 9 above. *quoniam* is found only here in Tibullus.

4, 6

This poem is in honour of Sulpicia's birthday. It is the complement of the preceding, and should be compared with it throughout. Again Cerinthus is represented by the sympathetic poet and friend.

'Oh, Juno Natalis, accept the incense offered thee by the fair hands of a gifted girl. She has joyously arrayed herself for thee, that she may stand before thy altar to-day, the observed of all observers. She says 'tis all for thy sake, this dressing in her best. Nevertheless, Goddess, there is also another whom, in her heart, she would be very glad to succeed in pleasing. Be gracious, holy one, to this pair; let no one part them, and make them love each other in equal measure. He only is worthy of her and she of him. May her watchful duenna never discover them, and Love furnish a thousand ways of eluding detection! Grant this, O Goddess, and come hither in thy festal attire. Her fond mother dictates the prayer she is to make, but the girl knows her own mind, and in the stillness of her heart utters quite a different one. She is sore sick with love, and would not be well if she could. May she find favour in his eyes, and this day year may their old love be renewed.' Imitated by Luigi Alamanni, in his elegy, *Natale di Cintia.*

1. **Natalis Iuno**: a woman's genius was known as her Juno, and she worshipped her Juno in the same manner and on the same occasions that a man worshipped his genius. For the feminine oath *per Iunonem meam* = the masculine *per Genium meum*, see 4, 13, 15 n.

2. **docta**: connotes, in general, a person of literary training and ability; in particular — esp. since Catullus's time — a person who can write poetry. In this more restricted sense it is an evident attempt to translate the Greek σοφὸς as an epithet of poets (cp. Solon, 12, 52 Crus.; Bacchyl. *frag.* 9 Crus.). The poet is 'wise,' but his wisdom is the result of acquired skill as well as native ability; it is 'wisdom in the art of the theme, and in the art of the treatment' (Gildersleeve, *Introd. Pind.* p. 36). So the *doctus* is the native genius thoroughly trained in the resources of his department; in short he is the literary artist in the highest sense of that word. Tibullus uses the word of the Muses, 1, 4, 61; cp. Lygd. 3, 4, 45; Catull. 65, 2; Propert. 1, 7, 11; 2, 13, 11; Ovid, *Amor.* 2, 4, 17; *Ars Amat.* 2, 281; Mart. 7, 69, 10, etc. The Elizabethan translation of 'learned' is insufficient.

4. **conspicienda**: 1, 2, 70 n.

5. **relegat**: 'ascribes.' So occasionally in this sense, but generally taking *ad* or *in* with the accus. of the person. I find the dative only here. *delegare* in this sense is not uncommon in prose, and always takes the dative.

6. **placuisse**: 1, 1, 29–32 n.

7–8. 4, 5, 6 and 13–14 with notes.

9. **bene compones**: *i.e.* 'join,' 'match,' cp. 4, 5, 13–14 n.; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 385, 'hoc bene compositos, hoc firmos solvit amores'; *Consol. ad Liv.* 301, etc. — **ullae . . . viro**: 'there is no maid whose service is more meet for him, no man for her.' Apparently a paraphrase of Sulpicia's own words in 4, 7, 10. — **ullae**: for *ulli*. The only case in the entire literature (Neue, 2, 520), and the one exception in the Tibullian corpus to the rule of -*ius* and -*i* for words of this class. The remaining exx. in the elegy are *nullae* (of which *ullae non* here is really the equivalent), Propert. 1, 20, 35; *toto*, Propert. 3, 11, 57; Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 3, 41.

10. **dignior**: *dignus* with the infin. is found elsewhere only in 2, 6, 43 (see also 1, 7, 20 n.). Never in Propertius. Frequent in Ovid.

11–12. 1, 2, 15 and 19; 1, 6, 9; 2, 1, 75 and notes. Cp. also 'dulcissima furta,' in 4, 5, 7, and 4, 5, 12 n.

12. **mille**: 1, 3, 50 n.

13. 2, 5, 7; 1, 7, 46; 4, 2, 11 and notes. — **perlucida**: *i.e.* διαφανής, 'transparent,' which suggests 'Coan vestments' (2, 3, 53 n.). Heyné hastens to justify Juno's appearance in Venus's favourite costume by remarking that 'superiniecta illa erat tunicae, plerumque etiam aliis vestimentis interioribus,' and Némethy comes to the rescue with *perlucida* = *valde lucida, nitida, candida*, for which he quotes Cicero, *Div.* 1, 130, 'illustris et perlucida stella'; Mart. 12, 38, 3, 'crine nitens, niger unguento, perlucidus ostro, | ore tener, latus pectore, crure glaber.' Surely, however, from the antique point of view, Sulpicia's little Juno Natalis needs no such defence. Even the great Juno contended for the golden apple. Why should she flinch from Coan vestments on a festal day?

14. **ter**: 1, 2, 54 n.; 1, 3, 11. — **fit**: *facere* or (impers.) *fieri* = *sacra facere* or *sacrificare*, with the dative of the god (expressed or understood) and the ablative of the offering (as here) is occasional in the literature, *e.g.* Plautus, *Stich.* 251; Verg. *E.* 3, 77; Columella, 2, 21. It is esp. characteristic, however, of sacerdotal speech, cp. such fixed phrases occurring again and again in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* as 'perfectoque sacrificio omnes ture et vino fecerunt: quae in verba Iunoni reginae bove aurata vovi esse futurum,' etc. — **libo**: 1, 7, 54; 2, 2, 8; 1, 10, 23 n.

15. **praecipit**, etc.: *i.e.* the usual suggestions of a fond mother on such an occasion, the point being that she is blissfully ignorant of the fact that her daughter has any preferences of her own. Neither here nor elsewhere is it implied that the mother considered Cerinthus an undesirable *parti*, but simply that she did not think of him at all in that connection. Any other interpretation spoils the point of the contrast between 15 and 16. See Introd.

p. 86, and cp. *iam sua*: *i.e.* 'iam sui iuris,' her own mistress, able and disposed to think for herself, no longer dependent as her mother imagines. This use of the possessive is not common. Némethy cites Plautus, *Pers.* 472, 'ita ancilla mea quae fuit hodie, sua nunc est.'

16. **tacita mente rogat**: Sulpicia repeats aloud the litany suggested by her mother, but her real prayer is unspoken and for something quite different, cp. 4, 5, 20; 2, 1, 84 n.

17–18. 4, 7, 9–10; 4, 5, 5–6; 2, 5, 109–110 n.

19–20. 4, 5, 9–10.

4, 7

On this group of poems (7–12), the work of Sulpicia herself, see Introd. p. 79. The arrangement is editorial, and, as usual, is based on variety rather than chronology, otherwise this poem would have been the last instead of the first of the series. All are in the epistolary form, although this one reads more like an extract as it were from her own diary and was ostensibly written just after the consummation of her love, for she is still in a highly exalted mood. She has yet to be assailed by the afterthoughts inevitable in such an affair. These are touched upon by the poet of the first group (2–6), cp. 4, 5, 6–14, who, as we have seen, adds some further details and alludes to later stages. Assuming that these poems are the record of a genuine love affair, Sulpicia belongs to a type certain to be variously judged, not only by her contemporaries, but by her readers. Dissen, a commentator of unusual sympathy and insight, says of this poem, and I should prefer to agree with him: 'Sulpicia experta furtim oscula et amplexus Cerinthi non habet turpe quod passa erat, utpote puri castique amoris sibi conscia, ceteroquin magna in affectu secum loquens necdum ad sedatiorem statum animi reversa. ac poeta exhibet virginem magni animi, puris sensibus, at in summo ardore puellari.' Less sentiment or more knowledge of the world, or both, might incline one rather to agree with Martinon's 'Ou Dissen avait-il l'esprit pour attribuer un pareil morceau à une fille chaste, *puris sensibus*, qui s'exalte pour un baiser furtif? Heyne lui-même n'est pas si naïf.' A third critic might be cruel enough to reconcile the Gaul and the Teuton by remarking that sincerity does not necessarily imply constancy, and that of all coquettes there is none so dangerous and destructive as the one who is absolutely in earnest — at the time. Of course still another solution is quite possible. We might suggest that these verses are not the record of a genuine affair, but merely a series of literary exercises written, it is true, by Sulpicia, but merely the record, let us say, of her own contribution to a theme proposed and worked upon in concert in the inner circle of Messalla's poetical friends. In that case the question would settle itself by ceasing to exist.

1–2. That is, 'sit mihi fama pudori magis texisse quam nudasse alicui qualem amorem,' 'and such a love — the report that I have concealed it would shame me rather than that I have disclosed it to some one.' — **pudori sit mihi**: 1, 5, 29.

3. **illum**: Dissen's contention that *illum = Amor* above, *i.e.* 'ardor amatorius cum gaudiis suis,' is not supported by his citation from Pind. *Nem.* 8, 6, nor by his objection that Cerinthus is not named in the poem. For a young person in Sulpicia's state of mind there can be but one 'him,' cp. *meus* below. Besides she is intentionally indefinite. — **Cytherea**: 1, 3, 58 n. — **Camenis**: *i.e.* 'songs,' 'verses,' though here as elsewhere the personification (cp. *exorata*) is clearly felt, cp. *Pan. Messal.* 24 and 192. Rare outside of Horace (*Od.* 1, 12, 39; 4, 6, 27; 9, 8; *Epist.* 1, 1, 1; 1, 19, 5; *A.P.* 275). Elsewhere in the elegy only Ovid, *Pont.* 4, 13, 33. The model is the similar use of *μοῦσα* in Greek, cp. Pind. *Nem.* 3, 49; Aisch. *Eumen.* 308; etc.

4. **attulit**, etc.: 'brought him to my arms and laid him there.' For this function of Venus see 1, 8, 35 and 1, 3, 58 n. *afferre* does not take *in* + accus. except with *comitium*, *senatum*, and the like, where 'into' is obviously needed to express the idea. The regular cons. is *ad* + accus. The regular cons. with *deponere* is *in* + ablat. Finally neither verb can take the regular cons. of the other and retain the meaning demanded here. The choice of *in* + accus. here is justified by the fact that both verbs are really coincident and represent a single action ('brought and put') and that *in sinum* is not only naturally suggested by the complex, but also by the fact that the original and literal meaning of *sinus* (*i.e.* 'a fold,' cp. 1, 3, 6, etc.) encourages it in the derived meanings to stand in the accus. with *in* ('into') after verbs of approaching, cp. 4, 3, 24; Ovid, *Her.* 13, 148; *Met.* 4, 596; etc. — **sinum**: we should say 'arms' in a case like this, cp. 4, 3, 24; Lygd. 3, 3, 8; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2, 360; *Her.* 3, 114; 13, 157; *Met.* 4, 596; etc.

6. **sua**: sc. *gaudia*. The naïve imprecation 'mea gaudia . . . sua' might seem a contradiction of 1–2. The subjunctives *sit*, *velim*, *ferar* (2, 8, and 10), however, represent Sulpicia's inclinations, not her intentions.

7–8. 'I could wish that I might never seal one letter to my love because I feared that any one, I care not who, would read it first.' — **non**: goes with *mandare* not with *velim*, and the clause 'ne . . . ante' depends upon 'signatis . . . tabellis,' more esp. upon 'signatis.' That is, 'I have to seal my letters to him for fear of discovery. How I wish no such necessity existed! I am so proud of my love and my lover, so happy in them both, that I would it were known to all the world!' These lines are prominent in the old discussion of 'Feminine Latinity,' and their undeniable difficulty has been

more than once traced to the writer's incomplete command of literary form. The difficulty, however, is not a matter of inexperience, but a matter of sex. Sulpicia is a woman, she realizes, as only a woman can, the consequences of exposure, she dreads them, as only a woman can and should; hence, for example, the intrusion of *fama* in the first distich, which constitutes the real difficulty of the first sentence, and which a man would probably not have used. Nor has she any idea of running the risk of detection; the subjunctives, as we have seen, indicate inclination, not intention. On the other hand, is her love an overpowering passion for one to whom she is glad and proud to belong. Here are two master motives. What could be more natural and more distinctively feminine, especially in a poem intended for the eyes of her lover alone, than that Sulpicia should measure the depth of her love in terms of her dread of the consequences if it were discovered? She would like, she tells him, to cast prudence to the winds. If she does not, it is entirely because she cannot, not because she is ashamed of what she has done; on the contrary, she glories in it. All this underlies the whole poem, though it does not come out clearly until the last distich. Apart from this the difficulties of interpretation as a rule are due to the fact that, womanlike, Sulpicia chose to state her wishes not as the positive, so to speak, of what she would like to do, but as a negative of what she is obliged to do. The underlying thought, *e.g.*, of 1–2 is, 'if I told any one, I should be ruined,' of 5–6, 'if any one tells on me, I am ruined,' of 7–8, 'if any one at all ever reads one of my letters, I am ruined' (the haunting dread of this thought accounts for the extreme emphasis of the negative 'ne . . . ante').

Ugo Foscolo (*Discorso sul testo del poema di Dante*, par. 153), discussing the fact that Francesca, not Paolo, tells the story of their love, quotes the first and last distich of our poem and remarks that, 'Women are not prone to tell the secrets of their hearts; when however their life, their fair fame, every thought of their hearts, has yielded to love alone, then they tell them freely and with pride. Whence it appears to me that these verses have been justly ascribed to a woman.' The citation of Sulpicia here is not so apposite as the famous passage (which he also cites) in the letters of Héloise to Abélard. Foscolo, however, had an inferior text of the first distich before him, and he seems to have taken it for granted, as did many of the older scholars, that Sulpicia here was actually taking the reading public (really or ostensibly) into her confidence.

7. **tabellis**: tablets of wood coated with wax to receive the impress of the stylus. One of the most common forms — still used as late as the eighteenth century — was the diptych, *i.e.* two *tabellae* made to close upon each other like the covers of their lineal descendant, the folding slate. The diptych

furnished two pages of writing surface, *i.e.* the inside of each *tabella*, and the edge of each was slightly raised so as to prevent contact between the two pages when the diptych was closed. The insertion of a third *tabella* made a triptych, a book as it were of two covers and one leaf which furnished four pages of writing surface. To fasten *tabellae* together a cord was passed through two or more holes in the frame and tied; and if it was advisable or necessary, a seal was attached, hence *signatis* here. Either the diptych or the triptych was regularly used for love letters, as here, cp. also 2, 6, 45; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 437; *Amor.* 1, 11, 7; and often. It was customary for the recipient to use the same *tabellae* for reply and thus return them to the owner, cp. Catull. 42; Propert. 3, 23; etc. They could then be cleaned and used anew. Persons with a 'heavy hand' were apt to leave a permanent record of former letters on the wood itself, hence the force of Ovid's warning, *Ars Amat.* 2, 395, 'et quotiens scribes totas prius ipse tabellas | inspice: plus multae quam sibi missa legunt.'

8. **ne . . . nemo**: the negative is doubled for emphasis as in Greek, as in Latin down to Catullus, and as always in the popular idiom of most languages. In Latin itself the afterthought that two negatives make an affirmative holds good only for the classical period. Even then, however, poetry is freer than prose, and prose itself is far from being without exceptions, cp. *e.g.* Cicero, *Verr.* 2, 60, 'debebat Epicrates nummum nullum nemini'; Livy, 32, 26, 18; 43, 13, 1; *Bell. Afr.* 8; etc. Note too the inherent tendency of all verbs of fearing to confuse negatives (Gildersleeve-Lodge, 553), 'non vereor ne non,' etc. and all through the Romance languages, 'guardarsi di non credere,' 'temo che non sia,' etc. A close parallel to Sulpicia here is Propert. 2, 19, 32, 'absenti nemo ne nocuisse velit,' cp. also Ovid, *Pont.* 1, 1, 66, 'ne non peccarim mors quoque non faciet,' etc. where perhaps the Greek usage of *μὴ οὐ* has had an influence. — **quam meus ante**: for the arrangement see Propert. 2, 25, 26, 'septima quam metam triverit ante rota'; 2, 18, 9, 'illum saepe suis decedens fovit in undis | quam prius adiunctos sedula lavit equos,' etc. *antequam* occurs only here in the Tibullian corpus; *magisquam*, 4, 7, 2; *priusquam*, 1, 3, 35; *potiusquam*, 1, 1, 51. — **meus**: 1, 5, 42 n.

9. **sed**: 'on the contrary.' The opposition, however, of 'sed . . . taedet' is not to the preceding distich as a whole, but to the thought suggested by 'signatis ne . . . ante,' *i.e.* the possible insinuation that her fear of discovery is due to regret for what she has done and to the fact that her desire for secrecy is her own choice. — **vultus componere famae**: lit. 'to conform appearance to good report,' *i.e.* 'to study the outward semblance in harmony with a fair name.' *componere* of studied effects in word or appearance is a favourite with Tacitus, cp. *e.g.* *Ann.* 1, 7, 'falsi ac festinantes, vultuque composito ne laeti

excessu principis neu tristiores primordio'; 2, 34, 6; 3, 44, 4; etc. — **famae**: the usual cons. with *componere* is *ad* + accus. The dative (rare and poetic with this verb) tends to personify *famae*, 'for Mrs. Grundy'; Lucan, 3, 596, 'semper venturis componere carbasa ventis,' (the winds are all gods in antique folk belief); 3, 717, 'me quoque mittendis rectum componite telis.'

10. **cum . . . fuisse**: Varro, *L. L.* 6, 80, 'violavit virginem pro vitiavit dicebant; aeque eadem modestia potius cum muliere fuisse quam concubuisse dicebant.' The euphemism (cp. Greek, συνεῖναι) occurs throughout the language. — **cum digno**, etc.: the wish echoes the pride of a patrician (cp. 4, 10, Introd. and 3–4 n.) and is nowhere stated with greater terseness and simplicity, cp. Ovid, *Her.* 17, 49 (Helen speaking of Leda), 'illa bene erravit vitiumque auctore redemit: | felix in culpa quo Iove dicar ego?' Hor. *Od.* 1, 27, 15, 'non erubescendis adurit | ignibus ingenuoque semper | amore peccas.' — **cum digno digna**: *i.e.* 'one worthy of me as I am worthy of him.' This rhetorical device (1, 9, 80 n.) of immediately repeating the substantive, *e.g.* 'like to like,' 'when Greek meets Greek,' etc., is not esp. common in English. The object of it is to state the thought with brevity, point, and emphasis. It emphasizes the idea of equivalence or equality, it is a short cut to the striking statement of reciprocity or mutuality, etc. Latin is rich in such expressions and they occur in all types of literary art, cp. *e.g.* Verg. *G.* 2, 327, 'magnus alit magno commixtus'; Catull. 34, 5, 'o Latonia, maximi | magna progenies Iovis'; Hor. *Od.* 1, 16, 1, 'o matre pulchra filia pulchrior'; etc. They are especially characteristic however of the antique and the homely, as *e.g.* in proverbs, 'manus manum lavat'; in conversational tags, 'amicus amico'; in literary departments like the comedy, and in the old writers in general, Plautus, *Asin.* 31, 'nam me illuc ducis ubi lapis lapidem terit?'; *Rudens*, 434, 'quam hostis hosti commodat'; *Most.* 1075, 'adsum praesens praesenti tibi'; *Amphit.* 726, 'immo vigilans vigilantem'; 786, 'nunc si patera pateram peperit omnes congeminavimus'; etc. The one form of the word generally follows immediately upon the other as here, and as a rule the nominative (rarely the accusative) precedes. The chief references on this subject are Wölfflin, *Archiv f. Lat. Lexikographie*, 2, 323; Buecheler, *Rhein. Mus.* 46, 243; Kiessling, *id.* 23, 411; Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* 235; Kellerhoff, *Studemunds Stud.* 2, 58. — **ferar**: 1, 2, 81 n.

4, 8

Sulpicia had been expecting to see Cerinthus on her birthday. She now writes him that Messalla has just announced his intention of taking her off for an outing in the country with the idea, it would seem, of giving her an especial

treat on her birthday. The complete details of the situation are not given and are no longer available. But the foremost idea in her own mind is clear enough. Cerinthus will not be there, and the girlish keenness of her disappointment is reflected in every epithet. 'My hateful old birthday,' she says, 'is coming, and the dreary hours of it must be passed in the stupid country and without Cerinthus.'

2. **sine Cerintho**: *i.e.*, probably, *sine te*, cp. 4, 10, 4; 9, 1; 11, 1. This use of the name in address where we should expect the pronoun of the first or second person is esp. characteristic of lovers and children. It is emphatic or dramatic, often pathetic, tender, or appealing. The most notable among the Greek poets for its use is Theokritos, cp. 1, 103; 135; 5, 9; 15; 19; 7, 55; 96; 10, 38, cp. also Hom. *Il.* 1, 240; *Odyss.* 9, 369. No one employs it so frequently as Catullus with whom it often gives the effect of a survival from the naïveté of his childhood, cp. 8, 1, 'miser Catulle, desinas ineptire'; 8, 12, 'vale, puella, iam Catullus obdurat'; 8, 19; 11, 1; 13, 7; 14, 13; 38, 1; 44, 3; 46, 4; 49, 4; 51, 13; 52, 1 and 4; 56, 3; 58, 2; 68, 27; 135; 72, 1; 79, 2 and 3; 82, 1; 76, 5. Occasional in Propertius, cp. 2, 8, 17; 2, 34, 93; 3, 3, 17; 3, 10, 15; 4, 1, 71. Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 71; *Fasti*, 5, 377; *Her.* 1, 84; 4, 74, notably in the *Tristia* and the *Ex Ponto* where it usually gives a touch of pathos, cp. *Trist.* 3, 10, 1, 'siquis adhuc istic meminit Nasonis adempti'; 4, 4, 86; 5, 3, 49; *Pont.* 1, 7, 69; 1, 8, 30; etc. In the Tibullian corpus it is esp. characteristic of Sulpicia. The only example outside of her poems is 4, 13, 13.

3–4. See 2, 3, 64–67. The reason for the point of view, however, is sufficiently evident in both passages. Line 4 shows that the country place of Messalla to which S. is referring was not far from the picturesque old hill town of Arretium (Arezzo) in Etruria. The *amnis* is the Arno which rises in the Apennines (Monte Falturna) near Arezzo, flows S. E. through the valley of Carentino until it reaches Arezzo, where it turns to the N. W.

4. **frigidus**: just now the river is a cold, disagreeable old thing. None of these epithets is to be taken seriously.

5. **nimium . . . studiose**: 'quite too solicitous for me,' *i.e.* over-anxious to be doing something for me. The amusing side of the situation for the onlooker is that Messalla's special effort to please his niece is evidently coupled with a blissful ignorance of the importance of Cerinthus in her scheme of life. Of course the attention was well meant. For that very reason it was all the more irritating. Hence Sulpicia's impatient 'iam quiescas,' 'now do be still,' a colloquial use of the word frequent, *e.g.*, in Plautus (*Most.* 1173; etc.) but not found elsewhere in the elegy. — **mei studiose**: 1, 8, 3 n.

6. The text is doubtful and no explanation is wholly satisfactory. The

reading here adopted has the merit of involving no drastic emendation and the translation of it as 'always on the eve of some untimely journey' seems an entirely natural development of the thought of the preceding line. Naturally the phrase is not to be taken literally nor (as some of the old commentators seem to have supposed) is it at all descriptive of Messalla's actual habit. It is merely the overstatement of temporary irritation on account of this one particular journey. — **neu tempestivae**: really = the compound *intempestivae*. **propinque**: 'near to,' 'on the point of,' *i.e.* vocative of the adjective referring to Messalla. For the use of *propinquus* in this secondary sense, Lucan, 6, 1, 'postquam castra duces pugnae iam mente propinqui | imposuere iugis' has been quoted, but Lucan's use elsewhere suggests that *pugnae* may go with *mente* and hence that *propinqui* is literal, cp. 9, 225, 'quorum unus aperta | mente fugae tali compellat voce regentem.' — **viae**: is taken here as the genitive with *propinque*, a Greek construction for which Wunderlich cites ἐγγὺς εἶναι τινός.

7. The thought, which is characteristic of lovers the world over, is an especial favourite with Plautus, cp. *Aul.* 181, 'nam egomet sum hic, animus domi est'; *Cist.* 211, 'ubi sum ibi non sum, ubi non sum ibi est animus'; *Merc.* 589, 'si domi sum foris est animus, sin foris sum animus domist'; *Amphit.* 1081, etc.; Lutat. Catulus ap. Gell. 19, 9, 14, 'aufugit mi animus; credo, ut solet, ad Theotimum | devenit. sic est: perfugium illud habet.' — **animum sensusque**: my mind and heart, all of me that thinks and feels, cp. Cicero, *Sest.* 47, 'at alii dicerent animos hominum sensusque morte restingui'; *Orat.* 3, 67; Pliny, 35, 98, 'is omnium primus animum pinxit et sensus hominis expressit quae vocant Graeci ἤθη.'

8. **arbitrio meo**: 'at my own disposal,' 'to do as I wish,' cp. Publilius Syrus, 5, 'amor animi arbitrio sumitur, non ponitur'; Caes. *B. G.* 7, 75, 5, 'se suo nomine atque arbitrio . . . bellum gesturos,' etc. — **quamvis**, etc.: *i.e.* 'at least my heart is free and I leave it here with Cerinthus, although you, Messalla, do not allow,' etc. — **quamvis**: with the indicative as here and Lygd. 3, 6, 29 (not elsewhere in the Tib. corpus) is occasional in Lucretius and Varro, the Augustan poets (Propert. 1, 18, 13; 2, 8, 27; 24, 37; 3, 19, 28; more frequent in Ovid, *e.g.* *Amor.* 1, 15, 14; 2, 5, 60; 3, 13, 5; and *Her.* 7, 29; 13, 119; 18, 50; *Ars Amat.* 2, 213; *Met.* 2, 782 etc. (Verg. *E.* 3, 84; *A.* 5, 542; 7, 492; etc.), Petronius, Seneca, and Late Latin. Cicero and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* always use the subjunctive. Some authors, *e.g.* Caesar, Sallust, and Livy (except 2, 40, 7, once and with the indic.), avoid *quamvis* altogether with verbs. — **esse**: for the omission of the subject see 2, 6, 13 n.

4, 9

A note to Cerinthus telling him that the outing mentioned in the preceding letter has been given up and that the birthday, she hopes (*agatur*), will be celebrated at home.

1. 'Do you know that that dreary journey has been taken off your girl's heart,' cp. our colloquial 'off one's mind'—as of a burden removed—and *e.g.* Hor. *Epist.* 1, 5, 18 (of wine), 'sollicitis animis onus eximit.' For this use of *tollere* with *ex*, cp. Propert. 1, 11, 8, 'an te nescio quis simulatis ignibus hostis | sustulit e nostris, Cynthia, carminibus?' Cicero, *Amicit.* 47; Seneca, *Agam.* 620, etc. For this meaning of *tollere*, cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 718, and often.—**puellae**: dative, cp. 4, 4, 1 n.; Propert. 3, 11, 36, 'tollet nulla dies hanc tibi, Roma, notam'; Ovid, *Pont.* 3, 5, 58; etc. For *puellae* = *mihi* cp. 4, 11, 1 and 4, 12, 1. This lovers' usage is a variety of the figure discussed in 4, 8, 2 n.

2. **Romae**: cp. *domi*, 2, 6, 48 n.

3. **omnibus nobis agatur**: *i.e.* Cerinthus will now be present, cp. 4, 8, 2 above. The use of the dative of the agent with the tenses of continuance, as here and in Lygd. 3, 5, 29, is poetical or admits of a different explanation (Gildersleeve-Lodge, 354 n. 1). More common in Propertius (1, 7, 1 and 9; 1, 8, 11 and 31; 2, 1, 1; 2, 23, 15; 2, 34, 58; 3, 15, 41) and very frequent in Ovid (more than 100 examples).—**agatur**: optative.

4. 'Which now, perhaps, comes to you as a surprise.' *qui* refers grammatically to *dies*, but of course Sulpicia's birthday, at least at this stage of their love affair, is the last thing to be 'a surprise' to Cerinthus. The surprise can only be the fact that her birthday is to be celebrated at home after all, and that she hoped to see him then, a pleasure which since the receipt of her last letter (4, 8) he would naturally have given up. In other words, *qui* = *quod*, attracted to the gender of *dies* but referring to the statement of 3 as a whole. It is observed that the line suggests 1, 9, 43.—**nec opinanti**: the sphere of this word in poetry is the comedy and Lucretius, never in the Augustan poets except here, nor in Catullus, nor, except Phaedrus, 5, 7, 8, in the poets of the first century. In prose it is never used by Caesar and by Cicero only in *Fam.* 15, 4, 6. On the other hand *inopinans*, always used by Caesar, is never found in Cicero. The favourite form with the Augustan poets and their successors is *inopinus.*

4, 10

This most difficult and characteristically feminine of Sulpicia's letters was written and sent to Cerinthus immediately after she had been told that his

attentions were being bestowed elsewhere. Language, syntax, and arrangement betray the writer's state of mind. Every line palpitates with the suppressed fury of a passionate, high spirited Roman gentlewoman who has been cut to the quick, not only in her love, but in her pride. Probably the recipient thought it best to call at once, and as this letter (cp. 'ne . . . cadam,' 2 n.) was certainly written before the consummation of 4, 7, we know that, though doubtless utterly bewildered, he must have explained himself to her entire satisfaction. Indeed, one might reasonably suspect that the situation of 4, 7, was itself the more or less immediate result of her passionate reaction in his favour on this occasion. Burton (*Anat. Mel.* III, III, I, II), refers to this poem with 'Cerinthus rejected Sulpicia, a nobleman's daughter, and courted a poor servant maid.'

1–2. These lines have been variously interpreted. They are quite clear, however, if we bear in mind that Sulpicia has naturally chosen to express her thought in the form of bitter irony. In the positive form of cooler statement the thought is, 'You feel so sure of me now that you allow yourself to do very much as you please; if you had set out deliberately to cure me of my love for you, you could not have selected a more effective method.' In the ironical form dictated by her passion of jealousy, wounded pride, and disprized love Sulpicia says, 'I owe you a genuine debt of gratitude for being so sure of me now that you allow yourself the utmost freedom so far as I am concerned — lest, forsooth, I might be such a fool of a sudden as to tumble into your arms!'

1. **gratum est**: *i.e.* 'gratias ago.' Ironical. — **multum tibi permittis**: Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 356, 'plus sibi permisit compositore suo'; *Her.* 8, 39; Propert. 4, 4, 67; Juv. 6, 457, 'nil non permittit mulier sibi, turpe putat nil,' etc. — **de me**: the regimen is not certain. 'securus de me' would be most natural (cp. 'mutuus de nobis,' 4, 5, 6 and note), and *securus* in this sense is not unfrequently followed by *de*. The distance, however, of *de me* from *securus* suggests that S. may have been thinking of the complex, 'securus . . . permittis.' In that case *in me* would have been more common.

2. **ne . . . cadam**: has no point unless we suppose that the consummation of 4, 7, is still in the future. The clause is a clause of 'perverse purpose running into consequence,' a usage especially characteristic of caustic language; Cerinthus has no idea of losing Sulpicia's love — she herself has just said it (*securus*) — still less is he trying to lose it. Such being the case his action is so foolish that the inevitable result of that action, the loss of her love, seems nothing short of a deliberate purpose. For a good parallel cp. Caesar's caustic remark in *B. G.* 5, 31, 5, 'omnia excogitantur quare nec sine periculo maneatur et languore militum et vigiliis periculum

augeatur,' 'they took the pains to think up every possible thing that was calculated to prevent their remaining without danger and to increase that danger by wearing out the soldiers,' etc. That is, 'their plans were so foolish that their destruction seemed a calculation.' Nipperdey saw the point here, but succeeding commentators seem to have missed it altogether. Sometimes these clauses seem to express the totally unexpected and most unwelcome, as *e.g.* 'he came home to die,' where the irony of the purpose clause is so to speak the irony of Fate. — **male**: 1, 10, 51 n. — **cadam**: the evident sphere and significance of *cadere* here are perfectly familiar in popular English and might be abundantly illustrated from our old plays, ballads, and songs. It is therefore the more surprising to find that in Latin this example is practically unique. Plautus, *Persa*, 656 (Dordalus to Virgo), 'libera eris actutum, si crebro cades. | vin mea esse?' is an illustration rather than a parallel, and Seneca Rhet., *Controv.* 1, 3, 7, has been emended. *cadere* = *peccare*, of yielding to any sinful inclination, belongs to Ecclesiastical Latin, and our frequent use of 'fall' in the same sense was probably derived from that sphere. The only non-ecclesiastical example in Latin seems to be Manil. 5, 114, 'et minimum cecidisse malum est.' Our example is also included here by the Thesaurus. But *cadam* here does not = *peccem*. Sulpicia is practically literal and specific because she is particularly drastic. This is demanded by the bitter irony, by the fact that it carries and emphasizes the thought of the clause of perverse purpose in which the temporarily despised Cerinthus is presented with a point of view worthy of him. Sulpicia is in no mood for euphemisms (cp. 3–4), among other things perhaps being more humiliated than she would like to confess by an unusually vivid realization of the narrowness of her escape on that previous occasion alluded to in 4, 12 (where see notes). This use of *cadere* — which is 'tumble' (cp. *e.g.* Ophelia's song) rather than 'fall' — is doubtless popular and possibly more or less characteristic of feminine usage.

3–4. The rising surge of wrath and scorn is marked by the sudden shift from bitter irony in 1–2 to the passionate assertion of indifference in 3–4, as expressed in her characteristic demand of Cerinthus to proceed as he has begun. So Dido says to Aeneas, *A.* 4, 381, 'i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas,' etc.

Note the biting contrast between the two halves of the sentence: here, the mere common drudge, the lowest even in her own class; there, 'Sulpicia the daughter of Servius.' This is not a mere outburst of jealous fury, there is no room here for jealousy. Nor is the fierce scorn for the woman herself; she is not to blame. It is for Cerinthus that he could stoop so low, the exceeding bitter cry of her own humiliation. It would be hard to find in literary art a more scathing rebuke, a more brief and telling expression of outraged love and pride.

3. That is, 'cura togae et scortum quasillo pressum sit tibi potior quam,' etc. —**togae**: genitive, 1, 9, 34. For the implication see 1, 6, 67–68 n. Sulpicia here uses it as a scornful designation of the lower demi-monde in general, and then passes at once to the specific 'pressum quasillo scortum.' — **quasillo**: the *quasillum* was the basket containing the regular stint of wool given to the spinner for a day's work, cp. *e.g.* Propert. 4, 7, 41 (Cynthia speaking of her rival and successor), 'et graviora rependit iniquis pensa quasillis, | garrula de facie siqua locuta mea est,' etc. By *pressum quasillo*, 'loaded with her basket of wool,' S. refers graphically to a *quasillaria* or 'basket-wench,' the spinning girl, who in distinction from the regular *ancillae* of a household had to endure the opprobrium of being obliged to spin for a living. The hours were long (from daylight to bedtime, cp. Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 13, 23; Tib. 1, 3, 87, etc.), the work tedious and unremunerative (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 39; 284 and 285), hence, the character given her in this passage, like the character regularly ascribed to the laundress in our old plays, reflects a prevailing opinion more or less well founded, cp. Petron. 132, 'mulier . . . convocat omnes quasillarias familiaeque sordidissimam partem,' etc.

4. See Introd. p. 77.

5–6. 'There are those interested in our behalf whose greatest cause for concern is the fear lest I may be slighted for a base-born paramour.'

5. **solliciti**, etc.: the sentence suggests that the original source of her information regarding Cerinthus was one of 'those persons interested in their behalf' (Cerinthus would have called him a rival), and that under cover of the intentionally vague and impressive plural she is really quoting a part of what her informant told her on that occasion. — **nobis**: probably a genuine plural, *i.e.* Cerinthus and herself. — **dolori est**: *i.e.* 'quibus illa maxima causa dolori est ne,' etc. Rigler's *doloris* here (adopted by Haupt-Vahlen, etc.) for 'dolori est' seems unnecessary, as the double dative (cp. 4, 7, 1 and 1, 5, 29 n.) with *causa* is attested by Tacitus, *Ann.* 16, 14, 3, 'eamque causam multis exitio esse,' and Pliny, *Epist.* 6, 28, 1, 'scio quae tibi causa fuerit impedimento.'

6. **toro**: this passage is ambiguous, and on the whole the most troublesome in Sulpicia's poems. Many translate 'ne ignoto toro cedam' by 'lest I may yield to, *i.e.* be persuaded into, an obscure marriage,' and cite the phrase so interpreted in support of the theory that Cerinthus was of low birth. There is nothing, however, to show that C. was of low birth, and even granting that he was, can we believe that even in her present state of mind S. would have taunted him with it? On the contrary it is reasonable to assume that he was a Roman of birth and position, see Introd. p. 86. It seems better therefore to take *cedere* in its common sense of 'give way to,' *i.e.* 'retire before,' 'give up the field to.' In that case, *ignoto toro* means the *quasillaria*, not Cerinthus, and

toro might be taken in the sense of 'mistress,' as in Pliny, 35, 87, 'nec torum tantum suum sed etiam adfectum donavit artifici.' At all events it is evident that in this truly feminine announcement — which is doubtless quite as clear as the writer intended it to be — there was the suggestion that she had plenty of admirers who appreciated her worth and were anxious to see to it that she did not lack for consolation.

4, 11

Sulpicia is ill and writes a touching letter to her lover. Evidently used by the author of 4, 4.

Shenstone quotes 3–4 as the text of his song —

On every tree, in every plain,
I trace the jovial spring in vain!
A sickly languor veils mine eyes,
And fast my waning vigour flies.

Nor flowery plain, nor budding tree,
That smile on others, smile on me;
Mine eyes from death shall court repose,
Nor shed a tear before they close.

What bliss to me can seasons bring?
Or what the needless pride of spring?
The cypress bough, that suits the bier,
Retains its verdure all the year.

'Tis true my vine so fresh and fair
Might claim awhile my wonted care;
My rural store some pleasure yield;
So white a flock, so green a field!

My friends, that each in kindness vie,
Might well expect one parting sigh;
Might well demand one tender tear;
For when was Damon insincere?

But ere I ask once more to view
Yon setting sun his race renew,
Inform me, swains; my friends, declare,
Will pitying Delia join the prayer?

A characteristic production of the man and of his time.

1. **tuae puellae**: 4, 9, 1 n. — **pia cura**: 'loving thought' (Postgate). The following lines define the phrase more fully.

2. **fessa**: 4, 4, 10; 1, 5, 9 n.

3. **morbos**: cp. 5 and 4, 4, 1. The plural of this word instead of the

sing. is very common in poetry. Possibly, however, as certainly below, the plural is generic, *i.e.* S. means not this illness alone, but any illness. For *evincere* of diseases cp. *expelle*, 4, 4, 1 and note.

4. **optarim**: 1, 6, 74 n.

6. **lento**: *i.e.* 'unfeeling,' 'unsympathetic.' The answer seems to be 4, 4, 11–14.

4, 12

Sulpicia apologizes to her lover for having left him so abruptly the previous evening. 'She bitterly regrets now that she was so young and foolish as to run away—just because she was afraid to show how much she loved him.' See Introd. p. 83.

1. **mea lux**: 4, 3, 15 n.—**aeque . . . ac**: not uncommon in the old drama and in prose, esp. as here with a negative. In poetry the only exx. beside this seem to be Lucret. 4, 755 (a dogmatic passage); Horace, *Sat.* 2, 3, 47. Followed as here by a complete clause, the usage appears to be confined to Plautus, *Cas.* 129; Terence, *Phorm.* 581; Varro, *De Re Rust.* 3, 8; Livy, 31, 45, 2.—**cura**: *i.e.* the object of the lover's *cura*, 'his sweetheart,' 'beloved,' cp. Propert. 1, 1, 35, 'sua quemque moretur | cura'; 2, 25, 1; 2, 34, 9; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 3, 16; 3, 9, 32; *Ars Amat.* 1, 512 and 555; etc.

2. **videor**: middle, 'as I feel myself to be.'—**ante**: 'ago.'

3. **tota commisi stulta iuventa**: an odd expression, but clearly meant to be an emphatic avowal of youth, inexperience, and folly, all in one, lit. 'if I have done anything foolish (*stulta*, adj. for adv.) in my entire youth (*iuventa*, ablat. of time) for which I could confess greater regret than the fact that,' etc., *i.e.* 'if among all the youthful follies of which I am guilty there is any for which I might confess a greater regret than the fact that,' etc.

5. **te solum reliqui**: the next line shows that she means an abrupt departure from her lover, not as some have interpreted it, the failure to keep a tryst. On the situation, and on the chronology of these elegies see Introd. p. 81.

4, 13

On the last two poems in this collection see Introd. p. 87.

In the poem now before us Tibullus (see 13 and note) swears eternal fidelity and professes unalterable devotion to some girl who is nameless.

The unusual attention given to this poem during the last few years is due for the most part to Professor Postgate's elaborate discussion of its authenticity. Briefly stated, his thesis is that this poem is not by Tibullus. Setting aside the test of statistics, which, as he justly says, is of no definite value in a piece as short as this, Professor Postgate supports his contention by a thor-

ough examination of the poem from every point of view. His main arguments are —

1. Inferiority. Throughout the poem the thought or, what is not less noteworthy, the turn of the thought, is either trivial or else different from what we look for in Tibullus.

2. Coincidences in phrase, etc., with the known work of Tibullus show nothing characteristic of the poet. The Tibullian note of distinction is always wanting.

Differences in vocabulary Professor Postgate very wisely makes light of. The test is of more than doubtful value.

3. The absence of two marked peculiarities of Tibullus, displaced *que*, and mechanical repetition of words (except perhaps *sanctae* 23 and *sancta* 15).

4. Numerous coincidences with Propertius and without the individual touch of Tibullus.

5. The signature (13). The obtrusion of the writer's name is unlike Tibullus. So far from this being a proof of his authorship, this is the sign manual either of a deliberate forger or more likely of some person, presumably a member of Messalla's circle, who had no idea of addressing a public, much less of mystifying it, when he wrote this literary exercise after the manner of the great master.

6. The fact that the woman is not named. Defenders of Tibullian authorship explain by terming the poem a juvenile production anterior to the affair with Delia or Nemesis. But if the previous arguments are valid, the poem, if by Tibullus, could not be a juvenile production.

One may well hesitate to disagree with so eminent a scholar, one too so thoroughly acquainted with this particular subject, and I venture to do so with the greater regret because lack of space forces me to appear dogmatic.

I may note first of all that the tone and the language of this piece suggest that it is an epigram rather than an elegy, and that the association of it here with 14 (which is unmistakably an epigram) is perhaps an indication that the editor of this miscellaneous collection was quite aware of the fact. The presence of the two pieces here also suggests, as all agree, that, whatever their authorship, they were two stray poems associated in some way with the Messalla circle.

There are beautiful lines in this poem, lines, I may add, which appear to have had a longer and more vivid tradition in English poetry than anything else in the entire Corpus Tibullianum, but as Professor Postgate says, 'one swallow does not make a summer,' and I cheerfully agree that the poem is inferior to the elegies. Doubtless Tibullus himself thought so, otherwise he would have published the piece. Inferiority, however, certainly the inferiority

of this piece as demonstrated by the tests of Professor Postgate or of any one else, is no criterion of authenticity. Are a poet's critical and creative faculties always to remain stationary, shall he learn nothing with age and experience, shall he be unaffected by mood, by department, by theme, by a dozen different things? 'quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus,' the history of poets and of poetry the world over is full of proofs to the contrary. It is interesting to observe with Professor Postgate that this or that phrase is 'uncomfortable,' or 'infelicitous,' or a 'weak variation' of something, we may observe with him that coincidences with the acknowledged work of our author lack the Tibullian 'note of distinction,' we may admit for the sake of argument the coincidences with Propertius and that the same is true also of them, we may acknowledge that 'Tibullus' in 1, 3, 55, and 1, 9, 83 is more in keeping than 'Tibullo' in 4, 13, 13: but the sum total, even if we admit it, serves to indicate why Tibullus never published the piece rather than to prove that he never wrote it at all. One may agree also with Professor Postgate that 'Tibullo' in 13 is a presumption of genuineness rather than a proof. It is a presumption, however, which is quite unaffected by any argument founded upon inferiority as a criterion. The fact that the person to whom the piece is addressed does not happen to be named has no bearing upon the question either of its genuineness or of its date. The long line of commentators who have tried to identify her with Delia or Nemesis or Glycera or some one else have busied themselves with a task as fruitless as it is unnecessary. Any poet at any time may and, to judge from the past, often does address verses to a woman whom he does not name. She may be high or low, real or imaginary; he may be old or young, married or single, in love with a dozen women or in love with none. The assertion that this could not be an early production of Tibullus is not supported by any of Professor Postgate's arguments. The piece is technically mature, but metrical technique, especially for a poet with a keen sense of form, is learned more easily and quickly than is rhetorical technique. The absence of displaced *que* from this piece need not detain us. Though eminently characteristic of Tibullus, it is nevertheless absent from some of his published elegies (1, 2; 5; 8 and 9). The same may be said of the absence in this poem of the type of repetition to which Professor Postgate calls attention in his 'Poems of Tibullus and Others,' p. xxviii. 'It is remarkable,' he says, 'how often, if he uses a word more than once, he will use it twice in the same poem and then maybe never again; and not merely the same word but exactly the same form of it.' This peculiarity, however, is not confined to Tibullus; it is more or less characteristic of any one who writes. 'Every writer knows,' says Beeching (see Verity, Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, 3), 'the perverse facility with which a phrase once

used presents itself again: and Shakespeare seems to have been not a little liable to this literary habit. It is not uncommon for him to use a word or phrase twice in a single play and never afterwards.' Lastly of the resemblances to Propertius (for details see notes on 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 18, 21) Professor Postgate says, 'The reader has them before him and can judge for himself whether the resemblances *taken as a whole* are or are not too close and too frequent to be due to accident.' I confess I cannot see as many coincidences here as does Professor Postgate. What is of greater importance, however, I fail to see how the settlement of this question either for or against has any necessary connection with the genuineness of this poem.

On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to believe that this poem was the work of Tibullus. The relation of the idyllic erotic elegy of Tibullus to the Alexandrian erotic epigram has already been discussed (Introd. p. 23). This poem suggests so strongly the influence of Catullus and the Alexandrian type just mentioned that we may fairly class it as itself an epigram. It is also manifestly inferior to our poet's best published work. It seems most reasonable therefore to suppose that it is a chance survivor from an earlier stage of his development, and that it was kept back by the author himself because it did not measure up to the higher standards of his critical and creative maturity.

Imitated by Croxall and by Bertin, *Amours*, 1, 7.

1. Lit. 'No woman shall steal your couch (*i.e.* your love) from me.' The choice of this expression instead of the more commonplace 'no woman shall win me away from you,' was dictated by the poet's desire to lay all possible emphasis on the supreme value to him of her love as a possession. He therefore states his infidelity in terms as it were of the loss of her love. *subducere lectum*, which does not occur elsewhere in Latin, is (as noted by the old commentator Achilles Statius) clearly an echo of Soph. *Elekt.* 113 (speaking of the Erinnyes), *αἳ τοὺς ἀδίκως θνῄσκοντας ὁρᾶθ', | αἳ τοὺς εὐνὰς ὑποκλεπτομένους*, the only echo of which even on the Greek side seems to be Libanios, 4, 598, 24, *τίς γὰρ ἂν εὐνὴν κακῶς ὑποκλέπτειν ἔτι τολμήσειεν.* Propertius says (1, 8, 45), 'nec mihi rivalis certos subducit amores,' but we cannot assume that he had this line in mind; on the other hand it is sufficiently clear that Tibullus was not borrowing from Propertius.—**subducet**: only here in the Tibullian corpus; Propertius, 1, 8, 45; 3, 2, 23 in this sense.—**lectum**: *εὐνή*, cp. 1, 5, 7 n.; for *toro* cp. 4, 10, 6; etc.

2. These ideas are characteristic of the entire elegy, cp. 1, 5, 7; 1, 6, 69 and notes. For *Venus*, 1, 4, 59 n.; 1, 9, 76; 14 below; etc.

3. **tu mihi sola places**: the exact words occur in Propert. 2, 7, 19, 'tu mihi sola places: placeam tibi, Cynthia, solus: | hic erit et patrio sanguine

pluris amor,' and in Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 42, 'dum licet et loris passim potes ire solutis, | elige cui dicas "tu mihi sola places." | haec tibi non tenues veniet delapsa per auras: | quaerenda est oculis apta puella tuis' (cp. the echo of Ovid in Petrarch, *Son.* 172, 'A cu' io dissi "Tu sola mi piaci."'). 'Formula est quae proverbii speciem referat,' said Broukhusius, *ad loc.* over two centuries ago, and the same is urged now by some of Professor Postgate's critics and with a great appearance of probability. If so, no significance can be attached to its reappearance. Moreover when Professor Postgate says that 'these words are found first in Propertius' he begs his own question. The priority of Propertius to this poem is yet to be proved. More important, however, is his contention (*Introd.* to his edit. p. xlviii) that Ovid's distich is a combination of this expression with 13 below (but see n. *ad loc.*). Ovid's 'borrowing here,' he says, 'is obvious,' and he finds in the fact a proof that this last book was published before the date of the *Ars Amatoria*, *i.e.* before B.C. 2, hence that it was Ovid who imitated Lygdamus, not Lygdamus who imitated Ovid (Introd. p. 74). Even if we grant, however, for the sake of argument that Ovid had this passage before him, it by no means follows that he saw it in the published miscellany now before us, it does not follow that the piece had ever been published at all at that time. Ovid himself had been a member of Messalla's circle (Introd. p. 37) and could have easily seen the verses there. As long, however, as Professor Postgate clings to his theory that our poem is a mere forgery in the name of Tibullus written after the appearance of Propertius he must establish a *terminus post quem* for its composition or find himself quite unable to answer the uncomfortable question, 'which was Ovid, the imitator or the imitated?' The question is then exactly the same as that which confronted us in the case of Ovid and Lygdamus and we are no nearer a solution than before. The presence of 'tu mihi sola places' here, in Propertius, and in Ovid, may possibly be due to an association of some sort, but it can hardly be said to have any bearing on the authenticity of this poem.—**praeter**: only here in the Tibullian corpus, never in Propertius.

4. Professor Postgate thinks this line is an imitation of Propert. 4, 4, 32, 'et formosa oculis arma Sabina meis' (again assuming that his thesis of Propertian priority is proved). Surely a phrase as simple if not as commonplace as this is incapable of being borrowed, cp. Catullus, 86, 1, 'Quintia formosa est multis.' Moreover, the reading *formosa* in Propertius is anything but certain (*famosa*, NFL, Phillimore, Rothstein, etc.).

5–6. 'Vœux qu'une femme accepterait difficilement même sans être Celimène,' says Martinon, dryly, thinking of the famous scene in Molière's *Misanthrope*. 'Hoc vero rus est merum,' says Broukhusius, 'ac rusticum

optare ut tua puella soli tibi sit formosa, aliis autem omnibus deformis ac foeda habeatur. quid enim possis crudelius inprecari mulieri quam ut ne placeat nisi uni viro ? aut quid aliud quaerunt operosae illae molitiones nisi ut formosae videantur etiam iis quos ipsae amare nec volunt nec possunt ?

delectant etiam castas praeconia formae.

et quam tu umquam vidisti mulierem, etiam pessimam, etiam turpissimam, cuius formam inpune contemneres ? quaeve sibi deformis videretur ?' 'It is more polite,' he says further down, 'to leave this wish to a girl rather than to her lover,' and he quotes a long passage from the interminable d'Urfé which ends with —

Car je ne veux, me disoit elle,
Ressembler belle qu'à tes yeux.

The thought has always been popular, cp. *e.g.* the variation of Ausonius, *Epig.* 80 —

Deformem quidam te dicunt, Crispa : ego istud
  nescio. mi pulchra es iudice me : satis est.
quin etiam cupio iunctus quia zelus amori est,
  ut videare aliis foeda, decora mihi.

— For line 6 one may compare *e.g.* Propertius, 1, 2, 26, 'uni si qua placet culta puella sat est.' For 5 Volpi cites Kallimach. *Epig.* 29, 2, *καλὸς ὁ παῖς, Ἀχελῷε, λίην καλός· εἰ δέ τις οὐχὶ | φησίν, ἐπισταίμην μοῦνος ἐγὼ τὰ καλά.*

5. **atque utinam** : 1, 3, 2 n. So Lygd. 3, 5, 27. Frequent in Propertius (9 exx.) and Ovid. — **posses . . . displiceas** : the sudden shift from *posses* (optat. subjunctive, imperfect of the wish with adverse decision, Gildersleeve-Lodge, 261 R.) to *displiceas* (optative present subjunctive without adverse decision) reflects the lover's varying moods of hope and despair and is not uncommon in poetry and in the animated discourse of a quick-witted and impressionable race, cp, 1, 4, 63 ; 2, 4, 7–10 and notes. — **uni mihi** : *i.e.* 'soli mihi.' So always in the undisputed work of Tibullus but never in Lygd. and the *Pan. Messal.* The frequency of *unus* in Propertius (over 70 exx.) amounts to a personal peculiarity, but with him *unus* = *solus* is comparatively rare. — **bella** : see 1, 9, 71 n. ; Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 9, 6. *formosus* is found in all styles, *bellus* is popular, and its presence here suggests the epigram and Catullus.

6. Propertius, 2, 13, 14, 'nam domina iudice tutus ero.' But the repetition of such tags as 'tutus ero' or 'meis oculis' above, phrases which display no specific peculiarity of usage in themselves, is not a good proof of deliberate imitation.

7. That is, the common man though he desires a constant mistress, never-

theless likes to have others admire her, because their envy of his good fortune flatters his vanity; 'prorsus quasi silentium damnum pulchritudinis esset,' says Iustinus, 1, 7, in his account of Kandaules, the traditional ex. of this type. So Martial to a certain Lesbia (1, 34, 3, 'et plus spectator quam te delectat adulter | nec sunt grata tibi gaudia si qua latent').

For 'nil opus invidia est' see 4, 4, 21, and for 'gloria vulgi,' 1, 10, 11, with note. Professor Postgate thinks the use of these phrases here is 'uncomfortable.' *invidia* of course is the more dangerous because the very word carries with it the suggestion of the evil eye and hence the possibility that one's good fortune, if people know of it, may actually be destroyed by magic, cp. Propert. 2, 25, 30 (quoted below), etc.

8. **in tacito gaudeat sinu**: *gaudere in sinu* is proverbial, cp. Cic. *Tusc. Disput.* 3, 51; Sen. *Epist.* 105, 3; Hom. *Odyss.* 22, 411; etc. Ridicule, however, is never involved, as in 'to laugh in one's sleeve,' 'sich ins Faustchen lachen.' The wise man keeps his good fortune to himself. An English equivalent sometimes seen in our old plays is 'he (*i.e.* the fool) cannot fare well without crying roast meat.' Propertius says (2, 25, 30), 'tu tamen interea, quamvis te diligat illa, | in tacito cohibe gaudia clausa sinu | . . . invidiam quod habet non solet esse diu.' But the addition of *tacito* as here to a common proverbial saying hardly needs to be explained by imitation. Close congeners *e.g.* are Plautus, *Epid.* 651, 'quod boni est id tacitus taceas tute tecum et gaudeas'; Ter. *Hec.* 106, 'haud propterea te rogo, | ut hoc proferam, sed tacita ut mecum gaudeam' (Volpi). The thought, of course, is continually recurring. The classical example of the wisdom of our poet's choice is the story of Gyges and Kandaules; see also Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1, 741, 'ei mihi, non tutumst quod ames laudari sodali! | cum tibi laudanti credidit ipse subit,' a commentary on his own elegy, *Amor.* 3, 12, 7 f.

9–12. No doubt it is partly due to Cowley that these lines, esp. the last two, seem to be well known to the English poets. In his essay on Solitude he says, 'When they are in love with a mistress, all other persons are importunate and burdensome to them. Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam lubens.' He then quotes these four lines and translates —

> With thee for ever I in woods could rest,
> Where never human foot the ground has prest,
> Thou from all shades the darkness canst exclude,
> And from a desert banish solitude.

He had already imitated 7–12 in *The Wish*, the last stanza of which is —

> How happy here should I,
> And one dear She live, and embracing die!
> She who is all the world, and can exclude

In deserts solitude.
I should have then this only fear,
Lest men, when they my pleasures see,
Should hither throng to live like me,
And so make a city here.

William Walsh says in the Preface to his *Poems*, 'I am satisfied that Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid were in love with their mistresses when they upbraid them, quarrel with them, threaten them, and forswear them: but I cannot believe Petrarch in love with his. . . . I am pleased with Tibullus when he says he could live in a desert with his mistress where never any human footsteps appeared, because I doubt not but he really thinks what he says.'

9–10. **secretis**: 'solitary,' 'remote,' is not found elsewhere in the Tibullian corpus, and *humanus* is confined to Lygd. 3, 4, 26.

11–12. Parallels of these striking lines are numerous, *e.g.* Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 12, 60, ἢν ἐνίδω Θήρωνα τὰ πάνθ' ὁρῶ· ἢν δὲ τὰ πάντα | βλέψω, τόνδε δὲ μή, τἄμπαλιν οὐδὲν ὁρῶ· Propert. 1, 13, 36, 'et quodcumque voles, una sit ista tibi'; Mart. 12, 21, 10, 'Romam tu mihi sola facis,' etc. Propertius, 1, 11, 23, 'tu mihi sola domus tu, Cynthia, sola parentes, | omnia tu nostrae tempora laetitiae,' is an echo of Homer, *Il.* 6, 429, cp. Ovid, *Her.* 3, 51.

Professor Postgate compares Hood's 'The sun may set: but constant love Will shine when he's away, | So that dull night is never night, | And day is brighter day.' Suffolk in *Henry VI* (Second Part, 3, 2, v. 360) says to the Queen—

A wilderness is populous enough,
So Suffolk had thy heavenly company:
For where thou art, there is the world itself,
With every several pleasure in the world,
And where thou art not, desolation.

11. **nocte vel atra lumen**: Professor Postgate finds the turn of 'nocte vel atra' prosaic and quotes Propertius, 4, 1, 143, 'illius arbitrio noctem lucemque videbis' a 'similar thought (*i.e.* to "lumen nocte vel atra") poetically expressed.' The connection, however, shows that Propertius here has simply furbished up a particularly homely and forcible proverbial phrase for being completely under one's thumb, cp. note on *tenebris*, 1, 2, 25, and *e.g.* Petron. 37 (the freedman describing Fortunata's hold on Trimalchio), 'ad summam, mero meridie si dixerit illi tenebras esse, credet.'

12. **solis locis**: this 'Propertian turn of language,' as Professor Postgate terms it, occurs in all styles and at all periods, cp. Plautus, *Rud.* 205; Lucret. 6, 396; Cicero, *Div.* 1, 59; Quintil. 5, 13, 28; Ovid, *Her.* 11, 84, etc. The line is repeated in a late inscription, *CIL*, 10, 378.

13–14. Professor Mustard reminds me that these lines are echoed by Sannazaro, *Eleg.* 1, 3, 1–2 — 'nulla meos poterit mulier praevertere sensus, | ipsa licet caelum linquat et astra Venus.'

13. 1, 3, 89–90 is regularly quoted here, indeed Professor Postgate (again assuming that his theory of priority is proved) says that the 'writer seems to be awkwardly imitating a beautiful distich of Tibullus, 1, 3, 89 f.' The parallelism between these two passages is confined solely to *caelo missus* in 1, 3, 90, and *e caelo mittatur* here. But *caelo missus* in 1, 3, 90 (to express the totally unexpected, cp. our 'dropped from the clouds') is one of the commonest proverbial phrases in the Latin language (cp. note *ad loc.*). One does not imitate proverbs. As a matter of fact, too, *e caelo mittatur* in our passage has nothing to do with the proverbial *caelo missus.* The meaning is 'if a mistress were fetched me from heaven itself,' etc., *i.e.* 'a goddess instead of a mortal woman such as you are,' a type of hyperbole common enough among lovers, cp. Ovid, *Met.* 7, 800, 'mutua cura duos et amor socialis habebat, | nec Iovis illa meo thalamos praeferret amori, | nec me quae caperet, non si Venus ipsa veniret, | ulla erat'; Catull. 72, 1, 'dicebas quondam solum te nosse Catullum, | Lesbia, nec prae me velle tenere Iovem'; Ovid, *Her.* 4, 35, 'si mihi concedat Iuno fratremque virumque, | Hippolytum videor praepositura Iovi'; Plautus, *Casina,* 323, 'negavi enim ipsi me concessurum Iovi, | si is mecum oraret'; Catull. 70, 1, 'nulli se dicit mulier mea nubere malle | quam mihi, non si se Iuppiter ipse petat'; 'But might I of Jove's nectar sup, I would not change for thine,' etc. 'The idea of having a mistress sent down from heaven,' continues Professor Postgate, 'is used much more appropriately by Apuleius,' *Met.* 2, 8, 'si cuiuslibet eximiae pulcherrimaeque feminae caput capillo spoliaveris et faciem nativa specie nudaveris, licet illa *caelo deiecta,* mari edita, fluctibus educata, licet inquam Venus ipsa fuerit, . . . placere non poterit nec Vulcano suo.' But *caelo deiecta,* the words italicized by Professor Postgate, have nothing whatever to do with the idea of *e caelo mittatur,* 'a mistress sent from the clouds,' still less with *caelo missus,* the proverbial 'dropped from the clouds.' As the connection shows, as the participle *deiecta* in itself suggests, Apuléius is simply referring to the well-known legend of the birth of Venus herself, the phrase is merely one of the three items in his description of her. — **Tibullo**: 4, 8, 2 n.

14. **deficietque Venus**: cp. 'deseruitque Venus' in 1, 5, 40 in a somewhat similar connection, in fact *deficio* with a personal subject as here = *desero.* 1, 5, 40 is undoubtedly superior; experience is more impressive than protestation, the thought itself is more striking. The significance of it depends upon what theory we adopt regarding 4, 13. If it is an earlier piece Tibullus improved as he grew older, if, as Professor Postgate claims but has

not proved, it is a later imitation, we might agree with him that 4, 13, 14 is a 'weak variant' or rather a weaker variant of 1, 5, 40.

15. For the oath see 4, 5, 7; 4, 6, 1 and notes. *iuro* with two accusatives (Verg. *A.* 6, 324; Cicero, *Fam.* 7, 12, 2, etc.) is found only here in the Tibullian corpus, never in Propertius, never in Ovid (so Burman's Index).

17–18. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 3, 486, 'pignora nec puero credite vestra novo'; *Her.* 21, 204, 'ei mihi, quod sensus sum tibi fassa meos.'

17. **cedo**: *i.e.* 'give up.' The transitive use of *cedo* occasional in prose and comedy is very rare in poetry—only Lucret. 5, 986; Manil. 2, 585; Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 1282; Lucan, 3, 423 (Thes.).

18. **proderat iste timor**: 'that fear of yours was of value to me,' *i.e.* the fear that he might be unfaithful to her; he calls it his *pignora* because it constitutes his hold upon her. He has confessed that her fear was groundless, hence *pignora cedo.* The poet refers to an old rule of procedure in a love affair which we find echoed *e.g.* in Propert. 2, 14, 19, 'hoc sensi prodesse magis: contemnite amantes,' etc. Cressida says (*Troilus and Cress.* 3, 2)—'I was won, my lord, | with the first glance that ever—pardon me— | If I confess much, you will play the tyrant. | . . . See, we fools! | why have I blabb'd? Who shall be true to us, | when we are so unsecret to ourselves?'

19. **ures**: 1, 5, 5; 1, 6, 37 and notes.

21–22. The lover as usual looks upon himself as a slave, cp. *ures* above; 2, 3, 80; Propert. 1, 4, 3–4; 1, 18, 25; etc.

21. Professor Postgate finds that (he adopts Müller's *facias* for *faciam*) the 'resemblance to Propertius, 1, 15, 30–32 is considerable,' 'annus et inversas duxerit ante vices | quam tua sub nostro mutetur pectore cura; | sis quodcumque voles, non aliena tamen.'

23. The slave's refuge, cp. 2, 6, 33–34 n.; Eurip. *Suppl.* 267; Livy, 27, 17, 13.

24. Cp. 1, 8, 6; Hor. *Od.* 3, 26, 11; Nonnos, 4, 177.

4, 14

In this epigram the author would be spared the knowledge of the infidelities of his mistress.

Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 14, has developed the theme into an elegy. See also Luigi Alamanni, *Elegia a Flora*—

Spesso mi è detto (o dura aspra novella
  Ben sorde volentier le orecchie avrei)
  Flora è men casta assai che vaga e bella.
Taci omai, vulgo, chè parlar non dèi
  Di donna, a cui bellezza e leggiadria
  Dieron si larghi al suo venir gli Dei, etc.

In 'A Collection of Epigrams,' London, Walthoe, 2d edit. 1735 (whence Franklin drew a number of the verses for his 'Poor Richard's Almanac') no. 449 has—

> The town reports the falsehood of my dear;
> To which I cry, Oh that I could not hear!
> I love her still: peace then, thou babbler Fame;
> And let me rest, contented, in my shame.

Domitii Marsi Epigramma

Byron's translation in his 'Hours of Idleness' is—

> He who, sublime, in epic numbers roll'd,
> And he who struck the softer lyre of Love,
> By Death's unequal hand alike controll'd,
> Fit comrades in Elysian regions move!

APPENDIX

ABBREVIATIONS

A = Ambrosianus, R. sup. 29 (cent. XIV).
V = Vaticanus, 3270 (cent. XV).
g = Guelferbytanus, Ms. Aug. 82, 6 fol. (cent. XV).
ψ = Other Mss. or the Itali (cent. XV).
Fr. = Excerpta Frisingensia, 6292 (cent. X).
Par. = Excerpta Parisina, 7647 and 17903 (cent. XI).

The text of this edition coincides with that of Eduard Hiller (Berlin, Tauchnitz, 1909) except in the following passages.

1, 2, 88. non uni, ψ; non unus, *A*; et iratus, *Par.;* non in me, *Hiller.*

1, 3, 4. Mors precor atra, ψ; Mors modo nigra, *A V*; Rothstein, *De Tibulli Codicibus*, p. 62; Zingerle, *Kl. Phil. Abhandlungen*, 2, p. 99; 'Mors nigra' does not seem to occur in the poets, 'Mors atra' is common (see Carter, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos inveniuntur*, *s.v.* 'Mors').

1, 3, 12. trinis, *Muretus;* triviis, *A*; see note and Leo, *Seneca*, 1, p. 12; *Neméthy* retains triviis with *Hiller*, but his explanation is not convincing.

1, 3, 14. respiceretque, *A*; see note; respueretque, ψ; despueretque, *Haupt;* Schulze, *Beiträge*, 1, 19 and 2, 17; F. Wilhelm, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 145, 618; G. Friedrich, *Hermes*, 43, 639; Martial, 14, 177.

1, 3, 17. aves dant, *A*; aves aut, ψ; see note.

1, 3, 18. Saturni, *A*; Saturnive, most modern editors since Broukhusius; see note.

1, 3, 86. colo, *A Par.;* colu, *Fr.*

1, 4, 44. nimbifer, ψ; see note.

1, 4, 59. tua, ψ; tu, *A*.

1, 5, 42. et pudet et narrat, *A*; see note; a pudet et narrat, *L. Müller*, *Hiller*, *Postgate.*

1, 6, 7. tam multa, *A*; see note; mihi cuncta, *Hiller;* iurata, *Heyne*, followed by *Postgate;* cp. Ovid, *Trist.* 2, 447.

1, 6, 72. pronas, ψ; proprias, *A*; in medias propriasque, *Hiller;* see Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, 158, n. 2.

1, 7, 49. centum ludis, *ψ*; centum ludos, *A*.

1, 8, 35. inveniet, *ψ*; invenit, *A*; succumbere, *ψ*; concumbere, *A*.

1, 8, 36. tumet, *ψ*; timet, *A*.

1, 9, 40. sed . . . sit, *ψ*; sit . . . sit, *A*; sit . . . sed, *V*.

1, 10, 25 and 50. lacuna; see notes.

2, 1, 65. adsiduae . . . Minervae, *ψ*; adsidue . . . Minervam, *A*; Buecheler, *Rhein. Mus.* 43, 291; Schulze, *Beiträge*, 1, 20.

2, 1, 67. ipse quoque inter agros, *A*; greges, *V*; ipse interque greges, *Hiller;* Maurenbrecher, *Philologus*, 1895, p. 440.

2, 2, 21. hic . . . avis, *A*; hac . . . avi, *Hiller;* haec . . . avis, *ψ*.

2, 3, 14 c. mixtu subriguisse, *Lachmann;* mixtis obriguisse, *ψ*; mixtus obriguisse, *A*.

2, 3, 34. lacuna; so *Lachmann*.

2, 3, 47. tibi, *A* ; mihi, *Par*.

2, 3, 58. lacuna.

2, 3, 59. nota, *A*; vana, *Rossbach, Hiller;* ipse, *A*; ille, *g*, *Guyetus, Hiller;* iste, *Haupt-Vahlen*.

2, 4, 38. sic, *Heinsius;* nunc, *Broukhusius, Hiller;* hic, *A*.

2, 5, 71. haec, *A*; hae, *ψ*; Schulze, *Beiträge*, 1, 21, *Neue-Wagener*, 2, 409.

2, 5, 108. illa, *ψ*; ista, *A*.

2, 6, 45. Phryne, *ψ*; phirne, *A*; recipi, *ψ*.

3, 1, 10. pumicet, *A*; pumex, *ψ*.

3, 4, 3. vani, *A*; vanum, *ψ*.

3, 4, 26. humanum nec videt illud opus, *A*.

3, 5, 11. sacrilegi, *Cuiacianus;* sacrilegos, *A*.

4, 1, 1. me, *Cuiacianus;* tua, *g*; mea, *A*.

4, 1, 72. rapidas, *ψ*; rabidas, *A*.

4, 1, 82. nam, *A Par.;* iam, *ψ*.

4, 1, 166. rigentes, *A, first hand;* rigentem, *ψ*.

4, 2, 23. sumet, *A*; sumat, *ψ*.

4, 4, 6. pallida, *A*; candida, *ψ*.

4, 6, 15. praecipit et, *A*; praecipiat, *ψ*.

4, 6, 19. iuveni . . . et, *A*; Iuno . . . ut, *Hiller*, after *Eberz*.

4, 7, 1. pudori, *A*; pudore, *A*.

4, 8, 6. saepe propinque, *A*.

4, 10, 5. dolori est, *A*; doloris, *Rigler;* see note.

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